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HOLINSHED'S
CHRONICLES

OF
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
AND
IRELAND.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

IRELAND.

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CHRONICLES

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF THE

ROUND TABLE

BY

ALFRED, KING OF ENGLAND

AND HIS NOBLE KNIGHTS

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF THE

ROUND TABLE

OF THE

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OF THE

KNIGHTS OF THE

ROUND TABLE

Printed by T. DAVISON,
Whitefriars.

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[Original Title.]

THE
SECOND VOLUME OF
C H R O N I C L E S :

CONTAINING THE
DESCRIPTION, CONQUEST, INHABITATION, AND TROBLESOME ESTATE OF
I R E L A N D ;

FIRST COLLECTED BY
RAPHAELL HOLINSHED ;

AND NOW NEWLIE RECOGNISED, AUGMENTED, AND CONTINUED FROM THE DEATH OF KING HENRIE
THE EIGHT VNTILL THIS PRESENT TIME OF SIR IOHN PEROT KNIGHT, LORD DEPUTIE:
AS APPEARETH BY THE SUPPLIE BEGINNING IN PAG. 109, &c.

BY IOHN HOOKER ALIAS VOWELL GENT.

WHEREVNTO IS ANNEXED

THE DESCRIPTION AND HISTORIE OF SCOTLAND,

FIRST PUBLISHED BY THE SAID R. H. AND NOW NEWLIE REUISED, INLARGED, AND CONTINUED
TO THIS PRESENT YEARE; AS APPEARETH IN PAG. 405: &c.

By F. T.

WITH TWO TABLES SERUING BOTH COUNTRIES ADDED IN THE
END OF THIS VOLUME.

HISTORIE PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRINÆ.

1586.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

Sir HENRIE SIDNEIE Knight,

LORD DEPUTIE GENERALL OF IRELAND, LORD PRESIDENT OF WALES, KNIGHT OF THE MOST
NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIR MAIESTIES PRICIE COUNCELL
WITHIN HIR REALME OF ENGLAND.

TAKING in hand (right honorable) to gather the particular histories of diuerse countries and nations, to ioine with a cosmographie, which one Reginald Wolfe late printer to the queenes maiestie meant to publish in our English toong: when I came to consider of the histories of Ireland, I found my self so vnprouided of helps, to set downe anie particular discourse therof, that I was in despaire to enterprise to write anie thing at all concerning that realme, otherwise than incidentlie as fell to purpose to touch the same in the historie of England. At length yet as maister Wolfes vse was, to impart to me all such helps as he might at anie hand procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other histories, wherewith I speciallie dealt; his hap was to light also vpon a copie of two bookes of the Irish histories, compiled by one Edmund Campion, fellow sometime of S. Iohn Baptists college in Oxford, verie well penned certeinlie, but so breefe, as it were to be wished, that occasion had serued him to haue vsed more leasure, and thereby to haue deliuered to vs a larger discourse of the same histories: for as he himselfe confesseth, he had not past ten weekes space to gather his matter: a verie short time doubtlesse for such a peece of worke. But how breefe so euer I found him, at the persuation of maister Wolfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I resolved to make shift to frame a speciall historie of Ireland, in like maner as I had doone of other regions, following Campions order, and setting downe his owne words, except in places where I had matter to inlarge that (out of other authors) which he had written in breefe. And this I haue thought good to signifie, the rather for that I esteeme it good dealing in no wise to defraud him of his due deserued praise.

THE EPISTLE.

But now after I had continued the historie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cambrensis, Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare 1509, in which that famous prince Henrie the eight began his reigne; some of those that were to bestow the charges of the impression, procured a learned gentleman maister Richard Stanihurst, to continue it from thence forward as he saw occasion, being furnished with matter to inlarge the worke, whereof for those latter times I found my selfe vtterlie void, more than that which Campion had deliuered. What I haue doone heerein, your honors discretion shall easilie conceiue. For the imperfection sith it is the first that hath beene set foorth in print, I craue most humble pardon of your good lordship, beseeching you rather to respect my good will than the perfectnesse of the worke, which (the wants considered) for the orderlie furnishing thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, much lesse in me the meanest of all, and least able to performe it. Hauing presented the right honourable the earle of Leicester with the historie of Scotland, to whom (as I haue heard) Campion made dedication of his booke, I could not remember me to whome I might more conuenientlie offer this my trauell in this historie of Ireland, than to your lordship, being hir maiesties lieutenant in that realme. And therefore in most humble wise I exhibit the booke to your honour, beseeching the same to beare with my bold attempt therein, and to receiue it in good part from him that wished to haue more ampie satisfied your good lordships expectation, if abilitie might haue answered good will. Thus I beseech the Lord to guide your heart in his holie waies, & to furnish you with politike prudence and skilfull knowledge to gouerne in your estate and office, so as your dooings may redound to his glorie, the suertie of hir maiesties dominion there, your owne aduancement in honour, and consequentlie to the sure support and peaceable quietnesse of the true and loiall subiects of that realme.

Your honours most humble to command,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

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FOLLOWING IN
THE DESCRIPTION OF IRELAND.

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Chap. 5. |
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THE AUTHORS

OUT OF WHOM THIS

HISTORIE OF IRELAND

HATH BEEN GATHERED.

Giraldus Cambrensis.

Flatsburie.

Henricus Marleburgensis.

Saxo Grammaticus.

Albertus Crantz.

Rogerus Houeden.

Guilielm. Paruus Nouoburgensis.

Polychronicon, siue Ranulfus

Higeden.

Iohannes Bale.

Edmund Campion.

Records and rolles diuers.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

Sir HENRIE SIDNEIE Knight.

LORD DEPUTIE GENERALL OF IRELAND, LORD PRESIDENT OF WALES, KNIGHT OF THE MOST
NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIR MAIESTIES PRIUE
COUNCELL WITHIN HIR REALME OF ENGLAND.

MY verie good Lord, there haue beene diuerse of late, that with no small toile, and great commendation, haue throughlie imploied themselves, in culling and packing together the scrapings and fragments of the historie of Ireland. Among which crue, my fast friend, and inward companion, maister Edmund Campion did so learnedlie bequite himselfe, in the penning of certeine breefe notes, concerning that countrie, as certes it was greatlie to be lamented, that either his theame had not beene shorter, or else his leasure had not beene longer. For if Alexander were so rauisht with Homer his historie, that notwithstanding Thersites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outward feature so deformed, and in inward conditions so crooked, as he seemed to stand to no better steed, than to lead apes in hell: yet the valiant capteine, weighing how liuelie the golden poet hath set forth the ouglie dandepnat in his colours, did sooner wish to be Homer his Thersites, than to be the Alexander of that doltish rithmour, which vnder-tooke with his wooden verses to blase his famous and martiall exploits: how much more ought Ireland (being in sundrie ages seized of diuerse good and couragious Alexanders) sore to long and thirst after so rare a clarke, as maister Campion, who was so vpright in conscience, so deepe in iudgement, so ripe in eloquence, as the countrie might haue beene well assured to haue had their historie trulie reported, pithilie handled, and brauelie polished.

Howbeit,

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Howbeit, although the glose of his fine abbridgement, being matcht with other mens dooings, bare a surpassing kind of excellencie: yet it was so huddled vp in hast, as in respect of a Campion his absolute perfection, it seemed rather to be a woorke roughlie hewed, than smoothlie planed. Vpon which ground the gentleman being willing that his so tender a suckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, should haue beene swaddled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of time the ioints thereof were knit, and growen stronger: yet notwithstanding he was so crost in the nicke of this determination, that his historie in mitching wise wandred through sundrie hands, and being therewithall in certeine places somewhat tickle toonged (for maister Campion did learne it to speake) and in other places ouer spare, it twitled more tales out of schoole, and drowned weightier matters in silence, than the author (vpon better view and longer search) would haue permitted. Thus much being by the sager sort pondered, and the perfection of the historie earnestlie desired: I, as one of the most that could doo least, was fullie resolved to enrich maister Campion his chronicle, with further additions. But weighing on the other side, that my course pack-thred could not haue beene sutable knit with his fine silke, and what a disgrace it were, bunglerlie to botch vp a rich garment, by clouting it with patches of sundrie colours, I was forthwith reclaimed from my former resolution, reckoning it for better, that my pen should walke in such wise in that craggie and balkish waie, as the truth of the matter being forprised, I would neither openlie borrow, nor priuilie imbezell ought to anie great purpose from his historie. But as I was hammering that worke by stealths on the anuill, I was giuen to vnderstand by some of mine acquaintance, that others had brought our raw historie to that ripenesse, as my paine therein would seeme but needlesse. Wherevpon being willing to be eased of the burden, and loath also in lurching wise to forstall anie man his trauell, I was contented to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietlie to repaire to mine vsuall and pristinat studies, taking it not to stand with good maners, like a flittering flie to fall in an other man his dish. Howbeit the little paine I tooke therein was not so secretlie mewed within my closet, but it slipt out at one chinke or other, and romed so farre abroad, as it was whispered in their eares, who before were in the historie busied. The gentlemen conceiuing a greater opinion of me, than I was well able to vphold, dealt verie effectuallic with me, that as well at their instance, as for the affection I bare my natiue countrie, I would put mine helping hand to the
building

THE EPISTLE.

building and perfecting of so commendable a worke. Having breathed for a few daies on this motion, albeit I knew that my worke was plumed with downe, and at that time was not sufficientlie feathered to flie: yet I was by them weied not to beare my selfe coy, by giuing my entier friends in so reasonable a request a squemish repulse. Wherefore, my singular good lord, here is laid downe to your lordship his view a briefe discourse, with a iagged historie of a ragged wealepublike. Yet as naked as at the first blush it seemeth, if it shall stand with your honor his pleasure (whom I take to be an expert lapidarie) at vacant houres to insearch it, you shall find therein stones of such estimation, as are worth to be coucht in rich and pretious collars. And in especiall your lordship, aboue all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrie, maie here be schooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in perusing this historie, you shall find vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, loialtie exalted, haughtinesse disliked, courtesie beloued, briberie detested, iustice imbraced, polling officers to their perpetuall shame reprooued, and vpriight gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And trulie to my thinking, such magistrats as meane to haue a vigilant eie to their charge, can not bestow their time better, than when they sequester themselues from the affaires of the wealepublike, to recreat and quicken their spirits by reading the chronicles that decipher the gouernement of a wealepublike. For as it is no small commendation for one to beare the dooings of manie, so it breedeth great admiration, generallie to haue all those qualities in one man harboured, for which particularlie diuerse are eternised. And who so will be addicted to the reading of histories, shall readilie find diuerse euentis worthie to be remembred, and sundrie sound examples dailie to be followed. Vpon which ground the learned haue, not without cause, adiudged an historie to be the marrow of reason, the creame of experience, the sap of wisdom, the pith of iudgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the vnfoldresse of treacherie, the kalendar of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctresse of behauour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiuallrie. And that our Irish historie being diligentlie heeded, yeeldeth all these commodities, I trust the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwining thereof, will not denie. But if anie man his stomach shall be found so tenderlie niced, or so deintilie spiced, as that he maie not, forsooth, digest the grosse draffe of so base a countrie, I doubt not, but your lordship, who is thoroughlie acquainted with the
woorthinesse

THE EPISTLE.

woorthinesse of the Iland, will be soone persuaded to leaue such quaint and licourous repastours, to feed on their costlie and delicate woodcocks, & willinglie to accept the louing present of your heartie welwiller. The gift is small, the giuer his good will is great, I stand in good hope, that the greatnesse of the one will counterpoise the smalnesse of the other. Wherefore that I maie the sooner vnbroid the pelfish trash that is wrapt within this treatise, I shall craue your lordship to lend me either your cares in hearing, or your eies in reading the tenor of the discourse following.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.

A TREATISE

CONTAINING

A PLAINE AND PERFECT

DESCRIPTION OF IRELAND,

With an Introduction to the better Vnderstanding of the
Histories appertaining to that Iland:

COMPILED BY RICHARD STANIHURST.

THE NAMES OF IRELAND, WITH THE COMPASSE OF THE SAME, ALSO WHAT SHIRES
OR COUNTIES IT CONTEINETH, THE DIUISION OR PARTITION OF THE LAND,
AND OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE.

CHAPTER I.

THE more part aswel of Cosmographers, as Chronographers, do with on accorde affirme, that the nation of Ireland (the vttermost weasterne Ile known) is halfe as big as Britannia. Which I take to be true, if the word Britannia so farre displaie the signification, that it comprise England, Wales, and Scótländ. To which opinion Giraldus Cambrensis relieth, saieing, that Britannia conteineth in length eight hundred miles, and two hundred in breadth. Ireland he taketh to be in length from the mounteins called Torrach (the author of Polychronicon termeth them Brendane his hilles) to saint Columbe his Iland eight daies iourneie, rating of long Irish miles fortie miles to the daie: and in breadth from Dublin to saint Patrike his hilles and the sea of Connaght foure daies iorneie, according to the former rate. So as by Cambrensis his surueie, who was a curious insearcher therof, Ireland is thrée hundred & twentie miles long of Irish miles, and one hundred and three score miles broad. And accounting thrée hundred and twentie Irish miles to amount to foure hundred English miles, which may well be reckoned according to their iudgements that haue trauelled in the Irish territories; Ireland will be found halfe as big as Britannia: which Girald. Cambrensis auoucheth, saieing, that Ireland is as big as Wales and Scotland. Ireland hath on the east, England, within one daies sailing; on the southeast it hath France; Hispaine on the south, distant thrée daies sailing; on the west the maine ocean sea.

The length and breadth of Ireland. Girald. Cambrensis, l. b. i. topog. dist. i. lib. 2. Polychron. lib. 1. cap. 32.

Touching the name Ibernia, historiographers are not yet agreed from whence it is deducted. Some write it Hibernia corruptlie, and suppose that the strangers finding it in an od end of the world, foistie and moistie, tooke it at the first for a verie cold countrie, and thereof named it Hibernia, as to saie, the Winter land. But this error being vpon short experience reformed, it could not be that the name should haue liued long, especiallie the first impositors suruiuing the triall, and able

The name Ibernia whence it proceedeth.

to alter the first nomination. Others bring a ghesse, that it should be named of Irlamale. But because I read nothing of them in anie probable historie, I purpose not to build vpon that coniecture.

Most crediblie it is holden, that the Hispaniards (the founders of the Irish) for deuotion towards Hispaine, called then Iberia of Iberius the sonne of Iuball, and the rather, for that themselues had dwelled beside the famous riuer Iberus, named the land Iberia (for so Leland and manie forren chroniclers write it) or Ibernia, adding the letter (n) for difference sake. And from Ibernia procéedeth Iberland, or Iuerland; from Iuerland, by contraction Ireland: forsomuch as in corruption of common talke we find that (u) with his vocale is easilie lost and suppressed; so we saie ere for euer, nere for neuer, shoole for shoouell, ore for ouer, ene for euen, dile for diuell. At the same time it was also named Scotia, in reterence of Scotach the wife of Gathelus, ancient capteine of those Iberians that flitted from Hispaine into Ireland: & the said Scotach was old grandame to Hiberus and Hermon after the Scottish chronicles, who in anie wise will haue their countriment deriued from the Irish, and not from the Britons. The name Scotia is of late yeares so vsuallie taken for that part of Britaine that compriseth Scotland, that diuerse ancient Irish authors are holden to be borne in Scotland, wheras in verie déed their natiue soile is Ireland. As the famous schooleman Iohannes Duns Scotus, otherwise named Doctor subtilis, for his subtill quiddities in scholasticall controuersies, was an Irish man borne, and yet is taken for a Scot.

Some hold opinion that he was borne in Thathmon, a market towne five miles distant from Weiseford. Others auouch, and that more trulie, that he was borne in Downe, an old ancient ciuitie in the north of Ireland, and thereof they ghesse him to be named Dunensis, and by contraction Duns, which tearme is so triuiall and common in all schools, that whoso surpasseth others either in cauilling sophistrie, or subtill philosophie, is forthwith nickenamed a Duns. Wherefore as Scotland is named Scotia minor, so Ireland is tearmed Scotia maior, as the head from whence the name of Scotia minor tooke his offspring. The Irish also were named of the foresaid Gathelus, or Gaudeilus, Gaudeili. In their Irish rithmes, they tearme Ireland verie often Banno. I cannot diuine what reason should lead their makers therto, vnlesse it be the riuer in the countie of Weiseford, named the Banne, where the Britons vpon the conquest first arriued. The place otherwise is called Bagganbun, according to the old ancient rithme:

At the creeke of Bagganbun,
Ireland was lost and wun.

For the remembrance of which riuer so notoriouslie famosed, it carieth great likelihood, that the name should be to the whole realme generallie ascribed. Sundrie Latine authors write Ireland Inuerna, others Iuerna, diuerse Ijerna. Claudius nameth it Ibernna. The diuersitie of which names grew, for that in their time the true and certeine name was not knowne, so that they were contented to take it as they found it, which matter is handled by Hermolaus Barbarus.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in seuering the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would be named Ireland men, but in no wise Irishmen. But certes, in my fantasie such curious distinctors may be verie aptlie resembled to the foolish butcher, that offred to haue sold his mutton for fiftéene grots, and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate vpon such nice diuersities, in respect that he is ashamed of his countrie; trulie (in mine opinion) his countrie maie be ashamed of him. Ireland is diuided into foure regions, Leinster, east: Connaght, west: Vlster, north: Mounster, south: and into a fift plot, defalked from euerie fourth part, and yet mearing on each part, called thereof Media, Méeth, comprising as well east Méeth, as west Méeth. Leinster butteth vpon England, Ulster vpon the Scottish

Iberus the His-
paniard.
Iberus the His-
paniard.

Scotach.
Gathelus.

Iohannes Duns
Scot. lib. 1. ca.
9.

Iohannes Duns
Scotus borne
in Ireland.

Whyschoolemen
are called
Dunses.

Scotia maior.
Scotia minor.
Gaudeili.

Banno.

The riuer.
Banne.

Bagganbun.

Inuerna.
Iuan. Cametter in
cap. 35.
Solini.

Hermol. Barb.
ca. 1. in lib. 4.
Ihm. castig.
The name Irish
and Ireland curi-
ously seuered.

1. Lagenia.
2. Connatia.
3. Hultonia.
4. Media.
5. Méeth.
West Méeth.
East Méeth.

Scottish Islands; which face with Hebrides scattered betweene both the realms, ^{Hebrides.} wherein at this daie the Irish Scot, successor of the elder Scithian, Pict, or Red-shanke dwelleth. Ech of these five, where they are framable to ciuilitie, & answer the writs of the princes courts, be sundred into shires or counties in this manner. ^{The shires and counties of Ireland.} In Leinster lieth the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weiseford, or Gueisford, Catherlach, Kilkennie, the counties of Leise & Ophalie, called the kings and quéenes counties: these two latelie so named by parlement, in the reignes of Philip and Marie, hauing shire townes accordant, Philips towne, and Marie bourgh. Con-naght hath the countie Clare: Vlster the counties of Louth, Doune, Antrim, one moitie of the towne of Droghedagh (for the rest is in Méeth) and Carregfergus. In Mounster lie the counties of Waterford, Limerike, Corke, the countie palantine of Tipperarie, Kerie, & the crosse of Tipperarie. Mounster was of old time diuided into east Mounster, Ormond, west Mounster, Desmond, south Mounster, Toon-mound. The occasion why Ireland was parted into these five principall regions grew of this. There arriued in Ireland five brethren, that were valiant & martiall gentlemen; to wit, Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, otherwise named Gangandus, ^{These five brethren were the sons of the king of Ireland.} Rutheragus or Rutheranus, & Slanius. These five perceiuing that the countrie was not sufficientlie peopled, were agreed (as it were) to cast lots, and to share the whole realme betweene themselues. The foure elder brethren seuering the countrie into foure parts, and being loth to vse their yoongest brother like an outcast or stepsonne, condescended that each of them foure should of their owne portion allot to Slanius a paring or parcell of their inheritance. Which being as heartlie receiued of Slanius, as it was bountifullie granted by them, he setled himselfe therein, and of that partition it tooke the appellation of Media, Méeth. ^{Méeth whense it is named.} The foure parts méet at a certeine stone at Méeth, néere the castell of Kilaire, as an indif-ferent meare to seuer the foure regions.

But although Slanius in the beginning had the least parcell, yet in short space he stood so well to his tacklings, and incroched so far vpon his neighbors, that he obtained the whole monarchie of Ireland. At which time he did not suppress in obliuion his inheritance of Meeth; but did inlarge it, and decreéd it should be a countrie appendant to the monarch his diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by Slanius stretched, yet it containeth not so much land as anie of the other foure parts comprehendeth; but rather by indifferent surueie, the halfe deale, whereof also it is not vnlikelie named Méeth. For whereas in the time of Slanius, each of the foure parts compriseth two and thirtie cantreds, Meeth con-teineth but sixteene cantreds. ^{Cantred.} A cantred is named so much land as containeth an hundred townships. This Slanius is intoomed at an hill in Méeth, which of him is named Slane. There hath béene in ancient time one Galfride Geneuile, lord of the libertie of Meeth. ^{Slane. Galfride Geneuile.} This noble man became a frier preacher, and deceded in the yeare of our Lord 1314, the twentieth of October, and was intoomed in the abbeie of the Black friers at Trim.

There is also another diuision of Ireland, into the English pale, and Irishrie. ^{The English pale.} For when Ireland was subdued by the English, diuerse of the conquerors planted themselues néere to Dublin, and the confines thereto adioining, and so as it were inclosing and impaling themselues within certeine lists and territories, they feazed awaie the Irish; insomuch as that countrie became méere English, and thereof it was termed the English pale: which in ancient time stretched from Dundalke to Catherlagh or Kilkennie. But now what for the slacknesse of marchours, and incroching of the Irish enimie, the scope of the English pale is greatlie impaired, & is cramped and coucht into an od corner of the countrie named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land, Méeth, the countries of Kildare and Louth, which parts are applied chietlie with good husbandrie, and taken for the richest and

Fingall ex-
celled in
husbandrie.
Colloquies of
Fingall.
Clowne.
Fingall, why so
named.

The civilitie of
Ireland in an-
cient time.

Weisford whole
English.
The Pill.

The sayeng of a
noble man
touching the
English of Weis-
ford.

Old English in
Weisford and
Fingall.

Eaten.

The pronun-
tiation of the Irish
women.

civilest soiles in Ireland. But Fingall especiallie from time to time hath bin so addicted to all the points of husbandrie, as that they are nickenamed by their neighbours, for their continuall drudgerie, Collonnes, of the Latine word Coloni, wherevnto the elipt English word clowne seemeth to be answerable.

The word Fingall counteruaileth in English the race or sept of the English or ostrangers, for that they were solie seized of that part of the Iland, griping with their talants so firmelie that warme nest, that from the conquest to this daie the Irish enimie could neuer rouse them from thense. The inhabitants of the English pale haue béene in old time so much addicted to their ciuilitie, and so farre seques-tered from barbarous sauagenesse, as their onelie mother toong was English. And trulie, so long as these impaled dwellers did sunder themselues as well in land as in language from the Irish: rudenesse was daie by daie in the countrie supplanted, ciuilitie ingrafted, good lawes established, loialtie obserued, rebellion suppressed, and in fine the coine of a yoong England was like to shoot in Ireland. But when their posteritie became not altogether so warie in kéeping, as their ancestors were valiant in conquering, the Irish language was frée dennized in the English pale: this canker tooke such déepe root, as the bodie that before was whole and sound, was by little and little festered, and in manner wholie putrified. And not onlie this parcell of Ireland grew to that éiuilitie, but also Vlster and the greater part of Mounster, as by the sequele of the Irish historie shall plainlie appéere. But of all other places, Weisford with the territorie baied and perclosed within the riuier called the Pill, was so quite estranged from Irishrie, as if a traoueller of the Irish, (which was rare in those daies) had pitcht his foot within the Pill and spoken Irish, the Weisfordians would command him foorthwith to turne the other end of his toong and speake English, or els bring his trouchman with him. But in our daies they haue so acquainted themselues with the Irish, as they haue made a mingle mangle or gallimaufreie of both the languages, and haue in such medleie or checkerwise so crabbedlie iumbled them both together, as commonlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neither good English nor good Irish.

There was of late daies one of the péeres of England sent to Weisford as commis-sioner, to decide the controuersies of that countrie; and hearing in affable wise the rude complaints of the countrie clowns, he conceiued here & there some time a word, other whiles a sentence. The noble man being verie glad, that vpon his first comming to Ireland, he vnderstood so manie words, told one of his familiar friends, that he stood in verie great hope to become shortlie a well spoken man in the Irish, supposing that the blunt people had pratled Irish, all the while they iangled English. Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are left as well there as in Fingall, as they terme a spider, an attercop, a wisp, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket, a sillibucke, a copprous, a faggot, a blease, or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I iudge) a physician, a leach, a gap, a shard, a base court or quadrangle, a bawen, or rather (as I doo suppose) a barton, the houshold or folks, meanie, sharpe, kéene, estrange, vncouth, easie, éeth or écfé, a dunghill, a mizen. As for the word bater, that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a méere Irish word that crept vnwares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus seemed to haue observed: yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For the women haue in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with vttering their words so péevishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie in words of two syllables they giue the last the accent: as they saie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pusscoat, Robart, Niclase,

Niclas, &c: which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English.

Here percase some snappish carper will take me at rebound, and snuffinglie snib me for debasing the Irish language: but trulie, whosoeuer shall be found so ouerthwartlie bent, he takes the matter farre awrie. For as my skill is verie simple therein, so I would be loth to disueile my rashnes, in giuing light verdict in anie thing to me vnknown: but onelie my short discourse tendeth to this drift, that it is not expedient that the Irish toong should be so vniuersallie gagled in the English pale: because that by prooffe and experience we see, that the pale was neuer in more flourishing estate than when it was wholie English, and neuer in woorsse plight than since it hath infranchised the Irish. But some will saie, that I shew my selie herein as friuolous as some loosing gamsters seeme superstitious, when they plaie themselues drie, they gogle with their eies hither and thither, and if they can prie out anie one that giueth them the gaze, they stand lumping and lowring, fretting and fuming, for that they imagine that all their euill lucke proceeded of him: and yet if the stander by depart, the looser may be found as drie shauen as he was before. And euen so it fareth with you, because you see all things run to ruine in the English pale, by reason of great enormities in the countrie, either openlie practised, or couertlie winked at; you glanse your eie on that which standeth next you, & by beating Jacke for Gill, you impute the fault to that which perhaps would little further the weale publike if it were exiled. Now trulie you shoot verie néere the marke. But if I may craue your patience till time you see me shoot my bolt, I hope you will not denie, but that as néere the pricke as you are, and as verie an hagler as I am, yet the scantling shall be mine. First therefore take this with you, that a conquest draweth, or at the leastwise ought to draw to it thrée things, to wit, law, apparell, and language. For where the countrie is subdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same law that the conqueror is gouerned, to weare the same fashion of attire wherwith the victor is vested, and speake the same language that the vanquisher parleth. And if anie of these thrée lacke, doubtlesse the conquest limpeth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin by lawfull conquest brought vnder the subiection of England, not onelie in king Henrie the second his reigne, but also as well before as after (as by the discourse of the Irish historie shall euidentlie be deciphered) and the conquest hath béene so absolute and perfect, that all Leinster, Meth, Vlster, the more part of Connagh and Mounster, all the ciuities and burroughs in Ireland haue béene wholie Englished, and with English conquerors inhabited, is it decent (thinke you) that their owne ancient natiue toong shall be shrowded in obliuion, and suffer the enemies language, as it were a tetter or ringworme, to harbor it selfe within the iawes of English conquerors? No trulie.

And now that I haue fallen vnawares into this discourse, it will not be farre amisse to stand somewhat roundlie vpon this point. It is known, and by the historie you may in part perceiue, how brauelie Vlster whilom flourished. The English families were there implanted, the Irish either vtterlie expelled or wholie subdued, the laws duly executed, the reuenue great, and onelie English spoken. But what brought it to this present ruine and decaie? I doubt not but you gesse before I tell you. They were inuironed and compassed with euill neighbours. Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance waffed in the Irish toong, the Irish hooked with it attire, attire haled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendered ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion raked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the vtter decaie and desolation of that worthie countrie. If these chinks, when first they began to chap, had béene diligentlie

diligentlie by the dwellers stopped; hir maiestie at this daie, to hir great charges, should not haue béene occasioned to dam vp with manie thousand pounds. yea and with the worthe carcasses of valiant souldiors, the gaps of that rebellious northerne countrie.

Now put the case that the Irish toong were as sacred as the Hebrue, as learned as the Gréeke, as fluent as the Latine, as amorous as the Italian, as courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the French; yet trulie (I know not which waie it falleth out) I see not but it may be verie well spared in the English pale. And if reason will not lead you to thinke it, trulie experience must force you to grant it.

*Cl. lib. 2. de
eas.*

In old time, when the Romans were first acquainted with the Gréeke toong, as it is commonlie the nature of man to be delighted with newfangle wares: so he was accounted no gallant among the Romans, that could not prattle and chat Gréeke. Marcus Cicero father to Tullie, being at that time stept in yeares, perceiuing his countrymen to become changelings, in being bilwise and polmad, and to sucke with the Gréeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in words talkatiue, in behauour light, in conditions quaint, in manners hautie, in promises vnstedfast, in oths rash, in bargains wauering (which were reckoned for Gréekish properties in those daies) the old gentleman not so much respecting the neatnesse of the language, as the naughtie fruit it brought with it; said, that his countrymen the Romans resembled the bondslaues of Siria; for the more perfect they were in the Greeke, the worse they were in their manners and life. If this gentleman had béene now liuing, and had séene what alteration hath happened in Ireland, through the intercourse of languages, he would (I dare saie) breake patience, and would demand whie the English pale is more giuen to learne the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learne English: we must imbrace their language, and they detest ours. One demanded merilie whie Oneile that last was would not frame himselfe to speake English? What (quoth the other) in a rage, thinkest thou that it standeth with Oneile his honor to writh his mouth in clattering English? and yet forsooth we must gag our iawes in gibbrishing Irish? But I dwell too long in so apparent a matter. As all the ciuities & towns in Ireland, with Fingall, the king his land, Meth, the countie of Kildare, Louth, Weisford, speake to this daie English (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitants of the English pale, vpon their first repaire into England, to learne their English in three or foure daies, as though they had bought at Chester a grotes worth of English, and so packt vp the rest to be carried after them to London) euen so in all other places their natieue language is Irish.

Oneile whie he
would not learne
English.

*Camb. lib. 1.
dist. 3. rub. 8.
The founder of
the Irish lan-
guage.*

I find it solemnelie aduouched, aswell in some of the Irish pamphlets as in Girald. Camb. that Gathelus or Gaidelus, & after him Simon Brecke, deuised the Irish language out of all other toongs then extant in the world. And thereof (saith Cambrensis) it is called Gaidelach, partlie of Gaidelus the first founder, and partlie for that it is compounded of all languages. But considering the course of interchanging and blending of speeches together, not by inuention of art, but by vse of talke, I am rather led to beléeue (séeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the diuision of toongs) that Bastolenus a branch of Japhet, who first seized vpon Ireland, brought thither the same kind of spéech, some of the 72 that to this familie befell at the desolation of Babell. Vnto whom succeeded the Scithians, Grecians, Egyptians, Spaniards, Danes, of all which the toong must néeds haue borrowed part, but especiallie reteining the steps of Spanish then spoken in Granado, as from their mightiest ancestors. Since then to Henrie Fitzempresse the conqueror no such inuasion happened them, as whereby they might be driuen to infect their natieue language, vntouched in manner for the space of seuteene hundred yeares after the arriall of Iberius. It seemeth to borrow of the Spanish the common
phrase,

Bastolenus.

*Epiphan. cont.
bar lib. 1.
1. torn. 1.*

phrase, *Comestato*, that is, How doo you? or how fareth it with you? It fetcheth sundrie words from the Latine, as arget of *Argentum*, monie; salle of *salt*, salt; cappoullie of *Caballus*, a plough horssse, or (according vnto the old English terme) a caball or caple: birreat of the old motheaten Latine word *Birretum*, a bonnet. The toong is sharpe and sententious, & offereth great occasion to quicke apophthegms and proper allusions. Wherefore their common iesters and rimers, whom they terme Bards, are said to delight passinglie these that conceiue the grace and pro-
 pertie of the toong. But the true Irish indéed differeth so much from that they
 commonlie speake, that scarce one in fíue hundred can either read, write, or vnder-
 stand it. Therefore it is preserued among certeine of their poets and antiquaries.
 And in verie déed the language carrieth such difficultie with it, what for the
 strangenesse of the phrase, and the curious featnes of the pronuntiation, that a verie
 few of the countrie can atteine to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forrener
 or stranger.

Bards.

The obscuritie
of the true Irish.

The difficultie.

A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported, that he did see a woman in Rome, which was possessed with a babling spirit, that could haue chatted anie language sauing the Irish: and that it was so difficult, as the verie diuell was grauelled therewith. A gentleman that stood by answered, that he tooke the speech to be so sacred and holie, that no damned féend had the power to speake it; no more than they are able to saie (as the report goeth) the verse of saint John the euangelist, "*Et*
verbum caro factum est." Naie by God his mercie man (quoth the other) I stand in
 doubt (I tell you) whether the apostles in their copious mart of languages at Jeru-
 salem could haue spoken Irish, if they were apposed: whereat the companie heartilie
 laughed. As fluent as the Irish toong is, yet it lacketh diuerse words, and bor-
 roweth them verbatim of the English. As there is no vulgar Irish word (vnlesse
 there be some od terme that lurketh in anie obscure shrowds or other of their
 storehouse) for a cote, a gowne, a dublet, an hat, a drinking cup: but onelie they
 vse the same words with a little inflexion. They vse also the contracted English
 phrase, God morrow, that is to saie, God giue you a good morning.

John 1. verse 14.

The want of the
Irish.

I haue apposed sundrie times the expertest men that could be had in the countrie, and all they could neuer find out an equiualent Irish word for knaue. The Grecians (according to Tullie his iudgement) were in the same predicament as touching the terme *Ineptus*: his words are these. "*Ego meherculè ex omnibus Latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam semper putaui. Quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quòd non sit aptus, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlatè patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cumulata est eruditissima illa Græcorum natio. Itaque qui vim huius mali Græci non viderent, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Vt enim quæras omnia, quomodo Græci ineptum appellent, non reperies.*"

No Irish word
for knaue.Lib. 2. de erat.
Ineptus.

Certes I haue béene of opinion (saith Tullie) that amongst the whole crue of Latine terms the word *Ineptus* hath béene of greatest importance or weight. For he, whom we name *Ineptus*, seemeth to me to haue the etymologie or ofspring of his name here hense deriued, that he is not apt; which stretcheth far and wide in the vsuall custome of our dailie spéech or communication. For he that dooth not perceiue what is fitting or decent for euerie season, or gableth more than he hath commission to doo, or that in bragging, bosting, or peacockwise setteth himselfe foorth to the gaze, by making more of the broth, than the flesh is worth; or he that regardeth not the vocation and affaires of them, with whome he intermedleth: or in fine, who so is stale without grace, or ouer tedious in anie matter, he is

learned

Saucines.

Bude. lib. 2. de
Arte. & part.
ciue.

Irish boagh.

Fough.

tearmed *Ineptus*; which is asmuch in English, in my phantasie, as saucie, or malapert. The famous & learned Greeke nation is generallie dused with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not spie the enormitie thereof, they haue not so much as framed a terme thereto. For if you should ransacke the whole Greeke language, you shall not find a word to counteruaile *Ineptus*. Thus far Tullie. Yet Budæus would not séeme to acknowledge this barrenesse, but that the Greeke word ἀπειροκαλος is equisalent to *Ineptus*: but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being verie willing to find out some other Budæus, that could fashion an Irish word for knaue, whereof this discourse of *Ineptus* grew. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is said, so each parcell differeth verie much in the Irish toong, euerie cuntry hauing his dialect, or peculiar maner in speaking the language: therefore commonlie in Ireland they ascribe a propertie to each of the foure countries in this sort. Vlster hath the right Irish phrase, but not the true pronounciation; Munster hath the true pronounciation, but not the phrase; Leinster is deuoid of the right phrase, and true pronounciation; Connaght hath both the right phrase and true pronounciation. There is a cholerike or disdainfull interiection vsed in the Irish language called Boagh, which is as much in English as twish. The Irish both in ancient time and to this daie commonlie vse it, and therefore the English conquerors called them Irish poghes, or pogh Morice. Which tawnting terme is at this daie verie wrongfullie ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interiection, Fough, which is vsed in lothing a ranke or strong sauour, seemeth to be sib to the other.

OF THE NATURE OF THE SOILE, AND OTHER INCIDENTS.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Aqua vitæ.

Theoric. epis.
Hermenensis in
Romanula iuxta
Bononiam.The commodi-
ties of Aqua
vitæ.Vlt. in celo phi-
los. vel de se-
cret. nat. cap. 11.

THE soile is low and waterish, including diuerse little Ilands, inuironed with lakes & marrish. Highest hils haue standing pooles in their tops. Inhabitants especiallie new come, are subiect to distillations, rheumes and fluxes. For remedie whereof, they vse an ordinarie drinke of *Aqua vitæ*, being so qualified in the making, that it drieth more, and also inflameth lesse than other hot confections doo. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of *Aqua vitæ*, wherein he praiseth it vnto the ninth degré. He distinguisheth thre sorts thereof, *Simplex*, *Composita*, and *Perfectissima*. He declareth the simples and ingrediencies thereto belonging. He wisheth it to be taken as well before meat as after. It drieth up the breaking out of hands, and killeth the flesh wormes, if you wash your hands therewith. It scowreth all scurfe & scalds from the head, being therewith dailie washt before meales. Being moderatlie taken (saith he) it sloweth age, it strengthneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth flegme, it abandoneth melancholie, it relisheth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, it cureth the hydropsie, it healeth the strangurie, it pounceth the stone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth awaie all ventositie, it kéepeth and preserueth the head from whirling, the eies from dazeling, the toong from lispig, the mouth from maffling, the teeth from chattering, and the throte from ratling: it kéepeth the weasan from stifling, the stomach from wambling, and the heart from swelling, the bellie from wirtching, the guts from rumbling, the hands from shiuering, & the sinewes from shrinking, the veines from crumpling, the bones from aking, & the marrow from soaking. Vlstadius also ascribeth thereto a singular praise, and would haue it to burne being kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the goodnesse thereof. And trulie it is a souereigne liquor, if it be orderlie taken.

The

The aire is verie holesome, not generallie so cleare and subtill as that of England. The weather is more temperat, being not so warme in summer, nor cold in winter, as it is in England and Flanders. The countrie is stored with bees, contrarie to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors, touching this countrie, may easilie be excused, as those that wrote by hearesaie. No vineyards, yet grapes grow there as in England. They doo lacke the Robucke, as Polychronicon writeth. *Poly. lib. 1. cap. 32.* They also lacke the bird called the pie. Howbeit in the English pale to this daie, they vse to tearme a slic cousener, a wille pie. *Wille pie Camb. part. 1. dist. 3.* Giraldus Cambrensis in his time complaineth, that Ireland had excesse of wood, & verie little champaine ground; but now the English pale is too naked: turffe is their most fewell and seacole. No venomous creeping beast is brought forth, or nourished, or can liue in Ireland, being brought or sent. *No venomous worms in Ireland.* And therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne not to be venomous, onelie because a frog was found lieng in the medowes of Waterford somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their ouerthrow. *Camb. part. 1. dist. 1.*

Bede writeth, that serpents conueied into Ireland did presentlie die, being touched with the smell of the land, that whatsoever came from Ireland was then of soueraigne vertue against poison. He exemplifieth in certeine men, stung of adders, who dranke in water the scrapings of bookes that had béene of Ireland, and were cured. Generallie it is obserued, the further west, the lesse annoiance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it laie long in question, to whether realme, Britaine or Ireland, the Ile of Man should appertene. *The controuersie of the Ile of Man decided.* The said controuersie was decided, that for somuch as venomous beasts were knowne to bréed therein, it could not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrariwise, the Orchades are adiudged to be appendant to Ireland, because those Ilands, neither bréed nor foster anie venomous worme, as Hector Boetius auoucheth. *Orchades appendant to Ireland. Hector Boet. in Scot. reg. descrip. pag. 9. Sect. 50. Camb. topo. lib. 1. dist. 1. rub. 29.* Giraldus Cambrensis writeth that he heard certeine merchants affirme, that when they had vnladen their ships in Ireland they found by hap some toads vnder their balast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, than they would puffe and swell vnmeasurablie, & shortlie after turning vp their bellies, they would burst in sunder. And not onelie the earth and dust of Ireland, but also the verie thongs of Irish leather haue the verie same force and vertue. I haue séene it, saith Cambrensis, experimented, that a toad being incompassed with a thong of Irish leather, and créeping thitherward, indeuoring to haue skipt ouer it, suddenlie reculed backe, as though it had béene rapt in the head: wherevpon it began to sprall to the other side. But at length perceiuing that the thong did embaie it of all parts, it began to thirle, and as it were to dig the earth, where finding an hole, it slanke awaie in the presence of sundrie persons. *Cam. ibid. rub. 20. 31. Irish leather expelleth venomous wormes.*

It happened also in my time, saith Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the north of England a knot of yongkers tooke a **nap** in the fields: as one of them laie snorting with his mouth gaping, as though he would haue caught flies, it happened that a snake or adder slipt into his mouth, and glided downe into his bellie, where harboring it selfe, it began to roame vp and downe, and to féede on the yoong man his entrals. The patient being sore distracted and aboue measure tormented with the biting pangs of this gréedie ghest, incessantlie praied to God, that if it stood with his gracious will, either wholie to bereaue him of his life, or else of his vnspeakeable mercie to ease him of his paine. The worme would neuer ceasse from gnawing the patient his carcasse, but when he had taken his repast, and his meat was no sooner digested, than it would giue a fresh onset in boring his guts. Diuerse remedies were sought, and medicins, pilgrimages to saints, but all could not preuaile. Being at length schooled by the graue aduise of some sage and expert father, that willed him to make his spéedie repaire to Ireland, would tract no time, but busked himselfe ouer sea, and arriued in Ireland. He did no sooner drinke of the water of that *Camb. in code's loc.* Island

Iland, and taken of the vittels of Ireland, but forthwith he kild the snake, auoided it downeward, and so being lustie and liuelie he returned into England. Thus far Giraldus Cambrensis.

Whether venemous wormes were expelled Ireland through the prayers of saint Patrike.

P. 149. r. lib. 1. cap. 32.

There be some that moue question, whether the want of venemous wormes be to be imputed to the propertie of the soile, or to be ascribed to the praiers of saint Patrike, who conuerted that Iland. The greater part father it on saint Patrike, especiallie such as write his life aswell apart, as in the legend of Irish saints. Giraldus Cambrensis disaffirmeth flatlie that opinion, and taketh it to be a secret or hidden propertie naturallie vnited to the soile, from whom Polychronicon dooth not swarue. For my part as I am wedded to neither of both the opinions, so I would haue béene easilie persuaded, being neither hot nor cold in the matter, to rest as a lukewarme neuter, in omitting the one and the other vnskind, were it not that one maister Alan Cope, or some other that masketh vnder his visours, more slanderouslie than pithilie had busied himselfe therein. Wherefore, sith I may with better warrant defend my natue countrie, than he or his betters may reprocue it, especiallie where his slanderous reports are vnderpropt with flim flam surmises: I purpose vnder maister Cope his correction to cope and buckle with him herein: and before he beare the ball to the goale, to trip him if I may in the way. And because (gentle reader) I mind to make thée an indifferent vmpier in this controuersie, for the better vnderstanding of the matter, I will laie downe maister Cope his words, in such wise as they are imprinted in his booke. First therefore thou must vnderstand, that his booke is made in dialog wise, a kind of writing as it is vsed, so commended of the learned. In these dialogs Irenæus an Englishman and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts. Irenæus entreth into the stage, and in this wise beginneth.

Alan Copus dialog. 3. aed. 28.

“Incipiam à sancto Paulo: nosti in Melita (quam hodie Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam à manu pendentem in ignem excussisse. In ea insula scorpiones, qui alibi eunt lætales, Pauli, vt creditur, munere sunt innoxij.

“*Critobulus.* Fortasse hoc habet à natura.

“*Irenæus.* Falleris: nam insulani, vt Lucas refert, clamabant, delatum eò parricidam, cui cùm mare pepercisset, irati dij serpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent: nec quicquam magis quàm præsentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cùm ille tantùm abesset, vt nihil omnino damni aut doloris inde sentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè supra hominem esse, & deum sub humana specie.

“*Critobulus.* Sic est, vt dicis.

“*Irenæus.* Cætera itaque audi. E specu, ad quem diuertisse dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota fermè Europa salutare Adhæc, quos nasci octauo calendas Februarij contingit (qui dies conuersionis eius memoriæ dicatus est) quæcunque eos orbis pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imò, quod magis est, sola salua horum morsibus medentur. Id quod homo doctissimus & diligentissimus Thomas Fazellus nuper prodidit, vsu ipso rerum, & certis, ni fallor, exemplis ab eo obseruatum.

Thomas Fazellus.

“*Critobulus.* Ista quidem digna sunt obseruatione: & iam recordor, me legisse ac sapiùs audisse, precibus beati Patricij Hiberniæ apostoli, ei regioni simile beneficium indultum, ne ea insula aliquid lætale pariat. Dicit fortassè inde à nonnullis solet, nihil esse in Hibernia venenati præter ipsos homines, quod propter feros & agrestes eorum mores dictum à plerisque accipitur.

Bed. lib. 1. Ang. hist. c. 1.

Sententia definitiua Solin. cap. 76.

“*Irenæus.* Eam regionem nihil pestiferum aut venenatum alere, tum ex multorum sermonibus, tum ex Beda intelligo: adèò vt terra illius regionis exportata, pestifera ac venenata animalia extinguat. Verùm id quicquid est, non Patricio, sed naturæ regionis tribuo, propterea quòd longè antè Patricium natum constet, eam fuisse eius regionis dotem, quam non est difficile alibi reperiri.”

“I will

“ I will begin (saith Irenæus) with saint Paule. You know that in Melita (which at this daie is called Malta) saint Paule flung into the fire a viper that stucke or did cleaue to his hand. In that Iland scorpions which are elsewhere deadlie or venemous, are become through the gift of saint Paule (as it is supposed) harmelesse.

“ Tush (quoth Critobulus) that may be percase incident to the nature of the soile.

“ Naie then (replieth Irenæus) you are in a wrong box. For the Ilanders (as saint Luke mentioneth) showted, that a parentquellor was brought thither, and because he was not swallowed in the gulfes of the sea, the gods being in their fustian fumes, sent serpents to slaie him. And they looked for nothing sooner than to see him euen at a twinkling to perish. But when they perceiued him to be so farre distant from death, as that he susteined no harme, ne felt anie paine, the people therewith amazed, said he far surpassed mans estate, & that he was a god inuested in man his shape.

“ You haue reason (answereth Critobulus) you haue hit the naile on the head.

“ Yea but I praie you clip not my tale (saith Irenæus) but take me with you. Stones are culled in the caue or den wherein saint Paule is said to haue baited or sojourned, which stones in maner in all Europe are souereigne medicines to cure the bitings and stinges of scorpions and serpents. Furthermore, they that are borne the fife and twentieth of Januarie (which daie is named the conuersion of S. Paule) in what part soeuer of the world they are borne, they feare not or grudge not at snakes: yea, that which is more to be admired, the stingings of poisoned worms are healed by the verie spittle of this Januarie brood. Which thing hath béene of late published by a well lettered man Thomas Fazellus, to haue béene curiouslie noted of him, as well by prooffe and experience, as by sure and substantiall examples, if I take not the matter amisse.

“ Then commeth in Critobulus, whome maister Cope maketh (I will not saie the vice or hiescorner) but the plesant conceipted gentleman of this enterlude, and fetcheth a long leape (for I am sure he could not iumpe so farre) from Malta to Ireland, and frameth his tale in this sort. By the faith of my bodie sir, here is stuffe woorth the noting. And now I call to mind, that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath béene imparted to Ireland, through the praiers of saint Patrike the apostle of the said Iland, that is to saie, that Ireland breedeth no venomous worme. And therevpon percase some are accustomed to saie, that there is no poisoned or venomous thing in Ireland, but onelie the people, which is taken to haue beene said of most men for their brutish and sauage maners.

“ To this (saith Irenæus) I am doone to vnderstand by the report of diuerse, and also by Bede, that no poisoned or venomous thing is bred in that realme: in somuch that the verie earth of that countrie being brought into other realmes, killeth all venomous and poisoned wormes.” But let the matter fall out which waie it will; I ascribe that propertie not to saint Patrike, but to the nature of the soile, because it hath been knowen long before saint Patrike was borne, that Ireland was indued with that propertie, which is elsewhere easie to be found. Hitherto Maister Cope.

In this discourse (gentle reader) thou seest that Maister Cope handleth two principall points, the propertie of Malta, and the nature of Ireland in destroieng venomous worms, the one he ascribeth to the blessed apostle saint Paule, the other he will not in anie wise impute to saint Patrike. Touching the first, as I have no occasion to intermeddle therein, so I purpose not for the quarell I haue to the person, to disproove his opinion so farre as it standeth with truth. Wherefore that God that of his bountifull goodnesse gaue the grace to Moses, to turne Aarons rod into a serpent, to turne the riuer into bloud, and to worke diuerse other effects that are mentioned in the scripture; to (a) Josue, to staie the sun; to (b) Elias to raise

Judgement.

Exod. c. 7.
verse 10.
(a) Josu c. 10.
verse 13.
(b) 3. Reg. 17.

verse 22, and
Eccles. 10. verse
50.
(c) Act 9. vers. 7.
(d) Act 9. vers.
34.
(e) Act 9. vers.
41.
(f) Act 5. vers.
1.
(g) Act 14. vers.
15.
(h) Act 2. vers.
1. & 11.
(i) Act 17. vers.
2.
Act. 9. vers. 40.
Act. 14. vers. 15.

Aug. tract 10.
in I. Iren. 1. 1.
p. 17. q. 1. ad.
3 m.

Gen. 3 vers. 13.

Act. 28. vers. 4.

Saint Paule
heard not the
inhabitants of
Malta.

Act. 14. vers. 11,
12, 13, 14.

the dead child; to (c) Peter to make the lame go; to heale (d) Eneas; to reuiue (e) Tabitha; yea with his verie (f) shadow to cure the sicke; and the God that gaue to that Paule, of whome maister Cope speaketh, his gracious gift to make the (g) lame go; to (h) quicken and raise the deceased, and for his sake to (i) salue his fellow passengers: it is not to be denied, but that God would impart his goodnes to anie region, euen the sooner that any of his blessed seruants would harborough there. And as I doubt not but Simon the tanners house was nothing the woorse for lodging so happie a ghest as Peter: so I am sure Malta was farre the better for harboring so blessed a traoueller or passenger as Paule. Which S. Luke letteth not to sell, declaring that all they which were sicke in the Iland, flocked to Paule, and were cured: and also the patient that was father to Publius, in whose house they were thrée daies, verie courteouslie interteined, was by S. Paule healed. Which cure as well of that patient, as of the residue of the Ilanders, did not onlie extend to their bodies, but chéeftie & especiallie to their soules, according to the opinion of the learned diuines. For as our sauior Iesus Christ was neuer thought to cure anie ones bodie, but he would also heale his soule: so it must be thought of his apostles, in whose steps both in life and miracles they traced. And therfore the learned hold opinion, that S. Paule being in Malta expelled from diuerse of their soules the old serpent that deceiued our progenitors Adam and Eue; for which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought good here to insert, as a clause not wholie swaruing from that we treat of, and also that I would be found prest and readie, as farre as my simple skill stretcheth, to vnderstand anie opinion that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God.

Howbeit forsomuch as M. Cope hath so strictlie dealt with Ireland, as with a countrie nothing appertaining to this matter, I trust he will pardon me, to be somewhat bold with him, touching the historie of Malta, that as his negligence shall be in the one disshrowed, so his slanderous iudgement maie be in the other reuersed. First therfore where he writeth, that the inhabitants of Malta *Clamabant*, that is, cried, or showed, it was not so. The Gréeke text runneth, *ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Dicebant ad inuicem*, that is to saie, they muttered one to an other. And saint Luke paraphraseth his meaning after. For when they perceiued that the viper did not annoie Paule, then saith saint Luke, *Conuertentes se, dicebant eum esse deum*; They turning the one towards the other, whispered or muttered that Paule was a god. Now put the case they cried, as M. Cope saith, is it like that Paule was so busie in making of a fire, or that his eares did wander so farre off, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard them, thinke you that he would haue béene whist, in hearing God so farre blasphemed, as that he would suffer himselfe to be defied? No trulie. He would haue taken on, as he and Barnabas did at Listris, where the inhabitants named them gods, Barnabas to be Iupiter, and Paule, for that he was well spoken, to be Mercurie. For when the apostles heard of their idolatrie, renting their clothes, they rusht into the throng, crieng and speaking, that they were mortall men, &c. In which place S. Luke putteth an expresse difference as it were of set purpose, betwéene both the words, *Clamantes & dicentes*. M. Cope addeth further, *Delatum eò parricidam*, and yet the Gréeke hath *πάντως φονεύς, Omnino interfector*, or as the vulgar text is, *Vtique homicida est homo hic*. So that they tooke him to be but a manquellor, yet M. Cope maketh him a parricide, which is woorse. For although euerie parricide be a manquellor, yet *E conuerso*, euerie manquellor is not a parricide.

M. Cope procéedeth further, "*Irati dij, serpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent*: The gods being angrie sent serpents to dispatch Paule." And yet forsooth, all these serpents were but one viper, as is plainelie exprest in the text, vnlesse M. Cope would teach saint Luke to tell his tale after the finest fashion, least the apostle should haue

haue béene thought to haue fitoned. As the parson that preached to his parishoners of the gospell, wherein mention is made of them that Christ fed in the desert, or wilderness. O (quoth the parson) what a Christ was that, that with fíue barlie loaues, and fíue fishes fed fíue hundred persons. The clerke hearing his master to grate ouerlong on that point, for he did often iterate that sentence, stole up to the pulpit, and plucking the parson by his gowne, whispered in his eare that Christ fed fíue thousand. Hold thee contented thou foolish fellow (quoth the parson) if I should tell mine hearers of so great a number, I should but discredit the gospeller, and they would not beléeve me. So it fareth with M. Cope. Belike he mistrusted, that if he had said, that one viper could haue slaine Paule, the reader would haue suspected the vntruth of the matter: bicause it carrieth great likelihood with it, that one man could withstand one viper: and therefore to saue saint Luke his credit, he increaseth the number by putting the plurall for the singular. Whereas therefore it standeth with M. Cope his pleasure, to flourish in his rhetoricall figure named, *Veritatis superlatio*, in terming muttering, showing, a manquellor, a paricide, one viper, serpents: he must be borne withall, if in the heat of his figure he step a little awrie in the remnant of his discourse. For thus he saith.

A parson his sermon.

M. Cope his rhetorike.

And therevpon it is reported percase by some men, that there is nothing venomous or poisoned in Ireland, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue beene spoken by most men for their brutish and sauage maners. Here (good reader) thou must vnderstand that M. Cope putteth the text downe and the glose. The text is, There is nothing in Ireland venomous but the inhabitants. The glose is, This is said to haue been spoken for their brutish and sauage conditions. Now well harpt by saint Lankfield. Here is a glose, I vndertake you, sutable to the text. But let vs see, how cunninglie M. Cope beequiteth himselfe. First he obserueth not *Decorum personæ*, secondlie he followeth not *Decorum dialogi*, thirdlie he sheweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the first point, who knoweth not, that these iapes and gibes are onelie fit for ruffians, vices, swashbucklers & tospots. And trulie they beeset a diuine as well, as for an asse to twang quipassa on a harpe or gitterne, or for an ape to friske trenchmoore in a paire of buskins and a doublet. The heathen misliked in an orator squiritie, what should be thought then of a diuine, whome saint Paule would haue to be sober, modest, graue, and wise? Vnlesse M. Cope leaning to the letter of saint Paule his words would beare vs in hand, that saint Paule would haue modestie to rest onelie in bishops. We are commanded in the old and new testament, to loue our neighbors as our selues. Which dooth implice, that we ought not to slander our neighbours.

Cic. lib. 2. de orat.

Tim. 3. vers. 2. & 3.

And shall a diuine then speake vncharitable, not onelie of one, but of an whole realme, and not onelie speake but also write, yea and that in the language that is vniuersallie spoken, throughout the greater part of the world, vpon no sure ground, but onelie vpon hearesaie, weieng not what the prophet writeth, *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciū*. Thou shalt destroie all them that speake vntruths? And were it that anie such flim flam flirts were soothed by anie person of credit; yet (as me seemeth) it would stand more with the grauitie of a diuine, than such childish quips, and scornfull tawnts should sooner by his meanes charitable be whisted, than thorough his procurement carpinglie published. I will stand no longer on this point, but onelie craue M. Cope to resort to the fift of Matthew, and there peruse Christ his verdict touching slanderous toongs. To come to the second part, in which he obserueth not *Decorum dialogi*, thou shalt vnderstand (good reader) that Critabulus, or Critobulus, whome M. Cope maketh his bagpipe to belch out his rancour, is a Germane borne, as M. Cope saith, who séemeth to be Critabulus his godfather. Now let anie one, that is acquainted with the maners of Germans, iudge, if it be decent, that one of them should scoffe and scorne the conditions and

Psal. 5. vers. 7

Sapient 1.
Vide August. in eundem Psal.

Matth. 5. vers. 22.

fashious

The Critaboli on his
 returne.

fashions of other countries. I will not speake by heare saie, as M. Cope dooth, but by eyesight. I could neuer espie nor probablie haue I heard it reported, no not of the méere sauage Irish, such quaffing, such swilling, such bolling, such gulling, such brutish drunkennesse, such surfetting, such vomitting, as I haue scene some Germans doo. In good sooth it is knowne, and for my part I haue scene it being beyond the seas, that in their carowsing and cup friendship, they threaten such kindnesse on their companions, that least their felowes should mistrust them with double dealing, they will not sticke to shew them the bottome of their stomachs; & to the end they should take the better view thereof, they will place it now and then in their neighbors bosome.

Thus when they haue cast their gorges, they clap on their thrumd hats, and run like bedlem barretors into the stréets with their naked flatchets, and there they keepe such a stinking sturre with hacking of stones, with hewing of blocks, with thwitting of stocks, with striking of stalles, with thumping at doores, that it would make a horsse breake his halter, to see so drunken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is so naturallie ingraffed in the greater part of them, that a famous diuine did not sticke of late to saie openlie in his lecture, than drunkennesse in that countrie man, was either *Peccatum originale* or *Accidens inseparabile*. I write not this (I take God to record) to the reproch or slander of that countrie (being loth to commit the selfe same fault that I reprehend in anie other) but onelie my meaning is to settle before the reader his eies the absurditie of M. Cope, in framing poore Critabolus to flout Ireland, considering that if he cast his eie homeward, he shall find as filthie puddle in his owne countrie, as in other realms. And therefore this quip sat as vnseemlie in his mouth, as for an whoore to reprehend bitcherie, or for an vsurer to condemne simonie. For as there is nothing lesse to be tollerated, than for anie one to haue an other to account for his life, that can yeeld no account of his owne: so there is nothing that ought to moozzell vp anie one from rebuking other nations, than to see the misdemeanor of his owne natiue countrie. I would wish M. Critabolus or M. Cope, if it shall please him to make vp the muster, with indifferencie to weie the estate of Ireland, and so without parcialitie to frame his iudgement.

Ireland how it
 should be reform-
 ed.

Ireland, and especially the ruder part is not stored with such learned men as Germanie is. If they had sound preachers, and sincere liuers, that by the embalming of their carian soules with the swéet and sacred flowers of holie writ, would instruct them in the feare of God, in obeieng their prince, in obseruing the lawes, in vnderpropping in ech man his vocation the weale publike; I doubt not, but within two or thrée ages M. Critabolus his heires should heare so good a report run of the reformation of Ireland, as it would be reckoned as ciuill as the best part of Germanie. Let the soile be as fertile and betle as anie would wish, yet if the husbandman will not manure it, sometime plow and eare it, sometime harrow it, sometime till it, sometime marle it, sometime delue it, sometime dig it, and sow it with good and sound corne, it will bring foorth wéeds, bindcorne, cockle, darnell, brambles, briars, and sundrie wild shoots. So it fareth with the rude inhabitants of Ireland, they lacke vniuersities, they want instructors, they are destitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are deuoid of all such necessities as apperteine to the training vp of youth: and notwithstanding all these wants, if anie would be so frowardlie set, as to require them, to vse such ciuilitie, as other regions, that are sufficientlie furnished with the like helps; he might be accounted as vnreasonable, as he that would force a créepie that lacketh both his legs to run, or one to pipe or whistle a galiard that wanteth his vpper lip.

But such is the corrupt nature of vs worldlings, and me thinketh such vaine humors are not vtterlie dried vp in our sage and mortified diuines. We are most commonlie giuen rather to tawnt that which is amisse, than to praise that which is good;

good; and rather we follow the spider in soking the poison, than in imitating the bée by sucking the honie. Now that it appeareth, that it was not fitting for the author being a diuine, to write so vncharitable, nor for M. Critabolus being a Germane to carpe other countries so snappishlie: let vs see what wholesome diuinitie hath beene here vttered, and how well the sinewes of M. Critabolus his argument shall be found to hang together, when the anatomie therof by peecemeale shall be examined. I call to mind (quoth M. Critabolus) that I have read and often heard, that the like benefit hath béene granted to Ireland through the praier of S. Patrike. M. Critabolus read & heard that by the praier of S. Patrike, Ireland hath no venemous worme: *Ergo* some hold opinion, that the poison resteth onlie in the people. Truly this argument hangeth together by verie strange gimboles. And I dare say, M. Cope neuer learned this kind of reasoning in the famous college of Magdalene in Oxford, whatsoeuer M. Critabolus did in Germanie. But let vs put the logike apart, & scan the singular point of diuinitie. I would gladlie lerne in what part of scripture or in what ancient father M. Critabolus read or heard (for most of his learning hath beene, as it seemeth, purchased by heare-saie) that anie holie prelat, that came of meere charitie to conuert a countrie from night to light, from rudenesse to knowledge, from infidelitie to christianitie, from vice to vertue, from the diuell to God (which dooth implie an especiall zeale in saluing their soules) would purge the soile of all venemous wormes, & leaue the soules that haue more néed to be wéeded, wholie infected with the contagion of vice and sinne. Wherby insueth that the place is better than the inhabitants, and so consequentlie the saing of the Machabées must be falsified: *Non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum Deus elegit*: God did not choose the people for the place, but he elected the place in respect of the people. Our sauour Iesus Christ dipossessing the patient of the legion of diuels, permitted them to enter into an heard of hogs. Critabolus would haue Christs saints doo the contrarie, to dispossesse the hogs, and to leaue the men possessed with diuels. For so he reporteth saint Patrike to haue doone, by ridding the land of all poisoned wormes, & leauing the rancour to lurke in the people. Trulie if the matter stood so farre out of ioint, I doubt not, but the Ilanders might haue come as lawfullie to him, as the Gergesens came ingratefullie to Christ, requiring him to depart their countrie. For such a scoffing prelat, his roome had béene better than his companie, sith his abode would tend rather to the peruerting, than the conuerting of their Iland.

2. Mac. 5. ver.
19.

Luc. 8. ver. 32.

Luc. 2. ver. 37.

Hitherto thou hast heard (gentle reader) how gallantlie Critabolus hath plaid his part: now shall I desire thee to view how sagelie Ireneus claspeth up all the whole controuersie. He saith it is the nature of the soile, not to breed anie venemous worme, and that was incident thereto before saint Patrike was borne. How prooue you that sir? Pleaseth you to skew your eie towards the margent, and there shall you find the fife and thirtith chapter of Solinus solemnlie quoted. Touching this matter, there is nothing in Solinus but this; *Illic anguis nullus, auis rara*, In Ireland is no snake, and seldome a bird, & yet birds are as commonlie there as in anie other countrie. But I would gladlie vnderstand how this authoritie of Solinus furthereth M. Ireneus his opinion. Ireland bred no snake before saint Patrike was borne. *Ergo* it ingendred no toad, no adder, no frog, nor anie other virulent worme. As if a man would reason thus: Before saint Patrike his time there was no horssemill in Ireland: *Ergo* before his time there was no millhorse. Certes he that would wind vp his conclusion so fondlie, might be thought to haue as much wit as a rosted horse. This authoritie of Solinus is so far from vpholding Ireneus his assertion, as that it plainelie seemeth quite to ouerthrow it, & as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cause whie saint Patrike was mooued to expell all the venemous wormes out

Objection.

out of Ireland, might probable haue béene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this, that he perceiuing the land to bréed no snakes, therof was occasioned, for the furthering of christian faith, to expell other kind of wormes that lurked there before his comming, as toades, adders, blindworms, frogs, &c. Héere perchase M. Cope may blench me, in replieng that *Anguis* may be construed generallie for all kind of vermine, and so I might be taken tardie in building my discourse vpon a misconstruction.

Answer.

In good sooth to omit what strange and absurd signification *Anguis* should beare, by notifieng a poisoned spider and such like, and in mine opinion further from the purpose, than the father that dissuading his sonne from plaieng on sundaie, fortified his reason with the old said saw, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*, It is not good, quoth he, to plaie on sundaies or holie daies. Is it (thinke you) felonie or treason, to bring the credit of Solinus in question, for mistaking *Anguis* aswell as *Auis*? For as he was groslye deceiued in the one, in writing that birds were rare in Ireland; so might he haue straied as likelie in the other, by disburdening Ireland of all venomous wormes, bicause the Iland wanted in his time but one or two kinds, as a snake and a toad. Where a man buildeth vpon euerie twatling and prating rumor, and his eie is not his iudge, he may be sure, that such flieng tales will catch manie feathers before they come at him that is as far distant from their nests, as Solinus was from Ireland when he wrote his pamphlet. The prooffe whereof as it is dailie tried, so not manie yeares past hath béene verie pretilie veriefied. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that met his eninnie in the fields, where they both vpon a trifling quarell fought so fréendlie, as they had more néed to haue beene grapled together with cables, than parted by indifferent sticklers. Howbeit, bicause the gentleman was neuer before flesht, and yet nothing at all that daie, for each of their blowes did commonlie light on the medow where they fought; a friend of his reported well of him to an other, saieng, that he was like in time to prooue a proper man of his hands, for the well handling of his weapon in his late combat. Wherevpon soon after, the other doubling the gentleman his praise, gaue notice to an other, that such a gentleman (naming him) fought valiantlie such a daie in such a place. Immediatlie vpon this in a shire or two off, it was noised that the partie praised, fought with two at once in such a place, naming the medow. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure seuerall daies; and I am well assured that was the first fraie that euer he made, and I thinke it will be the last, vnlesse he be forced maugre his heart to the contrarie.

Rumor catcheth feathers.

A fréendlie commendation.

Not long after it happened, that a gentleman and I trauelled abroad the countrie of set purpose to disport our selues, and so to returne afresh to our books, where entering in communication with a blunt countrie lob (yet such an one as tooke his halfepenie to be good siluér) that knew the foresaid champion. My companion and I made wise, as though we were not acquainted with him, or euer heard of the combat: Now in good faith gentleman (quoth he) you would doo verie well to enter in acquaintance with him; for ouer this, that he is a gentleman abundantlie endued with singular good qualities, he is become of late so valiant a cutter, as he maketh blading his dailie breakefast. By saint Marie, quoth my companion, that is verie cold roste, and if his breakefasts be no better than a péece of cold yron, I little weigh how seldome I take a repast in his companie at anie such ordinarie. Naie, my meaning is (quoth the other) that he vseth to fight fresh and fasting euerie morning, in so much that of late, I dare bide by it, he fought eight daies in one weeke. At which words I for my part could not refraine from laughing, séeing how demurelie the fellow kept his countenance, and how that he spake *Bona fide*. Wherevpon I shaped him an answer and said, that I neuer heard of anie that fought eight daies in one weeke, but onelie in old time, when siue quarters made vp the yeare.

The

The fellow perceiuing that he ouershot himselfe, replied: Sir, you take me verie short, as long and as verie a lowbie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eight seuerall times in one weeke. Eight times (quoth my companion) then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you told vs right now, that he made his fraie his morning breakefast, and whereas there are but seauen daies in the weeke, & he fought (as you report) eight times, and you know that eight maketh one aboue seauen, and seauen maketh six and one vnder eight; either you must confesse that he fought out his breakfast, dinner, beuer or supper; or else you must grant that there be eight daies in one weeke, or at the least two breakefasts in one daie: and that I am sure you will confesse to be as great an absurditie as the other. Naie (quoth the clowne) and you intrap me with such sophistrie, you shall dine, sup and breake your fast alone for me, and therewithall departed. Wherby may be gathered, that if he had bin soothed vp, & his toong let run at libertie vncontrold, like a bowle that runneth in a smooth allie without anie rub, he would haue brought himselfe to that baie, as he would not sticke to saie that his fréend had fought eight daies in one houre. Wherefore as this pudding his pricke grew at length by report to an huge post, so the want of one venemous worme in Ireland, being bruted in forren realmes, might haue beene so thwitted and mangled in the cariage before it came to Solinus his eares, as he might haue beene informed, that the countrie was deuoid of all venemous woormes, whereas indéed there lacked but one kind.

Like as God of his iustice punisheth a countrie that is hardhearted, with outward wormes: so of his mercie they are remooued from a realme that is pliant to follow his lawes and precepts. As when Pharaο would not listen to God his threats denounced him by the preachers of God, Moses and Aaron, Egypt was punished with frogs and diuerse kind of flies, as is exprest at full in holie writ: and againe vpon Pharaο his feined promises (the secrets of whose hollow heart God perfectlie knew) at the instance of Moses, these plagues were appeased, and the vermine quite extinguished: so I praie you, is it so absurd a position to hold, that saint Patrike finding the Irish priest to embrace the gospell, as he did in verie deed, might stand so highlie in God his fauor, as through his earnest petition made to God, the poisoned woormes should be abandoned? This is not so rare a thing vpon the implanting of christian faith in anie region, but rather a propertie incident thereto, according to Christ his promise: "*Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, hæc sequentur; In nomine meo dæmonia eiicient: linguis loquentur nouis: serpentes tollent: & si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: super ægros manus imponent, & bene habebunt.*" And these tokens shall follow them that beléeve; In my name shall they cast out diuels, they shall speake with new toongs, they shall driue awaie serpents, and if they drinke anie deadlie thing it shall not hurt them: they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall be cured. Wherefore, sith it is so euidentlie warranted by scripture, that in the name of Iesus, serpents may be driuen awaie, if Ireland be found through anie such means to be deuoid of poisoned wormes, we are to ascribe the glorie hereof to God, according to the saieng of the prophet; "*A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris,*" That hath béene doone by God, and it séemeth woonderfull in our eies.

Thus farre (gentle reader) incroching vpon thy patience, I haue imploied my trauell in defending my natie countrie against such as labour to distaine it with their slanderous scoffes. Touching the principall question, whether S. Patrike did expell poisoned wormes out of Ireland, or whether it be the nature of the soile, as I said in the entrie of this discourse; so I saie againe, that I weigh not two chips which waie the wind bloweth, bicause I see no inconuenience that may insue either of the affirmatiue or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as

Exod. 9. vers. 7, 17, & 24. Vide Apoc. 9. vers. 3, at 2. Reg. 8. vers. 37.

Gregor. hom. 29. in euang.

Mar. 16. v. 17.

Psal. 117, vers. 23.

modestlie as Cambrensis, the author of Polychronicon or others, that stood to the deniall, haue doone; he should haue gone scotfree with his complices, and haue made in mounterbankwise the most he could of his wares. But for that he would needs see further in a milstone than others, and not onelie slenderlie disprooue the triuiall opinion, but scornefullie slander an whole realme, wherein he shall find his superiors in honour, his betters in parentage, his peeres in learning, his mates in wisdom, his equals in courtesie, his matches in honestie: I must craue him to beare it patientlie, if by crieng him quittance, I serued him with a dish of his owne cookerie. And if for this my streict dealing with him (wherevnto I was the sooner led, for that as it is courtesie to mollifie wild speaches with mild answers, so I reckon it for good policie now and then to cleaue knurd knobs with crabbed wedges) he will seeme to take pepper in the nose, for anie recompense he is like to haue at mine hands, he may wipe his nose on his sléeue. And if it shall stand with his pleasure, to replie either in English or in Latine (the occasion of which is rather of him growne than by me giuen) he shall find me willing, if God spare me health, to reioine with him in so good a quarrell, either in the one language or the other: and when both tales are heard, I beshrow him, for my part, that shall be driuen to the wall.

The barnacle.

Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible persons, that barnacles thousands at once are noted along the shores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, as ships, oares, masts, anchor holds, and such like, which in processe taking liuelie heat of the sunne, become waterfooules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or flie abroad into the aire. The same doo neuer couple in the act of generation, but are from time to time multiplied, as before is exprest.

*Sabel. part. 2.
Enc. 10. lib. 5.
Cam. lib. topog.
dist. 1. rub. 13.
Thom. p. 2. g.
31. ar 4. corp.*

Æneas Syluius writeth himselfe to haue pursued the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Ilands Orchades. Giraldus Cambrensis gathereth hereof a pretie conclusion against the Iewes in this wise following: “*Respice infœlex Iudæe, respice, vel serò, primâ hominis generationem ex limo sine mare & fœmina. Secundâmque ex mare sine fœmina, ob legis venerationem, diffiteri non audes. Tertiam solam ex mare scilicet & fœmina, quia vsualis est, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam verò, in qua sola salus est ex fœmina scilicet sine mare obstinata malicia in propriam perniciem detestâris. Erubescere miser, erubescere, & saltem ad naturam recurre, quæ ad argumenta fidei, ad instructionem nostram noua quotidie animalia sine omni mare vel fœmina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & hæc vltima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam à Domino naturæ tantùm semel, ideò semper obstupenda processit. Istam verò non minùs admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia sæpè fit) imitatrix natura administrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, vt nihil, præter inusitatum & rarò contingens vel pretiosum ducat vel admirandum. Solis ortum & occasum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, sine omni admiratione præterimus. Eclipsin verò solis quia rariùs accidit, totus orbis obstupescit. Ac idem etiam facere videtur, flatu solo, & occulta quadam inspiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio.*”

“Marke thou wretched Iew, saith Cambrensis, marke yet at length the first creation (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the second, of a man without a woman (that is to saie Eue) for that thou hast the old law in reuerence, thou dardest not denie. As for the third, both of man and woman, because it is dailie vsed as stiffeneckt as thou art, thou dooest acknowledge and confesse. But the fourth procreation, in which consisteth our onelie iustification (he meaneth the incarnation of Christ) of a woman without man, with sturdie and obstinat rancor to thine vtter destruction thou doost detest. Blush therefore thou
vnhappie

vnhappie Iew, be ashamed of this thy follie, and at the least wise haue recourse to nature, and settle hir works before thine eies, that for the increase of faith, and to the lessening of vs, dailie bréedeth & ingendreth new liuing creatures, without the coupling of mascle or female. Adam was created of earth, the barnacles are ingendred of wood, bicause Adam was once created by him, who is Lord of nature, therefore it is continuallie admired. But for that damie nature the counterfeitresse of the celestiall workeman, eftsoones bréedeth barnacles, therefore their brood is accompted more maruellous than to be maruelled; more woonderfull than woondered. For such is the framing of man his nature, as he deemeth nothing pretious or woonderfull, but such things as seldome happen. What may be thought more beautifull than the course of the sunne? And yet bicause we see it dailie rise and set, we let it ouerslip vs as an vsuall custome, without anie staring or gazing. Yet we are amazed and astonied at the eclipse, bicause it happeneth verie seldome." The bées that are ingendred of the honie combe, onlie by a puffe or secret breathing without anie coupling, séeme to vphold this procreation of barnacles. Hitherto Cambrensis, with whom concerning the ingendring of bées Iohannes de sancto Germiniano accordeth.

Be'es how they are ingendered.

Iohan. de S. Gem. in lib. de exempl. & simili. rerum li. 4. c. 31.

Whether the barnacle be fish or flesh.

Cambr. lib. 1. topog. dist. 1. r. b. 15. Polychr. lib. 1. c. 32.

The inhabitants of Ireland are accustomed to mooue question, whether barnacles be fish or flesh, & as yet they are not fullie resolued; but most vsuallie the religious of streictest abstinence doo eat them on fish daies. Giraldus Cambrensis, and after him Polichronicon suppose, that the Irish cleargie in this point straie. For they hold of certaintie that barnacles are flesh. And if a man saie they had eaten a collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten flesh. And yet Adam was not ingendred of mascle or female, but onelie created of claie, as the barnacles of wood & rotten timber. But the Irish clergie did not so farre straie in their opinion, as Cambrensis & Polichronicon, in their disproofe. For the framing of Adam and Eue was supernaturall onelie doone by God, & not by the helpe of angels or anie other creature. For like as it surpasseth natures course to raise the dead, to lighten or insight the blind, so it stood not with the vsuall & common linage of nature, but onlie with the supereminent power of God, to frame a man of claie, and a woman of a mans rib. But the ingendring of barnacles is naturall, & not so woonderfull as Cambrensis maketh it. And therefore the examples are not like.

Adam & Eue onelie created by God. August. super Genes. ad lit. lib. 9. c. 18.

Now it should séeme that in Cambrensis his time, the Irish clergie builded their reason vpon this plot. What soeuer is flesh, is naturallie begotten or ingendred of flesh; barnacles are not naturallie ingendred of flesh, but onelie of timber and wood; barnacles therefore are not flesh, vnlesse you would haue them to be wooden flesh. And if the reason be so knit it may not be disiointed by Cambrensis his example. As if a man should argue thus. She that is begotten of anie man, must be of force daughter to that man; Melcha was begotten of Aran; Ergo Melcha was Arans daughter. This argument is of all parts so fortified, as it séemeth of all sides to be impregnable. Yet a busie braine sophister cauilling on the terme (begotten) might saie, that Eue was begotten of Adam, and yet she is not Adams daughter. True it is that Adam was not Eues father, no more than Eue was Adams mother, neither by that ingendring was there anie degree of consanguinitie sprong betwéene them. But bicause the word (begotten) is taken in the argument for the naturall ingendring of man and woman, the instance giuen of Eue dooth not disprove the Maior. And yet for the better vnderstanding of the question, it is to be noted that the philosophers distinguish *Animalia sensitiua*, that is, sensible liuing things, in two sorts, perfect and vnperfect. The perfect are they that are ingendred of seed, the vnperfect without seed. Those that are naturallie ingendred with séed, can neuer be naturallie ingendred without séed: albeit Auicenna verie erroneously holdeth the contrarie: as for example.

Genes. 11. verse 29.

Adam & Eua of no kin. Thom. p. 1. q. 92. art. 2. ad 3. m.

Thom. p. 1. q. 91. art. 2. ad 2. m. Liuing things are of two sorts. Thom. p. 1. q. 71. 1. o. 1. m. Auicenna.

Gen. 2. ver. 7.
Gen. 2. ver. 21.
Mat. 1. ver. 10.
Luc. 1. ver. 1.

First Booke. lib. 1.
Aristot. ca. 3. 6.
7.

The barnacle
neither fish nor
flesh.

Thesell whether
it be fish or flesh.
Thom. p. 1. a. 7. l.
c. 1. o. 3. a.

Sheepe.

Egle.

The Irish hob-
bie.
The nag.

Because man is naturallie ingendred of man and woman, no man may naturallie be ingendred without the copulation of man and woman: yet supernaturallie it may be. As Adam was made without man and woman: Eue framed without woman: our sauour Christ begotten without man. And therefore the diuell could not haue attainted him of originall sinne. Contrariwise, the vnperfect may be ingendred without séed by mire, mud, doong, carien, rotten timber, or anie other thing; and chieflie by the secret influence and instillation of the celestiaall planets, as the sunne and such other. As if you put the haire of an horsse taile in mire, puddle, or in a doonghill for a certeine space, it will turne to a little thin spralling worme, which I haue often séene & experimented. And they are termed vnperfect, not in respect of their owne nature, in which they are perfect, but in comparison of other sorts of liuing things. Among this crue must barnacles be settled. But here some will saie; Let them be perfect or vnperfect, what then? I would faine know, whether Cambrensis be in an errour, or the Irish clergie. For hitherto I see nothing, but Cambrensis his reason disprooued. And it is often séene that a sound opinion may be weakened by a feeble reason, as we see manie faire garments mard in the making. It is true: and if anie be desirous to know my mind herein, I suppose, according to my simple iudgement, vnder the correction of both parties, that the barnacle is neither fish nor flesh, but rather a meane betwéene both. As put the case it were enacted by parlement, that it were high treason to eat flesh on fridaie, and fish on sundaie. Trulie I thinke that he that eateth barnacles both these daies, should not be within the compasse of the estatute: yet I would not wish my friend to hazard it, least the barnacle should be found in law fish or flesh, yea and perhaps fish and flesh. As when the lion king of beasts made proclamation, that all horned beasts should auoid his court, one beast hauing but a bunch of flesh in his forehead departed with the rest, least it had béene found in law that his bunch were an horne.

But some will peraduenture maruell, that there should be anie liuing thing, that were not fish nor flesh. But they haue no such cause at all. Nits, fleshwormes, bees, butterflies, caterpillers, snailes, grassehoppers, beetels, earewikes, reremise, frogs, toads, adders, snakes, & such other, are liuing things, and yet they are neither fish nor flesh, nor yet red herring: as they that are trained in scholasticall points may easilie iudge. And so I thinke, that if anie were so sharpe set (the estatute aboue rehearsed, presupposed) as to eat fried flies, butterd bees, stued snailes, either on fridaie or sundaie, he could not be therefore indicted of haulte treason; albeit I would not be his ghest, vnlesse I tooke his table to be furnisht with more wholesome and licorous viands. The like question may be moued of the sell, and if it were well canuassed, it would be found at the leastwise a moot case. But thus farre of barnacles.

Ireland is stored of cowes, of excellent horsse, of hawkes, of fish and of foule. They are not without woolues & greihounds to hunt them, bigger of bone and lim than a colt. Their cowes, as also the rest of their cattell, and commonlie what else soeuer the countrie ingendreth (except man) is much lesse in quantitie than those of England, or of other realms. Shéepe few, and those bearing course fleeses, whereof they spin notable rug. Their shéepe haue short and curt tailes. They shéepe their shéepe twice yearlie, and if they be left vnshorne, they are therewith rather pained than otherwise. The countrie is verie fruitfull both of corne and grasse. The grasse (for default of good husbandrie) suffered vncut, groweth so ranke in the north parts, that oftentimes it rotteth their cattell. Egles are well known to breed in Ireland, but neither so big, no so manie as bookes tell. The horsse are of pase easie, in running woonderfull swift, in gallop both false and full indifferent. The nag or the hackeneie is verie good for traueilling, albeit others report the contrarie. And if he be broken accordinglie, you shall haue a little tit that

that will trauell a whole daie without anie bait. Their horssees of seruice are called ^{The chiefe horsse.} chiefe horssees, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. They reine passinglie, and champe vpon their bridels brauelie, commonlie they amble not but gallop and run. And these horssees are but for skirmishes, not for traueilling, for their stomachs are such, as they disdaine to be hacknied. Thereof the report grew, that the Irish hobbie will not hold out in traueilling. You shall haue of the third sort a bastard or mongrell hobbie, néere as tall as the horsse of seruice, ^{The mongrell hobbie.} strong in traueilling, easie in ambling, and verie swift in running. Of the horsse of seruice they make great store, as wherin at times of néed they repose a great péee of safetie. This brood Volaterane writeth to haue come from Austurea, the countrie ^{Volat. lib. 3. Geog.} of Hispaine, betwéene Gallicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Asturcones, ^{Asturcones.} a name now properlie applied to the Hispanish genet.

THE NAMES OF THE CIUITIES, BOROUGHES AND HAUEN TOWNES IN IRELAND.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

DUBLIN the beautie and eie of Ireland, hath béene named by Ptolome, in ancient ^{Dublinum.} time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublinia, others Dublinia, manie write it Dublinum, authors of better skill name it Dublinium. The Irish call it, Ballée er Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdels. For the common opinion is, that the plot vpon which the ciuitie is builded, hath béene a marish ground; and for that by the art or inuention of the first founder, the water could not be voided, he was forced to fasten the quake-mire with hurdels, and vpon them to build the citie. I heard of some that came of building of houses to this foundation: and other hold opision that if a cart or waine run with a round and maine pase through a stréet called the high stréet, the houses on ech side shall be perceiued to shake. This citie was builded, or rather the buildings ^{Dublin builded.} thereof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lord 155. For about this time there arriued in Ireland thrie noble Easterlings that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Yuorus. Auellanus being the eldest brother builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterford, and Yuorus Limerike. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after ^{Auellanus the founder of Dublin.} by corruption of speach Eblana. This citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferiour to anie citie in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgious buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chiuallrie, in obedience and loialtie, in the abundance of wealth, in largenesse of hospitalite, in maners and ciuilitie it is superiour to all other cities and townes in that realme. And therefore it is commonlie called the Irish or young London. The seat of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and wholesome. If you would trauese hils, they are not far off. If champion ground, it lieth of all parts. If you be delited with fresh water, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnum, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. The onlie fault of this citie is, that it is lesse frequented of merchant estrangiers, bicause of the bare hauen. Their charter is large. King ^{Dublin the Irish London.} Henrie the fourth gaue this citie the sword, in the yeare of our Lord 1409, and was ^{The situation of Dublin.} ruled by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes by a charter ^{The Liffie.} granted by Edward the sixt, in the yeare of our Lord 1547. In which yeare Iohn Rians and Robert Ians, two worshipfull gentlemen, were colleagues in that office, & thereof they are named the last bailiffes & first shiriffes that haue beene in Dublin. It appeereth by the ancient seale of this citie, called *Signum præposituræ*, that this citie hath beene in old time gouerned by a prouost. ^{The sword given to Dublin. Shiriffes of Dublin 1547.}

The hospitalitie of the maior and the shiriffes for the yeare being, is so large and bountifull, that soothlie (London forepriced) verie few such officers vnder the

crowne

crowne of England kéepe so great a port, none I am sure greater. The maior, ouer the number of officers that take their dailie repast at his table, keepeth for his yeare in maner open house. And albeit in tearme time his house is frequented as well of the nobilitie as of other potentats of great calling: yet his ordinarie is so good, that a verie few set feasts are prouided for them. They that spend least in their maioraltie (as those of credit, yea and such as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinarie account of fíue hundred pounds for their viand and diet that yeare: which is no small summe to be bestowed in houskéeping, namelie where vittels are so good cheape, and the presents of friends diuerse and sundrie.

1551.

Patrike Scarse-
field his hospita-
littie.

The maior of
Dublin when he
is sworne.

There hath beene of late yeares a worshipfull gentleman, named Patrike Scarsefield, that bare the office of the maioraltie in Dublin, who kept so great port in this yeare, as his hospitalitie to his fame and renowme resteth as yet in fresh memorie. One of his especiall and entire friends entring in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well neere expired, mooued question, to what he thought his expenses all that yeare amounted? Trulie Iames (so his friend was named) quoth maister Scarsefield, I take betwéene me and God, when I entered into mine office, the last saint Hierome his daie (which is the morrow of Michaelmasse, on which daie the maior taketh his oth before the chiefe baron, at the excheker within the castell of Dublin) I had thrée barnes well stored and thwackt with corne, and I assured my selfe, that anie one of these thrée had bene sufficient to haue stored mine house with bread, ale, and béere for this yeare. And now God and good companie be thanked, I stand in doubt, whether I shall rub out my maioraltie with my third barne, which is well nigh with my yeare ended. And yet nothing smiteth me so much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellows that you see here (he ment the sergeants and officers) are readie to flit from me, and make their next yeares abode with the next maior.

And certes I am so much wedded to good fellowship, as if I could mainteine mine house to my contentation, with defraieing of fíue hundred pounds yearelie; I would make humble sute to the citizens, to be their officer these thrée yeares to come. Ouer this, he did at the same time protest with oth, that he spent that yeare in housekéeping twentie tuns of claret wine, ouer and aboue white wine, sacke, malmeseie, muscadell, &c. And in verie deed it was not to be maruelled: for during his maioraltie, his house was so open, as commonly from fíue of the clocke in the morning, to ten at night, his butterie and cellars were with one crew or other frequented. To the haunting of which, ghests were the sooner allured, for that you should neuer marke him or his bedfellow (such was their buxomnesse) once frowne or wrinkle their foreheads, or bend their browes, or glowme their countenances, or make a sowre face at anie ghest, were he neuer so meane. But their interteinment was so notable, as they would sauce their bountifull & deintie faire with heartie and amiable chéere. His porter or anie other officer durst not for both his eares giue the simplest man that resorted to his house Tom drum his interteinment, which is, to hale a man in by the head, and thrust him out by both the shoulders. For he was fullie resolved, that his worship and reputation could not be more distained, than by the currish interteinment of anie ghest. To be brieue (according to the golden verses of the ancient and famous English poet Geffreie Chaucer:)

Tom drum his
interteinment,

Chaucer in the
prologue of his
Canterburie
tales.

“ An housholder, and that a great, was hee,
Saint Iulian he was in his countrie.
His bread, his ale, was alwaie after one,
A better viended man was no where none.
Without bakte meat was neuer his house,
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteouse.

It

It snewed in his house of meat and drinke,
 Of all deinties that men could thinke.
 After the sundrie seasons of the yere,
 So changed he his meat and his suppere.
 Full manie a fat partrich had he in mew,
 And manie a breme, and manie a luce in stew."

Some of his friends, that were snudging peniefathers, would take him vp verie roughlie for his laushing & his outrageous expenses, as they tearme it. Tush my maisters (would he saie) take not the matter so hot: who so commeth to my table, and hath no néed of my meat, I know he commeth for the good will he beareth me; and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he resort for néed, how maie I bestow my goods better, than in reléeving the poore? If you had perceiued me so far behind hand, as that I had bene like to haue brought haddocke to paddocke, I would patientlie permit you, both largelie to controll me, and friendlie to reprove me. But so long as I cut so large thongs of mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I kéepe my selfe so farre aflote, as that I haue as much water as my ship draweth: I praie pardon me to be liberall in spending, sith Godof his goodnesse is gracious in sending.

And in déed so it fell out. For at the end of his maioraltie he owght no man a dotkin. What he dispended was his owne: and euer after during his life, he kept so woorthie a standing house, as that hée séemed to surrender the princes sword to other maiors, and reserued the port & hospitalitie to himselfe. Not long before him was Nicholas Stanihurst their maior, who was so great and good an housholder, that during his maioraltie, the lord chancellor of the realme was his dailie and ordinarie ghest. There hath beene of late worshipfull ports kept by maister Fian, who was twice maior, maister Sedgrae, Thomas Fitz Simons, Robert Cusacke, Walter Cusacke, Nicholas Fitz Simons, Iames Bedlow, Christopher Fagan, and diuerse others. And not onelie their officers so farre excell in hospitalitie, but also the greater part of the ciuitie is generallie addicted to such ordinarie and standing houses, as it would make a man muse which waie they are able to beare it out, but onelie by the goodnesse of God, which is the vpholder and furtherer of hospitalitie. What should I here speake of their charitable almes, dailie and hourelie extended to the néedie? The poore prisoners both of the Newgate and the castell, with thrée or foure hospitals, are chieflie, if not onelie, relieued by the citizens.

Furthermore, there are so manie other extraordinarie beggers that dailie swarme there, so charitable succored, as that they make the whole ciuitie in effect their hospitall. The great expenses of the citizens maie probablie be gathered by the woorthie and fairlike markets, weeklie on wednesdaie and fridaie kept in Dublin. Their shambles is so well stored with meat, and their market with corne, as not onelie in Ireland, but also in other countries you shall not see anie one shambles, or anie one market better furnished with the one or the other, than Dublin is. The citizens haue from time to time in sundrie conflicts so galled the Irish, that euen to this daie, the Irish feare a ragged and iagged blacke standard that the citizens haue, almost through tract of time worne to the hard stumps. This standard they carrie with them in hostings, being neuer displaied but when they are readie to enter into battell, and come to the shocke. The sight of which danteth the Irish aboue measure.

And for the better training of their youth in martiall exploits, the citizens vse to muster foure times by the yeare: on Black mondaie, which is the morrow of Easter daie, on Maie daie, saint Iohn Baptist his eeue, and saint Peter his eeue. Whereof two are ascribed to the maior & shiriffes: the other two, to wit, the musters on Maie daie and saint Peter his eeue, are assigned to the maior and shiriffes of the Bull ring. The

Nicholas Stanihurst.

The hospitalitie of Dublin.

The shambles and markets at Dublin.

The blacke standard.

The musters of Dublin.

The maior of the Bull ring.

maior

maior of the Bull ring is an office elected by the citizens, to be as it were capteine or gardian of the batchelers and the vnwedded youth of the ciuitie. And for the yeare he hath authoritie to chastise and punish such as frequent brothelhouses, and the like vnchast places. He is tearmed the maior of the Bull ring, of an iron ring that sticketh in the cornemarket, to which the bulles that are yearelie bated be vsuallie tied: which ring is had by him and his companie in so great price, as if anie citizen batcheler hap to marrie, the maior of the Bull ring and his crue conduct the bridegroom vpon his returne from church, to the market place, and there with a solemne kisse for his *Vltimum vale*, he dooth homage vnto the Bull ring.

The blacke mondaie.

Dublin inhabited by the Bristollians. This was about the yeare of our Lord 1209.

The Blacke mondaie muster sproong of this occasion. Soone after Ireland was conquered by the Britons, and the greater part of Leinster pacified, diuerse townesmen of Bristow flitted from thense to Dublin, and in short space the ciuitie was by them so well inhabited, as it grew to bee verie populous. Wherevpon the citizens hauing ouer great affiance in the multitude of the people, and so consequentlie being somewhat retchlesse in heeding the mountaine enimie that lurked vnder their noses, were woont to rome and roile in clusters, sometime threé or foure miles from the towne. The Irish enimie spieng that the citizens were accustomed to fetch such od vagaries, especiallie on the holie daies, & hauing an inkling withall by some false clatterfert or other, that a companie of them would haue ranged abroad, on mondaie in the Easter weeke towards the wood of Cullen, which is distant two miles from Dublin, they laie in stale verie well appointed, and laid in sundrie places for their comming. The citizens rather minding the pleasure they should presentlie inioy, than forecasting the hurt that might insue, flockt vnarmed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them that laie hooing in ambush, they were to the number of fiue hundred miserablie slaine. Wherevpon the remnant of the citizens deeming that vnluckie time to be a crosse or a dismall daie, gaue it the appellation of Black mondaie.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

The citie soone after being peopled by a fresh supplie of Bristollians, to dare the Irish enimie, agréed to banket yearelie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the maior and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a costlie dinner within a mote or a rundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mountaine enimie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a pastie crust from thense. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are parioch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratorie and chappels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sanctæ trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue beene builded, if not in Auellanus his time, yet soone after by the Danes. The building of which was both repared & enlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and soone after the conquest it hath béene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephans and Strangbow the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intoomed. The chappell that standeth in the chore, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intoomed.

The contention betwixt one Church church and Saint Patrikes church.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable liuings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north doore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and woorthie prelate Iohn Commin, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. This foundation was greatlie aduanced by the liberalitie of king Iohn. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christes church for antiquitie, wherein doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to give place, vnlesse they haue further matter to shew, and

and better reasons to build vpon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michael, Saint Verherorse, or Saint Varburgh, so called of a Chesshire virgine. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. Hir feast is kept the third of Februarie. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint Iohn the euangelist, Saint Audeon, which is corruptlie called Saint Ouen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourtéenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the worships of the citie are demurrant within that paroch.

Saint Tullocke now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the FitzSimons. Fitz Simons was for the more part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane castell, to the fish shambles, called the Cockhill, with Preston his innes, & the lane thereto adjoining, which scope is now vnited to Saint Iohn his paroch. S. Katharine, S. Michan or Mighan, Saint Iames; his feast is celebrated the five and S. Iames his faire. twentieth of Iulie, on which daie in ancient time was there a woorthie faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dog-cheape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie stored by strangers: and the citie merchants not vttering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and therevpon forced to run on the score, were verie much impouerished. Wherefore partlie thorough the canuasing of the towne merchants, and partlie by the winking of the rest of the citizens, being woon vpon manie gaie glosed promises, by plaieng bopéepe to beare themselves ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppress, and all forren saile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memoriall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint Iames his gate. Saint Michael of Poules, *aliàs* Paules, Saint Brigide, Saint Keuin, Saint Peter *Demonte*, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this daie, although not in such chast and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the erection thereof. The maior with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there dooth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates neere the White friers, Saint Keuen his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poule gate, *aliàs* Paules gate, Newgate, a goale or prison, Wine tauerne gate, Saint Audeon his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cockestréet. The reason why this gate, and the Wine tauerne gate were builded, procéded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruise a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruise king of Scots arriued in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on forwards with his armie, vntill he came as far as Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being sore amazed at the sudden and Scarborough approach of so puissant an enimie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his stréet, least he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue anie succour in the suburbs. The maior (named Robert Notingham) and communalitie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbeie of the frier preachers, called Saint Sauieur his monasterie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that waie did cast a wall for the better fortifieng of the ciuitie, mistrusting that the wals that went along both the keies, should not haue béene of sufficient force to outhold the enimie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifieng of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the

The name of the gates of citie and sub of Dublin.

Simon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remooued towards the Naas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbey they razed; saieing, that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Gurmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Coockolds post. Some suppose, that one Gurmundus builded this gate, and thereof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Irish assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Ormond, then by good hap sojourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the valiant exploit and famous conquest of so woorthie a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Ormond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Newstreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint Iames his gate.

The names of
the streets
and ciuitie
of Dublin.
John Decer.

Ostmanni.

1090.

1095.
Ostmanni
and the ciuitie

The Dammes stréet, the Castle stréet, stretching to the pillorie, Saint Verberosses stréet, Saint Iohn his stréet, *aliás* fish shamble street, Skinners reu reaching from the pillorie to the tolehall, or to the high crosse. The high stréet bearing to the high pipe. This pipe was builded in the yeare 1308, by a woorthie citizen named Iohn Decer, being then maior of Dublin. He builded not long before that time the bridge hard by Saint Woolstans, that reacheth ouer the Liffie. The Newgate stréet, from the Newgate to Saint Audoen his church. Saint Nicholas his stréet, the Wine tauerne street, the Cooke street, the Bridge stréet. This stréet with the greater part of the keie was burnt in the yeare 1304. The Woodkeie, the Merchant keie, Osmontowne, so called of certaine Easterlings or Normans, properlie the Danes that were called Ostmanni. They planted themselves hard by the water side neere Dublin, and discomfited at Clontarf in a skirmish diuerse of the Irish. The names of the Irish capteins slaine were Brian Borrough, Miagh macke Bren, Tadie Okellie, Dolin Ahertegan, Gille Barramede. These were Irish potentates, and before their discomfiture they ruled the rost. They were interred at Kilmainanne ouer against the great crosse. There arriued a fresh supplie of Easterlings at Dublin in the yeare 1095, and setled themselves on the other side of the ciuitie, which of them to this daie is called Ostmantowne, that is, the towne of the Ostmannes, whereof there ariseth great likelihood to haue béene a separat towne from the citie, being parted from Dublin by the Liffie, as Southworke is seuered from London by Thames. Saint Thomas his stréet; this street was burnt by mishap in the yeare 1343. The New buildings, the New stréet, Saint Francis his stréet, the Kowme, Saint Patrike his street, the backside of Saint Sepulchres, Saint Keuen his street, the Poule, or Paulmilstréet, Saint Brigids stréet, the Shéepe street, *aliás* the Ship stréet. For diuerse are of opinion, that the sea had passage that waie, and thereof to be called the Ship stréet.

The Lane.

This as it séemesh not wholie impossible; considering that the sea floweth and ebbeth hard by it: so it carieth a more colour of truth with it, because there haue béene found there certaine iron rings fastned to the towne wall, to hold and grapple botes withall. Saint Verberosses lane, vp to Saint Nicholas his stréet, now inclosed, Saint Michael his lane, beginning at Saint Michael his pipe, Christchurch lane, Saint Iohn his lane, Ram lane, *aliás* the Schoolehouse lane, Saint Audoen his lane, Késers lane. This lane is stéepe and slipperie, in which otherwhiles, they that make more hast, than good spéed, clinke their bums to the stones. And therefore the ruder sort, whether it be through corruption of spéech, or for that they giue it a nickname, commonlie term it, not so homelic, as trulie, Kisse arse lane. Rochell lane, *aliás* Backelane, on the southside of the flesh shambles, the Cookestréet lane, Frapper lane, Giglottes hill, Marie lane, Saint Tullocke his lane, Sculet lane, *alias* Bonds lane, Saint Patchers lane, Saint Kenin his lane, the

White

White friers lane, Saint Stephan his lane, Hogs lane, the Ser lane, Saint George his lane, where in old time were builded diuerse old and ancient monuments. And as an inscriber of antiquities may (by the view there to be taken) conjecture, the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should séeme to haue stretched that waie. But the inhabitants being daile and hourely molested and preided by their prailing mounteine neighbors, were forced to suffer their buildings fall in decaie, and embayed themselues within the citie wals.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Colles hines, which in old time was the Escaxar or Exchequer. Which should implic that the princes court would not haue béene kept there, unlesse the place had béene taken to be cocksure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnelie, and as it seemed, retchleslie: the Irish espieng the oportunitie, rushed into the court in plumps, where surprising the vnweaponed multitude, they committed horrible slaughters by sparing none that came vnder their dint; and withall, as far as their Scarborough leasure could serue them, they ransacke the prince his thesaure, vpon which mishap the exchequer was from thense remooued. There hath beene also in that lane a chappell dedicated to saint George, likelie to haue béene founded by some worthie knight of the garter. The maior with his brethren was accustomed with great triumphs and pageants yéerelie on saint George his feast to repaire to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath beene of late razed, and the stones therof by consent of the assemblie turned to a common ouen, conuerting the ancient monument of a doutie, aduenturous, and holie knight, to the colerake swéeping of a puffsafe baker. The great bridge going to Ostmantowne, saint Nicholas his bridge, the Poule gate bridge, repared by Nicholas Stanihurst about the yeere one thousand five hundred forty & foure, the Castell bridge, S. James his bridge.

The castell of Dublin was builded by Henrie Loundres (sometime archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland) about the yéere of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twentie. This castell hath beside the gate house foure goodlie and substantiall towers, of which one of them is named Bermingham his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghams did inlarge the building thereof, or else that he was long in duresse in that tower. This castell hath béene of late much beautified with sundrie and gorgious buildings in the time of sir Henrie Sidneie, sometimes lord deputie of Ireland. In the commendation of which buildings an especiall welwiller of his lordships penned these verses:

“ Gesta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,
 Laudis & in chartis stigmata fixa manent.
 Verùm Sidnæi laudes hæc saxa loquuntur,
 Nec iacet in solis gloria tanta libris.
 Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
 Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
 Lignaque si pereant, non ergò saxa peribunt,
 Saxaque si pereant tempore, tempus erit.
 Si pereat tempus, minimè consumitur æuum,
 Quod cum principio, sed sine fine manet.
 Dum libri florent, homines dum viuere possunt,
 Dum quoque cum lignis saxa manere valent,
 Dum remanet tempus, dum denique permanet æuum,
 Laus tua, Sidnæi, digna perire nequit.”

There standeth neere the castell ouer against a void roome called Preston his innes, a tower named Isouds tower. It tooke the name of la Beale Isoud, daughter to Anguish king of Ireland. It séemeth to haue béene a castle of pleasure for the

largest of all the castles therein. Which was not vnlle, considering that a hundred years might see such single soule kings as were at those daies in Ireland. There is a village hard by Dublin, called of the said la Beule, chappell Isoud.

Saint Pulchers, the archbishop of Dublin his house, as well pleasantlie sited as gorgeously builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of this house was of set purpose fired by an archbishop, to the end the gouernors (which for the more part like there) should not haue so goodliking to the house: not far disagreeing from the policie that I heard a noble man tell he used, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other choise horses, did bob-taile him vpon his returne to the stable, least anie of his fréends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble-man being so bountifullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, & of discretion he would séeme to giue his fréend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

Saint Stephans gréene, Hogging gréene, the Steine, Ostmantowne gréene. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scald brothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious theefe named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hide all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath eftsoones outrun the swiftest and lustiest yoong men in all Ostmantowne, maugre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the gallows, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being shrowded within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie prolling, till time he was by certeine gaping groomes that laie in wait for him, intercepted, fléeing toward his couch, hauing upon his apprehension no more wrong doone him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and iolitie he was woont to run. There standeth in Ostmantowne gréene an hillocke, named little Iohn his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

1189
Robert Hood. In the yéere one thousand one hundred foure score and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little Iohn were cheefeteins, of all theeues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betraied at a nunrie in Scotland called Bricklies, the remnant of the crue was scattered, and euerie man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherevpon little Iohn was faine to flée the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he soiornied for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being doone to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartilie to trie how far he could shoot at randon: who yéelding to their behest, stood on the bridge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leauing behind him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be woondered, than possible by anie man liuing to be counterscored. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or village called Moraue. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little Iohn, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue béene fourteene foot long, which was a pretie length for a little Iohn. Whereby appeereth that he was called little Iohn.

Little Iohn deceased.

John ironically, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knave in graine.

Neere to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annexed to the crowne, The King's manors which are named to this daie, the Kings land; to wit, Newcastle, Massaggard, Eschire, and Crumlin. Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin paieth a great chiefe rent to the prince than anie of the other three, which procéded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemeanor, tooke then vp very sharplie in the court, and with rough and minatorie speéches began to menace them. The lobbish and desperat clobberiousnesse, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the costard, and left him there spralling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murther their rent was inhansed, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other thrée manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is aforesaid) in the yeere one hundred Waterford: fiftie and five. Ptolome nameth it Manapia, but whie he approprieth that name Manapia. to this citie, neither dooth he declare, nor I ghesse. This city is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow stréets. The hauen is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of forren traffike in short space atteine to abundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtill, yea nathelesse the sharpnesse of their wittes séemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in good sooth the townesmen, and namelie students are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in taking, and sure in kéeping. The citizens are verie héedie and warie in all their publike affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke yer they leape. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maior neither a rich man that is yoong, nor an old man that is poore. They are cheerfull in the interteinment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benchwhistlers, nor luskish faitors: for yoong and old are wholie addicted to thriving; the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aqua vitæ*, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. A fréend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The mastifs had no sooner espied him, but déeming he had béene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie muzzled, and partlie chained, he doubted not, but that he should haue béene well tugd in this Irish rug; wherevpon he solemnlie vowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such wéed. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue béene distained with the smallest spot, or dusked with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the cities armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intacta manet*: a posie as well to be hartilie followed, as The posie of Waterford. greatlie admired of all true and loiall townes.

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Yuorus, as is before men- Limerike. tioned, about the yéere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notablie seuered Mounster and Con- Sennan the river of Limerike. naught: the Irish name this citie Lounneagh, and thereof in English it is named Limerike. Limerike whie so called. The towne is planted in an Iland, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was stored with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his peers, incamped in that Ile, hauing so great a troope of horssemen, as the horsses ate vp the grasse in

in foure and twentie hours. Wherevpon for the notorious number of horses, the place is called *Loum ne augh*: that is, the horse bare, or a place made bare or eaten vp by horses. The verie maine sea is three score miles distant from the towne, and yet the riuer is so nauigable, as a ship of two hundred tuns may saile to the keie of the citie. The riuer is termed in Irish *Shaune amne*, that is, the old riuer: for *shaune* is old, & *amne* is a riuer, deducted of the Latine word *amnis*. The building of Limerike is sumptuous and substantiall.

Corke. Corke, in Latine *Coracium* or *Corracium*, the fourth citie of Ireland happilie planted on the sea. Their haven is an haven roiall. On the land side they are inclosed with euill neighbors, the Irish outlaws, that they are faine to watch their gates hourlie, to keepe them shut at seruice times, at meales from sun to sun, nor suffer anie stranger to enter the citie with his weapon, but the same to leaue at a ledge appointed. They walke out at seasons for recreation with power of men furnished. They trust not the countrie adioining, but match in wedlocke among themselues onelie, so that the whole citie is welnigh linked one to the other in affinitie. *Drogheda.* Drogheda, accounted the best towne in Ireland, and trulie not far behind some of their cities. The one moitie of this towne is in Meth, the other planted on the further side of the water lieth in Ulster. There runneth a blind prophesie on this towne, that Rosse was, Dublin is, Drogheda shall be the best of the three.

Rosse. Rosse, an haven towne in Mounster not far from Waterford, which séemeth to haue béene in ancient time a towne of great port. Whereof sundrie & probable coniectures are giuen, as well by the old ditches that are now a mile distant from the wals of Rosse, betweene which wals and ditches the relikes of the ancient wals, gates, and towers, placed betweene both are yet to be seene. The towne is builded in a barren soile, and planted among a crue of naughtie and prolling neighbours. And in old time when it florished, albeit the towne were sufficientlie peopled, yet as long as it was not compassed with wals, they were formed with watch & ward, to keepe it from the gréedie snatching of the Irish enimies. With whome as they were generallie molested, so the priuat cousening of one pezzant on a sudden, incensed them to inuiron their towne with strong and substantiall wals. There repaired one of the Irish to this towne on horsebacke, and cspieng a peece of cloth on a merchants stall, tooke hold thereof, and bet the cloth to the lowest price he could. As the merchant and he stood dodging one with the other in cheaping the ware, the horsseman considering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growne to a price, made wise as though he would haue drawne to his purse, to haue defraied the monie. The cloth in the meane while being tucked vp and placed before him, he gaue the spur to his horsse and ran awaie with the cloth, being not imbard from his posting pase, by reason the towne was not perclosed either with ditch or wall. The townesmen being pinched at the heart, that one rascal in such scornefull wise should giue them the slampaine, not so much weieing the slendernesse of the losse, as the shamefulnessse of the foile, they put their heads togither, consulting how to preuent either the sudden rushing, or the posthast flieng of anie such aduenturous rakehell hereafter.

Rose of Rosse. In which consultation a famous Dido, a chast widow, a politike dame, a bountifull gentlewoman, called Rose, who representing in sinceritie of life the sweetness of that hearbe whose name she bare, vnfolded the deuise, how anie such future mischance should be preuented: and withall opened hir coffers liberallie, to haue it furthered: two good properties in a counsellor. Hir deuise was, that the towne should incontinentlie be inclosed with wals, & therewithall promised to discharge the charges, so that they would not sticke to find out labourers. The deuise of this worthie matrone being wise, and the offer liberall, the townesmen agreed to

to follow the one, and to put their helping hands to the atchiuing of the other. The worke was begun, which thorough the multitude of hands seemed light. For the whole towne was assembled, tag and rag, cut and long taile: none exempted, but such as were bedred and impotent. Some were tasked to delue, others appointed with mattocks to dig, diuerse allotted to the vnheaping of rubbish, manie bestowed to the cariage of stones, sundrie occupied in tempering of morter, the better sort busied in ouerseeing the workmen, ech one according to his vocation imploied, as though the ciuitie of Carthage were afresh in building, as it is featlie verified by the golden poet Virgil, and neatlie Englished by master doctor Phaer.

The Moores with courage went to worke,
 some vnder burdens grônes :
 Some at the wals and towrs with hands
 were tumbling vp the stones.
 Some measurd out a place to build
 their mansion house within :
 Some lawes and officers to make
 in parlment did begin.
 An other had an hauen cast,
 and deepe they trench the ground,
 Some other for the games and plaies
 a statelie place had found.
 And pillers great they cut for kings,
 to garnish foorth their wals.
 And like as bees among the flours,
 when fresh the summer fals,
 In shine of sunne applie their worke,
 when growne is vp their yoong :
 Or when their hieues they gin to stop,
 and honie sweet is sproong,
 That all their caues and cellars close
 with dulcet liquor fils,
 Some doo outlade, some other bring
 the stuffe with readie wils.
 Sometime they ioine, and all at once
 doo from their mangers fet
 The slothful drones, that would consume,
 and nought would doo to get.
 The worke it heats, the honie smels,
 of flours and thime ywet.

But to returne from Dido of Carthage, to Rose of Rosse, and hir worke. The labourers were so manie, the worke, by reason of round and exchequer paiment, so well applied, the quarrie of faire marble so néere at hand (for they affirme, that out of the trenches and ditches hard by their rampiers, the stones were had: and all that plot is so stonie, that the foundation is an hard rocke) that these wals with diuerse braue turrets were suddenlie mounted, and in manner sooner finished, than to the Irish enimies notified: which I wisse was no small corsie to them. These wals in circuit are equall to London wals. It hath three gorgeous gates, Bishop his gate, on the east side: Algate, on the east southeast side: and Southgate, on the south part. This towne was no more iamoused for the table wooden bridge that stretched from the towne vnto the water, which must haue bene by 12 mile surer.

Diuers of the poles, logs, and stakes, with which the bridge was underpropt, stie to this daie in the water. A man would here suppose, that so flourishing a towne, so firmelie builded, so substantiallie walled, so well peopled, so plentifulie with thriftie artificers stored, would not haue fallen to anie sudden decaie.

1664. 1665.

But as the secret and déepe iudgements of God are veiled within the couerture of his diuine maiestie, so it standeth not with the dulnesse of man his wit, to beat his braines in the curious insearching of hidden mysteries. Wherefore I, as an historian vndertaking in this treatise, rather plainelie to declare what was doone, than rashlie to inquire why it should be doone: purpose, by God his assistance, to accomplish, as néere as I can, my dutie in the one, leauing the other to the frivolous deciding of busie heads. This Rose, who was the foundresse of these former rehearsed wals, had issue thrée sonnes (howbeit some hold opinion, that they were but hir nephues) who being bolstered out thorough the wealth of their moother, and supported by their traffike, made diuerse prosperous voiajes into forren countries. But as one of the thrée chapmen was imploied in his traffike abroad, so the prettie poplet his wife began to be a fresh occupieng giglot at home, and by report fell so farre acquainted with a religious cloisterer of the towne, as that he gat within the lining of hir smocke. Both the parties wallowing ouerlong in the stinking puddle of adulterie, suspicion began to créepe in some townesmens brains: and to be briefe, it came so farre, thorough the iust iudgement of God, to light, whether it were that she was with child in hir husband his absence, or that hir loue vied hir fondlie in open presence, as the presumption was not onelie vehement, but also the fact too apparent: hir vnfortunat husband had no sooner notice giuen him vpon his returne of these sorowfull newes, than his fingers began to nibble, his teeth to grin, his eies to trickle, his eares to dindle, his head to dazell, insomuch as his heart being scared with gelousie, and his wits installed thorough phrensie, he became as mad as a March hare.

The pangs of
gelousie.

But how heauilie soeuer hir husband tooke it, dame Rose and all hir friends (which were in effect all the townesmen, for that she was their common benefactresse) were galled at their hearts, as well to heare of the enormous adulterie, as to see the bedlem pangs of brainsicke gelousie. Wherevpon diuerse of the townesmen grunting and grudging at the matter, said that the fact was horrible, and that it were a deed of charitie vtterlie to grub awaie such wild shrubs from the towne: and if this were in anie dispunishable wise raked vp in the ashes, they should no sooner trauese the seas, than some other would inkindle the like fire afresh, and so consequentlie dishonest their wiues, and make their husbands to become change-lings, as being turned from sober mood to be hornewood, because rutting wiues make often rammish husbands, as our prouerb dooth inferre. Others soothing their fellows in these mutinies turned the priuat iniurie vnto a publike quarrell, and a number of the townesmen conspiring together flocked in the dead of the night, well appointed, to the abbeie, wherein the frier was cloistered (the monument of which abbeie is yet to be séene at Rosse on the south side) where vndersparring the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doore, they stabbed the adulterer with the rest of the couent thorough with their weapons. Where they left them goaring in their bloud, roaring in their cabbins, and gasping vp their flitting ghosts in their couches.

The vproré was great, and they to whome the slaughter before hand was not imparted, were wonderfullie thereat astonied. But in especiall the remnant of the cleargie bare verie hollow hearts to the townesmen; and how freendlie their outward countenances were, yet they would not with inward thought forget nor forgiue so horrible a murther, but were fullie resolved, whensoever oportunitie serued them, to sit in their skirts, by making them soule as sorowfull a kyrie. These
three

thréé brethren not long after this bloudie exploit, sped them into some outlandish countrie to continue their trade. The religious men being doone to vnderstand, as it seemed, by some of their neighbors, which foresailed them homeward, that these thrée brethren were readie to be imbarked, slunkt priuillie out of the towne, and resorted to the mouth of the hauen, néere a castell, named Hulke tower, Hulke tower. which is a notable marke for pilots, in directing them which waie to sterne their ships, and to eschew the danger of the craggie rocks theré on euerie side of the shore peking. Some iudge that the said Rose was foundresse of this tower, and of purpose did build it for the safetie of hir children, but at length it turned to their bane. For these reuengers nightlie did not misse to laie a lanterne on the top of the rocks, that were on the other side of the water. Which practise was not long by them continued, when these three passengers bering saile with a lustie gale of wind, made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had béene the Hulke tower. But they tooke their marke so farre amisse, as they were not ware, till time their ship was dasht and pasht against the rocks, and all the passengers ouerwhirled in the sea.

This heauie hap was not so sorowfull vnto the townesmen, as it was gladsome to the religious, thinking that they had in part cried them acquittance, the more that they, which were drowned, were the archbrochers of their brethrens bloud. Howbeit they would not crie hoa here, but sent in post some of their couent to Rome, where they inhansed the slaughter of the fraternitie so heinouslie, and concealed their owne pranks so couertlie, as the pope excommenged the towne, the towne accursed the friers: so that there was such curssing and banning of all hands, and such dissentious hurlie burlie raised betwéene themselues, as the estate of that flourishing towne was turned arsie versie, topside the otherwaie, and from abundance of prosperitie quite exchanged to extreame penurie.

The wals stand to this daie, a few streets and houses in the towne, no small parcell thereof is turned to orchards and gardens. The greater part of the towne is steepe and steaming vpward. Their church is called Christs church, in the north side whereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke his toome: whereby coniecture may rise, that the Danes were founders of that church. This Rosse is called Rosse *Noua*, or Rosse *Ponti*, by reason of their bridge. That New Rosse, old Rosse. which they call old Rosse, beareth east thrée miles from this Rosse, into the countrie of Weisford, an ancient manour of the earle of Kildares. There is the third Rosse on the other side of the water, called Rosse Ibarcan, so named, for that it Rosse Ibarcan. standeth in the countrie of Kilkennie, which is diuided into thrée parts, into Ibircan, Ida, & Idouth. Weisford a hauen towne not far from Rosse, I find no Weisford. great matters thereof recorded, but onelie that it is to be had in great price of all the English posteritie, planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the first fostresse and harboursse of the English conquerors.

Kilkennie, the best vplandish towne, or (as they terme it) the properest drie Kilkennie. town in Ireland, it is parted into the high towne, and the Irish towne. The Irish towne claimeth a corporation apart from the high towne, whereby great factions grow dailie betwéene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irish towne is the ancienter, and was called the old Kilkennie, being vnder the bishop his becke, as they are or ought to be at this present. The high towne was builded by the English after the conquest, and had a parcell of the Irish towne thereto vnited, by the bishop his grant, made vnto the founders vpon their earnest request. In the 1400 yeare 1400, Robert Talbot a worthie gentleman, inclosed with wals the better part Robert Talbot. of this towne, by which it was greatlie fortified. This gentleman deceased in the yeare 1415. In this towne in the chore of the frier preachers, William Marshall William Marshall. earle marshall and earle of Penbroke was buried, who departed this life in the yeare 1231.

1234.

1231. Richard brother to William, to whome the inheritance descended, within threë yeares after deceased at Kilkennie, being wounded to death in a field giuen in the heath of Kildare, in the yeare 1234, the twelfe of Aprill, and was intoomed with his brother, according to the old epitaph héere mentioned :

“ Hic comes est positus Richardus vulnere fossus,
Cuius sub fossa Kilkenia continet ossa.”

The churches of
Kilkennie.

The grammar
school.
Pierce Butler.
Margaret Fitz-
gerald.

Peter White.

Kilkennie whie
so called.
The life of Ka-
nicus.

This towne hath threë churches, saint Kennies church, our ladies church, *alias* S. Maries church ; and S. Patrikes church, with the abbeie of S. John. S Kennies church is their chéeffe and cathedrall church, a worthie foundation as well for gorgeous buildings, as for notable liuings. In the west end of the churchyard of late haue beene founded a grammar schoole by the right honorable Pierce or Peter Butler erle of Ormond and Ossorie, and by his wife the countesse of Ormond, the ladie Margaret fitz Gerald, sister to Girald fitz Girald the earle of Kildare that last was. Out of which schoole haue sprouted such proper impes, through the painefull diligence, and the laboursome industrie of a famous lettered man M. Peter White (sometime fellow of Oriall college in Oxford, and schoolemaister in Kilkennie) as generallie the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especiallie the southerne parts of that Iland are greatlie thereby furthered. This gentlemans method in training vp youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholers veine. If he found him frée, he would bridle him like a wise Isocrates from his booke ; if he perceiued him to be dull, he would spur him forward ; if he vnderstood that he were the woorse for beating, he would win him with rewards : finallie, by interlasing studie with recreation, sorrow with mirth, paine with pleasure, sownesse with sweetnesse, roughnesse with mildnesse, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good sooth I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no grammar schoole so good, in England I am well assured none better. And bicause it was my happie hap (God and my parents bē thanked) to haue béene one of his crue, I take it to stand with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifest my good will in remembring his paines. And certes, I acknowledge my selfe so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest stone cemented in the wals of that famous schoole. This towne is named Kilkennie, of an holie and learned abbat called Kanicus, borne in the countie of Kilkennie, or (as it is in some bookes recorded) in Connaght. This prelat being in his suckling yeres fostered, through the prouidence of God, with the milke of a cow, and baptized and bishoped by one Luracus, thereto by Gods especiall appointment deputed, grew in tract of time to such deuotion and learning, as he was reputed of all men to be as well a mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other : whereof he gaue sufficient coniecture in his minoritie. For being turned to the kéeping of sheepe, and his fellow shéepheards, wholie yéelding themselues like luskish vagabunds to slouth and sluggishnesse, yet would he still find himselfe occupied in framing with osiars and twigs, little wodden churches, and in fashioning the furnitures thereto appertaining. Being stept further in yeares, he made his repaire into England, where cloistering himselfe in an abbeie, wherof one named Doctus was abbat, he was wholie wedded to his booke, and to deuotion : wherein he continued so painefull and diligent, as being on a certeine time penning a serious matter, and hauing not fullie drawne the fourth vocall, the abbeie bell tingd to assemble the couent to some spirituall exercise. To which he so hastened, as he left the letter in semicircle-wise vnfinished, vntill he returned backe to his booke. Soone after being promoted to ecclesiasticall orders, he trauelled by the consent of his fellow moonks to Rome, and in Italie he gaue such manifest prooffe of his pietie, as to this daie in some parts thereof he is highlie renowned.

Thomas

Thomas towne, a proper towne builded in the countie of Kilkennie, by one Thomas Fitzantonie an Englishman. The Irish thereof name it Ballie mac Andan: that is, the towne of Fitzantonie. This gentleman had issue two daughters, the one of them was espoused to Denne, the other married to Archdeacon, or Mackodo, whose heires haue at this daie the towne betwéene them in coparcenarie. But bicause the reader may see in what part of the countrie the cities and cheefe townes stand, I take it not far amisse to place them in order as insueth.

Drogheda, Carregfargus, Downe, Armagh, Arglash, Cloagher, Muncighan, Doonnegaulle, Karreg mac Rosse, Newrie, Carlingford, Ardie, Doondalke, Louth, Dublin, Bulrudrie, Luske, Swords, Tashaggard, Lions, Newcastle, Rathcouie, Oughter arde, Naas, Clane, Mainooth, Kilcocke, Rathaimgan, Kildare, Luianne, Castletowne, Philips towne, Mariborough, Kilcullen, Castle Marten, Thistledermot, Kilca, Athie, Catherlaugh, Leighelen, Gauranne, Thomas towne, Enestiocke, Casheselle, Callanne, Kilkennie, Knocktofer, Rosse, Clonmelle, Weisford, Fernes, Fidderd, Enescortie, Tathmon, Wickloa, Ackloa. Waterford, Lismore, Doongaruan, Yoghill, Corke, Limerike, Kilmallocke. Aloane, Galuoie, Anrie, Louaghriagh, Clare, Toame, Sligagh, Rossecomman, Arctlowne. Trimme, Doonshaghlenne, Rathlouth, Nauanne, Abooie, Scrine, Taraugh, Kemles, Doonboine, Gréenocke, Du-
 léeke. Molingare, Fowre, Loughseude, Kilkeniwest, Moilaghagh, Deluinne.

Thomas towne.
 Thomas Fitzantonie.

The names of
 the cheefe
 townes in Vlster.
 The names of the
 cheefe townes in
 Leinster.

Cheefe townes
 in Mounster.
 Cheefe townes
 in Connaght.
 Cheefe townes
 in Meeth.
 Cheefe townes
 in Westmeeth.

1542

In the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, it was enacted in a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie of Ireland, that Méeth should be diuided, and made two shires, one of them to be called the countie of Meeth, the other to be called the countie of Westméeth, and that there should be two shiriffes and officers conuenient within the same shires, as is more exprest in the act.

Loughfoile, the Banne, Wolderfrith, Craregfergus, Strangford, Ardglass, Lough-euen, Carlingford, Kilkeale, Dundalke, Kilclogher, Dunane, Drogheda, Houle-patrike, Nanie, Baltraie, Brimore, Balbriggan, Roggers towne, Skerrish, Rush, Malahide, Baledooile, Houth, Dublin, Dalkée, Wickincloa, Arckloa, Weisford, Bagganbun, the Passage, Waterford, Dungaruan, Rosse noua, Youghille, Corke mabegge, Corke, Kinsale, Kierie, Rosse Ilbere, Dorrie, Baltinimore, Downenere, Downeshead, Downelounge, Attannanne, Craghanne, Downenebwine, Balineski-liliedge, Daugine Ichouse, Tralie, Seninne, Cassanne, Kilnewine, Limerike, Inniskartée, Belalenne, Arinenewine, Glanemaugh, Balliweiham, Binwarre, Dowris, Woran, Roskam, Galwaie, Killinillie, Innesbosinne, Owran, Moare, Kilcolken, Burske, Belleclare, Rathesilbene, Bierweisowre, Buraueis hare, Ardne makow, Rosbare, Kilgolinne, Wallalele, Rabranne, Strone, Burweis now, Zaltra, Kalbalie, Ardnocke, Adrowse, Sligaghe, Innes Bowsenne.

The names of
 the chiefe hauen
 townes in Ireland.

Cambrensis obserued in his time, that when the sea dooth eb at Dublin, it ebbeth also at Bristow, and floweth at Milford and Weisford. At Wickloa the sea ebbeth when in all other parts it commonlie floweth. Furthermore this he noted, that the riuer which runneth by Wickloa vpon a low eb is salt, but in Arckloa the next hauen towne, the riuer is fresh when the sea is at full. He writeth also, that not far from Arckloa standeth a rocke, and when the sea ebbeth in one side thereof, it floweth in the other side as fast. Cambrensis insearcheth diuerse philosophicall reasons in finding out the cause, by obseruing the course of the moone, who is the empresse of moisture. But those subtilties I leaue for the schoolestréets.

Camb. lib. 1.
 top. dist. 2. rub.
 3. & 4.

OF THE STRANGE AND WOONDERFULL PLACES IN IRELAND.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

S. Patrike his
purgatorie.

I THINKE it good to begin with S. Patrike his purgatorie, partlie bicause it is most notoriouslie knowne, & partlie the more, that some writers, as the author of Polychronicon and others that were miscaried by him, séeme to make great doubt where they néed not. For they ascribe the finding out of the place not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie, but an other Patrike an abbat, whom likewise they affirme to haue béene imploied in conuerting the Iland from heathenrie to christianitie.

Camb. lib. 1.
top. g. dist. 2.
rub. 6.

But the author that brocheth this opinion, is not found to carie anie such credit with him, as that a man may certeinlie affirme it, or probablie coniecture it; vnlesse we relie to the old withered worme eaten legend, loded with as manie lowd lies, as lewd lines. The better and the more certeine opinion is, that the other Patrike found it out, in such wise as Cambrensis reporteth. There is a poole or lake, saith he, in the parts of Vlster, that inuironneth an Iland, in the one part whereof there standeth a church much lightned with the brightsome recourse of angels: the other part is ouglie and gastlie, as it were a bedlem allotted to the visible assemblies of horrible and grislie bugs. This part of the Iland conteineth nine caues. And if anie dare be so hardie, as to take one night his lodging in anie of these ins, which hath béene experimented by some rash & harebraine aduenturers, streight these spirits claw him by the backe, and tug him so ruggedlie, and tosse him so crabbedlie, that now and then they make him more franke of his bum than of his toong; a paiement correspondent to his interteinement. This place is called S. Patrike his purgatorie of the inhabitants. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuersion of the people of Vlster, by setting before their eies in great heat of spirit, the creation of the world, the fall of our progenitors, the redemption of man by the blessed and pretious blood of our sauour Iesus Christ, the certentie of death, the immortalitie of the soule, the generall resurrection, our latter doome, the ioies of heauen, the paines of hell, how that at length euerie man, small and great, yoong and old, rich and poore, king and keaser, potentate and pezzant must either through God his gracious mercie be exalted to the one, to flourish in perpetuall felicitie; or through his vnsearchable iustice tumble downe to the other, to be tormented in eternall miserie. These and the like graue and weightie sentences, wherwith he was abundantlie stored, so far sunke into their harts, as they séemed verie flexible in condescending to his behest: so that some prooffe of his estrange preaching could haue béene veriefied. Wherevpon, without further delaie, they spake to the prelat in this wise.

“Sir, as we like of your preaching, so we dislike not of our libertie. You tell vs of manie gugawes and estrange dreames. You would haue vs to abandon infidelitie, to cage vp our libertie, to bridle our pleasure: for which you promise vs for our toile and labour a place to vs as vnknown, so as yet vncerteine. You sermon to vs of a dungeon appointed for offenders and miscredents. In deed if we could find that to be true, we would the sooner be weaned from the sweet napple of our libertie, and frame our selues pliant to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs.” S. Patrike considering, that these sealie soules were (as all duncarnanes for the more part are) more to be terrified from infidelitie through the paines of hell, than allured to christianitie by the ioies of heauen, most hartilie besought God, so it stood with his gracious pleasure, for the honour and glorie of his diuine name, to giue out some euident or glimsing token of the matter they importunatlie required.

Finallie

Finallie by the especiall direction of God, he found in the north edge of Vlster a desolate corner hemmed in round, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a church, called Reglis or Reglasse. At the east end of the churchyard a doore Reglasse. leadeth into a closet of stone like a long ouen, which they call S. Patrike his purgatorie, for that the people resort thither euen at this daie for penance, and haue reported at their returne estrange visions of paine and blisse appearing vnto them.

The author of Polychronicon writeth that in the reigne of king Stephan, a knight Polychr. lib. 1. c. 56. named Owen pilgrimaged to this purgatorie, being so appalled at the strange visions that there he saw, as that vpon his returne from thense he was wholie mortified, and sequestering himselfe from the world, he spent the remnant of his life in an abbeie of Ludensis. Also Dyonisius a charterhouse moonke recordeth a vision seene in Dyon. Cart in lib. de quatuor nouiss. art. 48. that place by one Agneius, Egneius, whereof who so is inquisitiue, may resort to his treatise written *De quatuor nouissimis*. Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, Ioh. Camert. in lib. Solini. cap. 35. which he surmiseth vpon the gesse of other, that Claudius writeth of this purgatorie. Which if it be true, the place must haue béene extant before saint Patrike, but not so famouslie known. The poet his verses are these following :

“ Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia littus,
Oceani prætentus aquis, quo fertur Vlysses
Sanguine libato populum mouisse silentum,
Flebilis auditur questus, simulachra coloni
Pallida, defunctasque vident migrare figuras.”

Claud. lib. 1. in Ruffin.

“ There is a place toward the ocean sea from brim of Gallish shore,
Wherein Vlysses pilgrim strange with offred bloud ygore,
The people there did mooue, a skritchng shrill from dungeon lug
The dwellers all appall with gastlie galpe of grislie bug.
There onelie shapes are seene to stare with visage wan and sad,
From nouke to nouke, from place to place, in eluish skips to gad.”

They that repaire to this place for deuotion his sake vse to continue therein foure & twentie houres, which dooing otherwhile with ghostlie meditations, and otherwhile a dread for the conscience of their deserts, they saie they see a plaine resemblance of their owne faults and vertues, with the horror and comfort therevnto belonging, the one so terrible, the other so ioious, that they verelie déeme themselues for the time to haue sight of hell and heauen. The reuelations of men that went thither (S. Patrike yet liuing) are kept written within the abbeie there adioining. When anie person is disposed to enter (for the doore is euer spard) he repaireth first for deuise to the archbishop, who casteth all pericles, and dissuadeth the pilgrime from the attempt, because it is known that diuerse entering into that caue, neuer were seene to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fullie resolued, he recommendeth him to the prior, who in like maner fauourable exhorteth him to choose some other kind of penance, and not to hazard such a danger. If notwithstanding he find the partie fullie bent, he conducteth him to the church, inioineth him to begin with praier and fast of fiftéene daies, so long together as in discretion can be indured. This time expired, if yet he perseueré in his former purpose, the whole conuent accompanieth him with solemne procession & benediction to the mouth of the caue, where they let him in, and so bar vp the doore vntill the next morning. And then with like ceremonies they await his returne and reduce him to the church. If he be séene no more, they fast and praie fiftéene daies after. Touching the credit of these matters, I see no cause, but a christian being persuaded that there is both hell and heauen, may without vanitie vpon sufficient information be resolued, that it might please God, at sometime, for considerations to his wisdom known, to reueale by miracle the vision of ioies and paines eternall. But that altogether in such sort,

The ceremonies used in entering S. Patrike his purgatorie.

and

and by such maner, and so ordinarielie, and to such persons, as the common fame dooth vtter; I neither beléue nor wish to be regarded. I haue conferrd with diuerse that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed the order of the premisses to be true; but that they saw no sight, saue onelie fearefull dreams when they chanced to nod, and those they said were excéeding horrible. Further they added, that the fast is rated more or lesse, according to the qualitie of the penitent.

*Camb. lib. 1. to-
pag. distinct. 2.
rub. 3.*

*Insula viuon-
tium.*

Cambrensis affirmeth, that in the north of Mounster there be two Ilands, the greater and the lesse. In the greater there neuer entereth woman or anie living female, but forthwith it dieth. This hath béene often prooued by bitches and cats, which were brought thither to trie this conclusion, and presentlie they died. In this Iland the cocke or masle birds are seene to chirpe, and pearch vp and downe the twigs, but the hen or female by instinct of nature abandoneth it, as a place vtterlie poisoned. This Iland were a place alone for one that were vexed with a shrewd wife. The lesse Iland is called *Insula viuontium*, bicause none died there, ne maie die by course of nature, as Giraldus Cambrensis saith. Howbeit the dwellers when they are sore frusht with sicknesse, or so farre withered with age as there is no hope of life, they request to be conueied by boate to the greater Iland, where they are no sooner inshored, than they yéeld vp their ghosts. For my part, I haue béene verie inquisitiue of this Iland, but I could neuer find this estrange propertie soothed by anie man of credit in the whole countrie. Neither trulie would I wish anie to be so light, as to lend his credit to anie such feined gloses, as are neither veriefied by experience, nor warranted by anie colourable reason. Wherefore I see not why it should be termed *Insula viuontium*, vlesse it be that none dieth there, as long as he liueth.

*Cambren. in
eodem loco.*

Aren.

Cambrensis telleth further, that there is a churchyard in Vlster, which no female kind maie enter. If the cocke be there, the hen dareth not follow. There is also in the west part of Connaght an Iland, placed in the sea, called Aren, to which saint Brendan had often recourse. The dead bodies néed not in that Iland to be grauelled. For the aire is so pure, that the contagion of anie carien maie not infect it. There, as Cambrensis saith, maie the sonne see his father, his grandfather, his great grandfather, &c. This Iland is enimie to mice. For none is brought thither, but either it leapeth into the sea, or else being staid it dieth presentlie. There was in Kildare an ancient monument named the Firehouse, wherein Cambrensis saith, was there continuall fire kept day and night, and yet the ashes neuer increased. I trauelled of set purpose to the towne of Kildare to see this place, where I did see such a monument like a vault, which to this daie they call the Firehouse.

*The Firehouse
of Kildare.*

*The heath of
Kildare.*

*The stones of
Salisbury plaine.*

Moolleaghmast.

Touching the heath of Kildare Cambrensis writeth that it maie not be tild: and of a certentie within this few yeares it was tried, and found, that the corne which was sowed did not prooue. In this plaine (saith Cambrensis) stood the stones that now stand in Salisbury plaine, which were conueied from thense by the sleight of Merlin the Welsh prophet, at the request of Aurelius Ambrosius king of the Britons. There is also in the countie of Kildare a goodlie field called Moolleaghmast, betwéene the Norrough and Kilka. Diuers blind propheties run of this place, that there shall be a bloudie field fought there, betwéene the English inhabitants of Ireland and the Irish, and so bloudie forsooth it shall be, that a mill in a vale hard by it shall run foure and twentie houres with the streame of blood that shall powre downe from the hill. The Irish doubtlesse repose a great affiance in this balducktum dreame. In the top of this height stand motes or rundles verie formalie fashioned, where the strength of the English armie (as they say) shall be incamped.

*The earle of
Sussex.*

The Earle of Sussex being lord lieutenant of Ireland, was accustomed to wish, that if anie such prophetie were to be fulfilled, it should happen in his gouernement, to the end he might be generall of the field. Not farre from Moolleaghmast, within
a mile

a mile of Castledermot, or Thristledermot, is there a place marked with two hillocks, which is named the Geraldine his throw or cast. The length of which in verie déed is woonderfull. The occasion procéded of this. One of the Geraldins, who was ancestor to those that now are lords of Lackath, predeed an enimie of his. The earle of Kildare hauing intelligence therof, suppressing affection of kinred, and moued by zeale of iustice, pursued him with a great troope of horssemen, as the other was bringing of the prede homeward. The Geraldine hauing notice giuen him, that the earle was in hot pursute, and therefore being warned by the messenger to hie him with all speed possible: the gentleman being nettled, that his kinsman would séeme to rescue the prede of his dea^rlie fo; and as he was in such fretting wise frieng in his grease, he brake out in these cholerike words, "And dooth my cousine Kildare pursue me in déed? Now in good faith, whereas he séemeth to be a suppresser of his kindred, and an vpholder of my mortall enimie, I would wish him no more harne, than that this dart were as far in his bodie, as it shall sticke foorthwith in the ground:" and therewithall giuing the spurres to his horse, he hurled his dart so farre, as he abashed with the length thereof aswell his companie as his posteritie.

The Geraldines
throw.
1470.

The Geraldine was not verie farre from thense, when the earle with his band made hot foot after, and dogging still the tracke of the predours, he came to the place where the dart was hurled, where one pickthanke or other let the earle to vnderstand of the Geraldine his wild spéeches there deliuered. And to inhance the heinousnesse of the offense, he shewed how farre he hurled his dart, when he wished it to be pitched in his lordship his bodie. The erle astonied at the length thereof, said: "Now in good sooth, my cousine in behauing himselfe so couragiously, is woorthie to haue the prede shot free. And for my part I purpose not so much to stomach his cholerike wish, as to imbrace his valiant prowesse." And therewithall commanded the retreat to be blowne and reculed backe. There is in Meeth an hill called the hill of Taragh, wherein is a plaine twelue score long, which was named the Kempe his hall: there the countrie had their méetings and folke-motes, as a place that was accounted the high palace of the monarch. The Irish historians hammer manie fables in this forge of Fin mac Coile and his champions, as the French historie dooth of king Arthur and the knights of the round table. But doubtlesse the place séemeth to beare the shew of an ancient and famous monument.

The Geraldines
wish.

The earle of
Kildares answer

The hill of
Taragh.

There is in Castleknocke a village not far from Dublin, a window not glazed nor latized, but open, and let the weather be stormie, the wind bluster boisterously on euerie side of the house; yet place a candle there, and it will burne as quietly as if no puffe of wind blew. This maie be tried at this daie, who so shall be willing to put it in practise. Touching the strange wels that be in Ireland, I purpose to speake litle more than that which I find in Cambrensis, whose words I will English, as they are Latined in his booke. There is (saith he) a well in Mounster, with the water of which if anie be washed, he becōmeth forthwith hoare. I haue séene a man that had one halfe of his beard, being died with that water hoare; the other halfe vnwashed was browne, remaining still in his naturall colour. Contrariwise, there is a founteine in the further edge of Vlster, and if one be bathed therewith, he shall not become hoare: in which well such as loath greie heares are accustomed to diue. There is in Connaght a well that springeth on the top of an hill farre and distant from anie sea, ebbing and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the sea dooth; and yet the place is vplandish, and the water fresh. There is another spring in the same countrie, the water of which is verie wholesome to men and women, but poison to beasts: and if a man but put the grauell of this well into his mouth, it quencheth presentlie his thirst.

Castleknocke.
The strange
welles.

Camb. in lib. 1.
topog. dist. 1.
rub. 8. & 10.

There

There is in Ulster a standing poole thirtie thousand pases long, and fiftéene thousand pases brode, out of which springeth the noble northerne riuer, called the Banne. The fishers complaine more often for bursting of their nets with the ouer great lake of fish, than for anie want. In our time vpon the conquest a fish swam from this poole to the shore, in shape resembling a salmon, but in quantitie so huge, that it could not be drawne or caried wholie together, but the fishmongers were forced to hacke it in gobbets, and so to carrie it in peecemeale throughout the countrie, making thereof a generall dole. And if the report be true, the beginning of this poole was strange. There were in old time where the poole now standeth, vicious and beastlie inhabitants. At which time was there an old said saw in euerie man his mouth, that as soone as a well there springing (which for the superstitious reuerence they bare it, was continuallie couered and signed) were left open and vnsigned, so soone would so much water gush out of that well, as would foorthwith ouerwhelme the whole territorie. It happened at length, that an old trót came thither to fetch water, and hearing hir child whine, she ran with might and maine to dandle hir babie, forgetting the obseruance of the superstitious order tofore vsed. But as she was returning backe to haue couered the spring, the land was so farre ouerflowne, as that it past hir helpe: and shortlie after she, hir suckling, & all those that were within the whole territorie were drowned. And this séemeth to carie more likelihood with it, bicause the fishers in a cleare sunnie daie see the stéeples and other piles plainlie and distinctlie in the water. And here would be noted, that the riuer of the Banne flowed from this head spring before this floud, but farre in lesse quantitie than it dooth in our time. Hitherto Giraldus Cambrensis.

*Hector Boet. in
Solut. reg. descript.
pag. 9. Sect. 50.*

Boetius telleth a rare propertie of a poole in Ireland, & for that he maketh himselfe an eiewitnesse of the matter, he shall tell his owne tale. “Ac quoniam Hiberniæ incidit mentio, præter infinita in ea rerum miracula, haud importunum fore existimem, si vnum, quod ob portentuosam nouitatem fidem omnium excedere videatur, nos tamen verum experti sumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in ea est, circa quem amplissimo circumquaque spatio nec herba nec arbor vlla nascitur, &c: in quem si lignum infigas anni circiter vnus curriculo, id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem conuertetur; quod deinceps aquâ operietur, in ferrum: reliquum aquâ exstans ligni formam naturâque seruabit. Ita coniuncta, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in stipite inaudita nouitate conspectantur.” But for that mention is made of Ireland, ouer and aboue the infinite number of woonders in that land, it will not be wholie beside the purpose, to insert one maruellous thing, which although it may seeme to some to haue no colour of truth: yet because it hath beene by vs experimented, and found out to be true, we maie the better aduouch it. There is a standing poole in that Iland, neere which of all sides groweth neither herbe, shrub, nor bush. If you sticke a rod or péece of timber in this poole, that which sticketh in the earth within the space of one yeare turneth to a stone; as much as is dipt in the water, is conuerted to iron; all that is aboue the water remaineth still in the pristinat and former wooden shape. So that you may see that which is strange, in one stocke or sticke, stone, iron and wood linkt and knit together. Thus much Hector Boetius.

Melashée.

The Liffie.

In the countrie of Kilkennie and in the borders thereto confining, they vsed a solemne triall by a water they call Melashée. The propertie of this water is, as they say, that if a periured person drinke thereof, the water will gush out at his bellie, as though the drinker his nauill were bord with an auger. The riuer that runneth by Dublin named the Liffie hath this propertie for certeine, and I haue obserued it at sundrie times. As long as it reigneth, yea if it stood powring six daies, you shall find diuerse shallow brookes, and the riuer will be nothing thereby increased: but within foure and twentie houres after the showres are ceast, you shall perceiue such

such a sudden spring flow, as if the former raine were great; a verie few places or none at all will be found pasable. Cambrensis writeth, that in the south part of Mounster, betwene the maine sea coasting on Hispaine and saint Brendan his hills, there is an Iland of the one side incompassed with a riuier abundantlie stored with fish, & on the other part inclosed with a little brooke. In which place saint Brendan was verie much resiant. This plot is taken to be such a sanctuarie for beasts, as if anie hare, fox, stag, or other wild beast be chased néere that Iland by dogs, it maketh straight vpon the brooke, and assoone as it passeth the streame, it is so cockesure, as the hunter may perceiue the beast resting on the one banke, & the dogs questing on the other brim, being as it were by some inuisible railes imbard from dipping their féet in the shallow foord, to pursue the beast chased. On the other side of this Iland there runneth a riuier stored aboue measure with fresh water fish, and in especiallie with salmon. Which abundance, as Cambrensis writeth, procéded of God, to mainteine the great hospitalitie that was kept there. And because the dwellers thereabout shall not like pinching coistrels make anie sale of the fish, let it be poudered as artificiallie as may be, yet it will not kéepe (as though it were manna) aboue the first night or daie that it be taken. So that you must eate it within that short compasse, otherwise it putrifieth and standeth to no stéed.

This riuier ouerfloweth a great rocke, vsuallie called the Salmon leape: for as it is commonlie the propertie of all fish to swim against the tide, as for birds to flitter against the wind; so it is naturallie giuen to the salmon to struggle against the streame, and when it approacheth neere this high rocke, it bendeth his taile to his head, and sometime taketh it in his mouth; and therewithall beareth it selfe ouer the water, and suddenlie it fetcheth such a round whiske, that at a trice it skippeth to the top of the rocke. The like salmon leape is néere Leislip, but not so high as this. There be also, as witnesseth Cambrensis, in the further part of Vlster, certaine hils néere to saint Bean his church, where cranes yearelie bréed. And when they haue laied their eggs, if anie purpose to ransacke their nests, let him but attempt to touch the eggs, they will shew like yoong scralling pullets without feather or downe, as though they were new hatched, and presentlie brought out of their shels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the nest, forthwith they shew (whether it be by anie metamorphosis, or some iugling legier de maine by dazeling the eies) as though they were transformed into eggs. And further, saith Cambrensis, let two at one instance be at the nest, and let the one of them onelie giue the gaze, and the other attempt to take awaie the eggs, they will séeme to the looker on as eggs, and to the taker as yoong red little cranets, being as bare as a bird his arsse.

The towne of Armagh is said to be enimie to rats, and if anie be brought thither, presentlie it dieth. Which the inhabitants impute to the praiers of saint Patrike. But to omit the strange places, that either by false reports are surmised, or by prooffe and experience daile verified: there are in this Iland such notable quaries of greie marble and touch, such store of pearle and other rich stones, such abundance of cole, such plentie of lead, iron, latin and tin, so manie rich mines furnished with all kind of metals, as nature séemed to haue framed this countrie for the storehouse or iewelhouse of hir chiefest thesaure. Howbeit she hath not shewed hir selfe so bountifull a mother in powring foorth such riches, as she prooueth hir selfe an enuious stepdame; in that she instilleth in the inhabitants a drousie lithernesse to withdraw them from the insearching of hir houred and hidden iewels. Wherein she fareth like one, that to purchase the name of a sumptuous frankelen or a good viander, would bid diuerse ghests to a costlie and deintie dinner, and withall for sauing of his meat with some secret inchantment would benum them of their lims, or with some hidden lothsomnesse would dull their

stomachs, as his ghests by reason of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking their repast to refresh themselus, in so much as in my phantasie it is hard to decide whether estate is the better: either for a diligent laborer to be planted in a barren or stonie soile, or for a luskish loiterer to be settled in a fertill ground; because the one will, and may not; the other may and will not through his painefull trauell reape the fruit and commoditie that the earth yéeldeth.

OF THE LORDS SPIRITUALL OF IRELAND, THEIR NAMES AND DIGNITIES.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

THE spirituall iurisdiction is ordered into foure prouinces, whereof the primasie was euer giuen (in reuerence of saint Patrike that conuerted the cuntry) to the archbishoprike of Armagh, who is called *Primas totius Hiberniæ*, and the archbishop of Dublin, *Primas Hiberniæ*. This custome was since confirmd by Eugenius the third, 1148, or 1152: who sent withall thrée other palles of archbishops to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashill, & the last at Twene. To these are suffragans in right nine and twentie, and they all to the *Primas* of Armagh, vnder whose prouince are the bishops of Meeth and Deren, Ardach, Kilmore, Clogher, Doune, Coner, Clonknos, Raboo, Dromooore. Vnder Dublin, wherevnto Innocentius the third vnited Glandelagh, the bishop of Elphine, Kildare, Fernes, Ossorie and Leighlin. Vnder Cashill, the bishop of Waterford, to whome Lismore is vnited, Corke and Clone, Rosse, Ardigh, Limerike, Emelie, Killalooe, and Ardfert. Vnder Twene, Kilmaco, Olfine, Auaghdoune, Clonfert, Morroo. In this recount some difference hapneth by reason of personall and reall vnion of the sees, and for other alterations. I haue obserued in perusing of old bookes the names of certeine bishops and archbishops of Dublin: and albeit I could not find a iust register or catalog of them, yet I tooke it to be better to place such as I could find, than to omit the whole. ¶ Cormachus was one of the first bishops that I haue read of, but I am well assured, that there were diuerse others before his time. He flourished about the yeare 893, of this bishop Hector Boetius maketh mention. ¶ Dunanus was bishop of Dublin long after Cormachus: for Dunanus died in the yeare 1074. He was buried in Christs church in Dublin, in the vpper part of the cancell on the right hand.

Armagh.

Dublin.

Cashill.

Twene.

*File 10. Scot.
Hist. fol. 212.
c. 2. 3.*

1074.

Pall what it is.

q. quoniam. c. di.

*c. quod sicut de
elect. pontif.
De priuile. &
exco. priuile. cap.
Archiep. & in
elect.
c. exco. tunc &
c. ad huc. de auct.
H. 1. 1. 1. 1.*

¶ Patricius was consecrated bishop of Dublin in Paule his church at London by the archbishop of Canturburie Lanifranus or Lanfrancus. The reason of this consecration was, for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland receiued not their pall. A pall is an indowment appropriated to archbishops, made of white silke the breadth of a stole, but it is of another fashion. And where you shall espie the armes of anie archbishop blazed, there you may perceiue the pall set out in white, with a great manie blacke crosses vpon it. An archbishop within thrée moneths after his consecration or confirmation ought to demand his pall, otherwise he may be remooued; neither ought he to name himselfe archbishop before the receit, neither may he before summon or call a councell, make chrisme, dedicate churches, giue orders, or consecrat bishops. He may not weare his pall without the church, neither in other prouinces; albeit in another prouince he may be in his pontificalibus, so that pontificalia differeth from the pall. Furthermore, an archbishop may not lend his pall vnto another, but it ought to be interred with him. But to returne to Patricius, his time was but short, for soone after as he was crossing the seas to Dublin ward, he was drowned with his felow passengers the same yere that he was consecrated, the ninth of October.

¶ Donatus.

¶ Donatus, of some called Bungus, succeeded Patricius, and likewise consecrated by Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturburie, at the instance of Terdilmacus king of Ireland, the bishops of Ireland, the clergie and the citizens of Dublin: he deceased in the yéere one thousand ninetie and five. Samuell succeeded Donatus, and died in the yéere one thousand one hundred two and twentie. Gregorius did not succeed immediatlie after Samuell, for there be thirtie yéeres betweene them both. This Gregorius was the first metropolitan of Dublin, and was consecrated archbishop in the yéere one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, and died in the yéere one thousand one hundred thrée score and two.

1075.

1095.

1152.

1162.

S. Laurentius Othothille. This prelat was first abbat of S. Keuins in Glindelagh, and after he was solemnlie consecrated and installed in Christ church at Dublin by Gelacius the primat of Armagh, and not by Canturburie, as the bishops of Dublin were before the pall giuen them. He died in Normandie, and was buried in our ladie church of Angie in the yeare one thousand one hundred and foure score, the fourtéenth of Nouember.

Iohan Cummin an Englishman succeeded Laurence. This famous prelat being cloistered vp in the abbeie of Eusham in Worcestershire was highlie renowned of all men, as well for his déepe learning, as for the integritie of his life. The clergie of Dublin being giuen to vnderstand of so woorthie a clerke, became humble petitioners to the king his maiestie Henrie the second, that through his means such an vnvaluable iewell should be installed in Laurence his dignitie. The king bowing to their earnest sute agréed he should be consecrated their archbishop; which was an happie houre for that countrie. For besides the great trauell he indured in edifieng his flocke in Christian religion, he was founder of S. Patrike his church in Dublin, as is before specified. He deceased in the yéere one thousand two hundred and twelue, and was intoomed in the quéere of Christs church.

1180.

Henrie Londres succeeded Cummin. This man was nicknamed Scorchbill, or Scorchvillein thorough this occasion. Being settled in his sée, he gaue commandement to all his tenants to make their appeerance before him at a daie appointed: and for that he was raw as yet in his reuenues, he tooke it to stand best with their ease and quietnes, and his commoditie, that ech of them should shew their euidences, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they held of him. His tenants mistrusting no sluttish dealing, but construing all to be meant for the best, deliuered their euidences to their landlord, who did scantlie well peruse them when he floong them all in the fire. The poore tenants espieng this subtill pranke to be verie vnfitting for a bishop, could not bridle their toongs, but brake out on a sudden: Thou an archbishop? Naie, thou art a scorchvillein. But it could not be gessed to what end this fact of his tended; for notwithstanding this, the tenants inioied their lands, vnlesse he did it because they should be tenants at will, and so to stand to his deuotion. This prelat doubtlesse was politike, and well lettered, and for his wisdom and learning he was elected lord iustice of Ireland. He was the founder of the castell of Dublin, as is before mentioned. He deceased in the yeare one thousand two hundred twentie & five, and lieth buried in Christs church. Wherby appéereth that Matthæus Parisiensis did ouershoot himselfe, in writing one Hu or Hugo to be archbishop of Dublin in the yeare one thousand two hundred and thirtéene, whereas Londres at that time was in the sée, as from his consecration to his death may be gathered, being the space of thirtéene yeares.

Scorchvillein:

Matth. Paris. in
vita Ioan. pag.
316.

Iohan Stamford succeeded Londres, but not immediatlie, and was consecrated in the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and five. This man, vpon the death of Stephan Fulborne archbishop of Tune, was made lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and seauen. And soone after being in England he was sent from Edward the first as ambassador to the French king, and

1285.

1294.

vpon his returne he decessed in England, & soone after was buried in saint Patrike his church at Dublin.

1297.

*Icon. Galv. de
antiqu. C. 14.
Academ. lib. 1.*

Edmund Butler.

1032.

Helliwood in
Fingall.

Willielmo Hothom is placed by some antiquaries to be archbishop of Dublin much about this time, but whether the man haue béene installed in this see at all or no, I am not able to affirme, nor to denie: but certeine it is that the date is mistaken, for vpon Iohan Stamford his death, Richard Flerings was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, betwéene whome and the lord Edmund Butler there arose a great controuersie in law, touching the manner of Helliwood with the appurtenances. Which manor the lord Butler recouered by an arbitrement or composition taken betweene them in the king his bench at Dublin. This prelat departed this life in the yere one thousand thrée hundred and six.

1300.

Richard de Hauerings was successor vnto Flerings, who after that he had continued welnéere the space of fíue yeares in the see, was sore appalled, by reason of an estrange and woonderfull dreame. For on a certeine night he imagined that he had séene an vglie monster standing on his breast, who to his thinking was more weightie than the whole world, in so much as being as he thought in manner squised or prest to death with the heff of this huge monster, he would haue departed with the whole substance of the world, if he were thereof possessed, to be disburdened of so heauie a load. Upon which wish he suddenlie awooke. And as he beat his braines in diuining what this dreame should import, he bethought himselfe of the flocke committed to his charge, how that he gathered their fléeces yearelie, by receiuing the reuenues and perquisits of the bishoprike, and yet suffered his flocke to starue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former slacknesse sore wounded in conscience, he trauelled with all spéed to Rome, where he resigned vp his bishoprike, a burthen too heauie for his weake shoulders, and being vpon his resignation competentlie beneficed, he bestowed the remnant of his life wholie in deuotion.

Hauerings
dreame.

1311.

*De primat. ex-
cess. prius Ar-
chiep.*

Iohan Lech nephue to Hauerings, vpon the resignation was consecrated archbishop. This prelat was at contention with the primat of Armagh, for their iurisdiccions: insomuch as he did imbarre the primat from hauing his crosse borne before him within the prouince of Leinster, which was contrarie to the canon law, that admitteth the crosier to beare the crosse before his archbishop in an other prouince. This man decessed in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred and thirtéene.

1313.

Alexander Bigenor was next Lech consecrated archbishop with the whole consent aswell of the chapter of Christs church as of S. Patriks. Howbeit vpon the death of Lech there arose a schisme & diuision betwéene Walter Thorneburie lord chancellour of Ireland and Bigenor then treasurer of the same countrie. The cancellor to further his election determined to haue posted to Rome, but in the waie he was drowned with the number of 156 passengers. Bigenor staieng in Ireland, with lesse aduenture and better spéed, with the consent of both the chapters was elected archbishop. And in the yeare 1317 there came bulls from Rome to confirme the former election. At which time the archbishop and the earle of Vlster were in England. This prelat soone after returned lord iustice of Ireland, and soone after he had landed at Yoghill, he went to Dublin, where as well for his spirituall iurisdiction, as his temporall promotion he was receiued with procession and great solemnitie. In this man his time was there an vniuersitie founded in Dublin, whereof maister William Rodiard was chancellor, a well learned man and one that procéded doctor of the canon law in this vniuersitie. Bigenor decessed in the yéere 1319.

1318

1320

1319

1303

Iohn de saint Paule was consecrated archbishop vpon Bigenor his death. He decessed in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred sixtie and two. Thomas Minot succéded

succéded Iohn, and died in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred seuentie & six. 1375
 Robert Wikeford succéded Thomas, and died in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred and nintie. Robert Waldebie succéded Wikeford, this prelat was first an 1390
 Augustine frier, and a great preacher, and accounted a vertuous and sincere liuer. 1397
 He decessed in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred ninetie and seauen. Richard Northalis was remooued from an other sée and chosen archbishop of Dublin, who likewise decessed the same yeare he was elected. Thomas Craulie an Englishman succéded him the same yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the duke of Surreie. This archbishop was chosen lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtéene. In whose gouvernement the English did 1413
 skirmish with the Irish in the countie of Kildare néere Kiika, where the English The skirmish of Kiika.
 vanquished the enimie, slue an hundred of the Irish. During which time the archbishop being lord iustice, went in procession with the whole clergie in Triffeldermot, or Castledermot, a towne adioining to Kiika, praieng for the prosperous succeſſe of the subiects that went to skirmish with the enimie. This prelat was of stature tall, well featured, and of a sanguine complexion, decking his outward comelinesse with inward qualities. For he was so liberall to the rich, so charitable to the poore, so déepe a clerke, so profound a doctor, so sound a preacher, so vertuous a liuer, and so great a builder, as he was not without good cause accounted the phenix of his time. In dailie talke as he was short, so he was swéet. Hard in promising, bountifull in performing. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and seuentaene, he sailed into England, and ended his life at Faringdon, and was buried in New college at Oxford. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirtie 1439
 & nine, there hath béene one Richard archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland, before whome a parlement was holden at Dublin, in the eightéenth yéere of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and sixtie, Walter was archbishop of Dublin, & deputie to Iasper duke of Bedford, lieutenant of Ireland. I found in an ancient register the names of certeine 1460
 bishops of Kildare, that were in that sée since the time of saint Brigid; the names The bishops of Kildare.
 of whome I thought here to insert. Lonie was bishop in saint Bridgids time, which was about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred fortie and eight; the rest doo hære follow : 448

2 Inor.	14 Robert.
3 Conlie.	15 Bonifacius.
4 Donatus.	16 Madogge.
5 Daud.	17 William.
6 Magnus.	18 Galfride.
7 Richard.	19 Richard.
8 Iohn.	20 Iames.
9 Simon.	21 Wale.
10 Nicholas.	22 Baret.
11 Walter.	23 Edmund Lane, who
12 Richard.	florished in the yeare
13 Thomas.	1518.

There hath béene a worthie prelat, canon in the cathedrall church of Kildare, Maurice Iake, 1319
 named Maurice Iake, who among the rest of his charitable déeds, builded the The bridge of Kilcoollen, and Leighlin.
 bridge of Kilcoollen, and the next yeare following he builded in like maner the bridge of Leighlin, to the great and dailie commoditie of all such as are occasioned to trauell in those quarters.

THE LORDS TEMPORALL, AS WELL ENGLISH AS IRISH, WHICH INHABIT THE
COUNTRIE OF IRELAND.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

GERALD Fitzgerald, earle of Kildare. This house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thense into Normandie, and so with the ancient earle Strangbow his kinsman, whose armes he giueth, into Wales, néere of bloud to Rice ap Griffin, prince of Wales by Nesta the moother of Maurice Fitzgerald & Robert Fitzstephans, with the said earle Maurice Fitzgerald remooued into Ireland, in the yeare one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. The familie is verie properlie toucht in a sonnet of Surreies, made vpon the earle of Kildares sister, now countesse of Lincolne.

From Tuscan came my ladies worthie race,
Faure Florence was sometime hir ancient seat :
The westerne Ile whose pleasant shore doth face
Wild Cambers clifffes, did giue hir liuelie heat,
Fostred she was with milke of Irish brest,
Hir sire an earle, hir dame of princes bloud,
From tender yeares in Britaine she dooth rest
With kings child, where she tastes costlie food.
Hunsdon did first present hir to mine eine,
Bright is hir hew, and Geraldine she hight,
Hampton me taught to wish hir first for mine :
And Windsor, alas, dooth chase me from hir sight,
Hir beautie of kind, hir vertues from aboue,
Happie is he, that can obtaine hir loue.

The corrupt orthographie that diuerse vse in writing this name, dooth incorporat it to houses thereto linked in no kinred, and consequentlie blemisheth diuerse worthie exploits atchiued as well in England and Ireland, as in forren countries and dominions. Some write Gerold, sundrie Gerald, diuerse verie corruptlie Gerrot, others Gerard. But the true orthographie is Girald, as maie appeare both by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Italian authors that make mention of the familie. As for Gerrot it differeth flat from Girald: yet there be some in Ireland, that name and write themselues Gerrots, notwithstanding they be Giraldins, whereof diuerse gentlemen are in Meeth. But there is a sept of the Gerrots in Ireland, and they séeme forsooth by threatning kindnesse and kindred of the true Giraldins, to fetch their petit degrees from their ancestors, but they are so néere of bloud one to the other, that two bushels of beanes would scantlie count their degrés. An other reason why diuerse estrange houses haue béene shuffled in among this familie, was, for that sundrie gentlemen at the christening of their children, would haue them named Giralds, and yet their surnames were of other houses, and if after it happened that Girald had issue Thomas, Iohn, Robert, or such like, then would they beare the surname of Girald, as Thomas Fitzgirald: and thus taking the name of their ancestors for their surname, within two or thrée descents they shooue themselues among the kindred of the Giraldins. This is a generall fault in Ireland and Wales, and a great confusion and extinguishment of houses.

*Matth. Paris. in
nota 1^{ch}. pag. 16.
vers. 40.*

This noble and ancient familie of the Giraldins, haue in sundrie ages flourished in the most renowned countries of Europe. Warring Fitzgirald was one in great credit

credit with King Iohn. I find an other Giraldine *Archiepiscopus Burdegatensis*, who flourished in king Henrie the third his time. There was an other Giraldine patriarch of Ierusalem, in the yéere one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, as witnesseth Matthæus Parisiensis. There was one Girald of Berneill an excellent poet in the Italian toong: an other named Baptist Girald, was a famous citizen of Ferrara, an expert physician, and an exquisit philosopher, being publike professor of philosophie in the said citie, during the space of ten yeares. I haue scene a worke of one *Gregorius Giraldus Ferrariensis de dijs gentium*, dedicated to Hercules duke of Ferrara, a pithie booke and verie well penned. Also Syluester Giraldus Cambrensis hath béene one of this familie, néere of kin to sir Maurice Fitzgirald. This gentleman was borne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrensis, of the word *Cambria*, that in old time was adapted to that part of *Brittannia*. He was verie inward with Henrie the second, conqueror of Ireland, being at that time the kings secretarie. And for that speciall affiance king Henrie reposed in him, he was appointed to accompanie prince Iohn the kings sonne into Ireland, as one of his chieftest and discréttest counsellors.

1234

Pag. 480.

Giraldus Cambrensis.

This gentleman was verie well learned, a tolerable diuine, a commendable philosopher, not rude in physike, skilfull in cosmographie, a singular good antiquarie, an orator, in indeuor comparable to the best, in his stile not in those daies taken for the woorst, rather eschewing the name of a rude writer, than purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronieler. Among other his works, he wrote one booke of the description of Ireland, other two of the conquest thereof. Iohn the abbat of saint Albons saith, that this clerke was somewhat spare in words, and liberall in sentences. What he meaneth by this verdict I know not, vnlesse he taketh the man to be ouerlauish of his pen in frumping of his aduersaries with quipping tawnts, which (as I gesse) flowed rather from a flanting ostentation of a roisting kind of rhetorike, than from anie great malice he bare anie one. Howbeit, I maie not gaine saie, but as he was kind where he tooke, so he was somewhat biting where he disliked. But what his iudgement is of the Giraldins maie plainlie appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled this praiseworthy sentence insuing.

Ioannes de loco
(frumentipart) ri:
ma gracijs.

“Hoc est huius generis omen & hæc conditio. Semper in armata militia chari, semper primi, semper rebus in Martijs ausu nobili præstantissimi. Cessante verò necessitatibus articulo, statim exosi, statim vltimi, statim ad ima liuore depressi. Veruntamen tantæ generositatis sylvam liuor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Vnde & vsque in hodiernum gens hæc nouis plantularum succrementis vires in insula non modicas habet. Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostium penitralia? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, qui patriam conseruant? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, quos hostes formidant? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, quos liuor detractat? Giraldidæ. Si principem tantæ strenuitatis merita dignè pensantem reperissent, quàm tranquillum, quàm pacificum olim Hiberniæ statum reddidissent? Sed horum sine causa semper est suspecta strenuitas.” This hath béen continuallie, saith Cambrensis, a destinie or fatall propertie annexed to this house. In warre and martiall broiles they are dandaled, they are colled, they are lulled, who but they? They rule the rost. But when these martiall garboiles are appeased, they are either through false informations wrongfullie behated, or else by enuious carpers sinisterlie suspected. Howbeit, enuie with all hir malicious drifts, could neuer wholie supplant the fertill groue of this couragious & noble progenie. And maugre the heads of all malicious promoters, this sept, yea euen at this daie beareth, with the few slips there ingrafted, no small stroke in Ireland. Who are they that scale the enimies fort? The Giraldines; Who are they that defend their countrie? the Giraldines. Who are they that make the enimie quake in his skin? The Giraldines. And who are they whome enuie backbiteth? The Giraldines. If it had stood with
the

Cambrensis lib. 2,
c. nqu. Hiberniæ,
170.

the good fortune of the Giraldines, that the king with equall balance would poise their valure, long yer this had all Ireland beene put in quiet and peaceable staie. But their valiantnesse and power hath beene from time to time without sufficient cause suspected. Hitherto Cambrensis.

And soothlie, as often as I call to mind the saieng of this historiographer, I may not but muse how iumpe he hitteth the naile on the head. - And who so will conferre their continuall successe from the penning of this sentence (which was written aboue 400 yeares and vpward) with this age of ours, shall soone perceiue, that these words were rather prophesies of future mishap, than complaints of former iniuries. At this daie let them behaue themselues valiantlie in warre, and loiallie in peace; yet notwithstanding, such slanders are raised, such rumors noised, such tales bruted, such fables twitled, such vntrue reports twatled, such malicious inuentions forged, that such as are in authoritie cannot but of force suspect them, vnlesse they were able, like gods, to prie in the bottome of each mans conscience. But who so wisheth anie goodnesse to that miserable countrie, and noble progenie, let him with all the veines of his heart beséech God, first that the higher powers be slowe in beléeuing the despitefull reports of enuious backbiters. Secondlie, that the Giraldines beare themselues in all their affaires so dutifullie, that these curious inserchers be not able to depaint their feigned gloses with anie probable colours. So shall suspicion be abandoned, so shall malicious slanders be squatted, so shall that noble house be trusted, and consequentlie the battered weale-publike of Ireland reedified. The familie is English, and it is well knowne that the Irish rather feare their force, than loue their persons. And reason good pardie. For the Irish bearing in mind, that the Giraldine being thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their lands, abated their courages, discomfited their men, vanquished their armies, daunted their power, suppressed their force, and made them become true and tributarie subiects to the crowne of England: they haue good cause to beare that sept but holow hearts, what shew so euer they make in outward apperance. Thus much generallie of the Giraldines, now I purpose particularlie to treat of the house of Kildare.

The castell of
Sligagh.
Tireconille.
Baron of Ophalie.

Maurice Fitzgiralde, one of the earles progenitors, was lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare 1242, at which time he builded the castell of Sligagh. This Maurice was lord of Tireconille, and being entierele seized of the whole countrie, he gaue the one moietie thereof to Cormocke mac Dermot, mac Rorie. I read the Giraldine baron of Ophalie, in the yeare 1270. I haue séene it registred, that there died a Giraldine the fourth earle of Kildare, in the yeare 1287. But I take that kalendar to beare a false date. Wherefore the truth & certentie is, that Iohn Fitzgiralde, sonne to Thomas Fitzgiralde, was the first earle of Kildare, and was created earle vpon this occasion.

The first earle of
Kildare.

1290
Vescie lord iustice.

In the yeare 1290, and in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the first, William Vescie was made lord iustice of Ireland. This man being either negligent or raw in the gouernment of the countrie, emboldened the Irish enimie to indamage the kings subiects more effsoones than they were accustomed to doo. These enormities being for the space of foure yeares tolerated, the subiects misliking of the slacknesse of their gouernour, gave out such sinister speeches of the lord iustice, as he was glad to the hart root. Soone after, as the nobles in open assemblie were ripping vp by péecemele the seuerall harms their tenants suffered, the lord iustice willing to disburden himselfe of the crime, began with mistie kind of speeches to laie the whole fault on the lord Iohn Fitzgiralde's shoulders, saieng in parable wise, that he was a great occasion of these disorders, in that he bare himselfe in priuat quarrels as fierce as a lion, but in these publike iniuries he was as meeke as a lambe.

Vescie accuseth
the lord Fitzgiralde.

The

The baron of Ophalie spelling and putting these syllables together, spake in this wise.

“ My lord, I am hartilie sorie that among all this noble assemblie, you make me your onelie marke whereat to shoot your bolt. And trulie were my deserts so heinous as I suppose you would wish them to be, you would not labour to cloud your talke with such darke riddles, as at this present you haue doone; but with plaine & flat English, your lordship would not sticke to impeach of felonie or treason. For as mine ancestors with spending of their bloud in their souereignes quarell aspired to this type of honour, in which at this daie (God and my king be thanked) I stand: so your lordship taking the nigher waie to the wood, by charging me with treason, would gladlie trip so roundlie on my top, that by shedding of my bloud, and by catching my lands into your clouches, that butt so neere vpon your manors of Kildare and Rathimgan, as I dare saie they are an eie-sore vnto you, you might make my maister your sonne a proper gentelman.”

“ A gentleman?” quoth the lord iustice: “ Thou bald baron, I tell thee the Vescies were gentlemen before the Giraldines were barons of Ophalie, yea and before that Welsh bankrupt thine ancestour (he meant sir Maurice Fitzgiralde) fethered his nest in Leinster. And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teach thee thy lyrripups after an other fashion than to be thus malepertlie cocking and billing with me that am thy gouernour. Wherefore, albeit thy taunts are such as they might force the patientest philosopher that is, to be chokt with choler: yet I would haue thee ponder my speeches, as though I deliuered them in my most sober and quiet mood. I saie to the face of thee, and I will auow what I say vnto thee, that thou art a supporter of theeues, a bolsterer of the kings enemies, an vpholder of traitors, a murtherer of subiects, a firebrand of dissention, a ranke theefe, an arrant traitor: and before I eate these words, I will make thee eate a peece of my blade.”

The baron brideling with might and maine his choler, bare himselfe as cold in countenance, as the lord iustice was hot in words, and replied in this wise. “ My lord I am verie glad, that at length you vnwrapped your selfe out of that net, wherein all this while you masked. As for mine ancestor, whome you terme a bankrupt, how rich or how poore he was vpon his repaire to Ireland, I purpose not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldlie saie, that he came hither as a bier, not as a begger. He bought the enemies land by spending his bloud: but you lurking like a spider in his copweb to intrap flies, endeuor to beg subiects liuings wrongfullie, by despoiling them of their innocent liues. And wheras you charge me with malepertnes, in that I presume to chop logike with you being gouernour, by answering your snappish *Quid*, with a knappish *Quo*, I wold wish you to vnderstand, now, that you put me in mind of the distinction, that I as a subiect honour your roiall authoritie, but as a noble man I despise your dunghill gentilitie. Lastlie, whereas you charge me with the odious termes of traitor, murtherer, and the like, and there withall you wish me to resolute my selfe that you rest vpon reason, not vpon rage: if these words procéed from your lordship, as from a magistrate, I am a subiect, to be tried by order of law, and am sorrie that the gouernour, who ought by vertue of his publike authoritie to be my iudge, is by reason of priuat malice become mine accuser.

“ But if you vtter these speeches as a priuat person, then I Iohn Fitzgiralde, baron of Ophalie, doo tell thee William Vescie, a single sole gentleman, that I am no traitor, no felon; and that thou art the onelie buttresse, by which the kings enemies are supported, the meane and instrument by which his maiesties subiects are daile spoiled. Therefore I as a loiall subiect saie traitor to thy téeth, and that shalt thou well vnderstand when we both shall be brought to the rehearsall of these mat-

ters before our betters. Howbeit, during the time you beare office, I am resolved to giue you the mastrie in words, and to suffer you like a bralling cur to barke, but when I see my time I will be sure to bite."

The Lord Girald
passeth into Eng-
land.

Versie followeth

These biting speeches passing to and fro, great factions on both sides were raised, with high and mightie words, and deepe othes; till time either part appeased his owne. The baron of Ophalie not sleeping nor slacking his matter, squadded with all hast into England, where he was no sooner inshored, than Vescie, after he had substituted William Haie in his roome, was imbarked, making as hot foot after the baron as he could. The king and his counsell vnderstanding the occasion of their sudden arriuals, to the end the truth should be brought to light, appointed a set daie for the deciding of their controuersie, and that each of them should speake for himselfe what he could. Wherevpon Vescie being commanded to begin, spake to this effect.

Vescies oration.

"My dread souereigne, as I must acknowledge my selfe somewhat agréued, to be intangled in so intricate a matter, so I am as glad as hart can thinke that so weightie a controuersie is brought to the deciding of so vpright an vmpire. And whereas it stood with your maiesties pleasure, with the aduise of this your honourable counsell, that I, as vnwoorthie, should haue the gouernment of your realme of Ireland; and during my time, your maiesties subjects, haue béene, I may not denie it, diuerslie annoied, for my discharge, as I said in Ireland: so I auow héere in England, that he kneeleth héere before your highnesse (pointing to the baron of Ophalie) that is the root and crop of all these enormities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that stroke with the Irish, as if he once but frowne at them, they dare not be so hardie as once to peake out of their cabbins. And whereas his force dooth greatlie amaze them, thinke you but his countenance dooth woonderfullie incourage them? To the furtherance of which, it is apparantlie knowne, and it shall be prooued, that he hath not onelie in hucker mucker, by sundrie messages imboldened your maiesties enimies, to spoile your subiects, but also by his personall presence, in secret méetings, he gaue them such courage, as neither the roialtie of your highnesse, nor the authoritie of your deputie, neither the force of your lawes, nor the strength of your puissant armie, was able to quench the flame of these hurlie burlies, that through his traitorous drifts were inkindled. These and the like enormities through his priuie packing with rebels being dailie committed, to bring me your maiesties gouernour in the hatred of the people, his adherents both secretlie muttered, and openlie exclaimed against me and my gouernment, as though the redresse of all these harmes had wholie lien in mine hands.

"Wherevpon being in conference with such as were the chieftains of your realme of Ireland, albeit I tooke it to be expedient, to point with my finger to the verie sinke or headspring of all the treasons, that by secret conspiracies were pretended and practised against your maiestie and your subiects, yet notwithstanding hauing more regard to modestie, than to the deserts of the baron of Ophalie, I did but glanse at his packing in such secret sort, as none or a verie few of the companie could gesse, whome with my mistie speeches I did touch. And as commonlie the gald horse dooth soonest kicke, so this gentelman being prickt, as it should seeme with the sting of his guiltie conscience, brake out on a sudden, and forgetting his allegiance to your highnesse, and his dutie to me your deputie, he tooke me vp so roughlie, as though I had béene rather his vnderling than his gouernour. The summe of which despitéfull speeches I refer to the testimonie of the honorable audience where they were deliuered. As for his manifold treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse such things as he did not sticke to commit. And if it shall stand with your maiesties pleasure, to adiourne the triall for a few daies, I will charge him with such apparent items, as were his face made of brasse, he shall not be able to denie

THE DESCRIPTION OF IRELAND.

anie one article that shall be booked against him." When Vescie had ended, the baron of Ophalie prest himselfe somewhat forward, and in this wise spake.

"Most puissant prince and my dread souereigne, were maister Vescie his mouth so iust a measure, as what he spake, should be holden for gossell, this had béene a fit place for so arrant a traitor, as he with his feigned glosing would gladlie prooue me to be. But sith it pleased your maiestie, with so indifferent balance to ponde both our tales, I am throughlie persuaded, that my loiall innocencie shall be able to ouerpoise his forged treacherie. Your maiestie hath heard manie words to such purpose. And as his complaint hitherto hath beene generallie huddled vp, so mine answer thereto may not particularlie be framed. Whereas therefore he termeth me a supporter of théenes, a packer with rebels, a conspirator with traitors, if I should but with a bare word denie the premisses, all his gaie glose of glitring speeches would suddenlie fade awaie. Yea, but he craueth respite for the booking of his articles. Trulie so he hath need. For loitering and lingring is the onlie waie he may deuise to cloke his feigning and forging. - Wherin he sheweth himselfe as craftie, as the philosopher was accounted wise that promised a tyrant vpon menaces wordes, to schoole his asse in philosophie, so he had seuen yeares respite; bicause that in that space he was persuaded, that either the tyrant, the asse, or he would die. In likewise master Vescie, vpon respite granted him, would hang in hope, that either the life of your maiestie (which God forbid) should be shortened; or that I, in tract of time, would be disfauoured; or that he by one subtil pranke or other should be of this heauie load disburdened.

"But if I haue béene as manie yeares a malefactor as he aduoucheth, how happeneth it, that his toong was tied before this late dissention begun? Whie did he not from time to time aduertise the councill of my treasons? Whereas now it may be probablie coniectured, that he was egd to this seruice rather for the hatred he beareth me, than for anie loue he oweth your roiall maiestie. Touching the words I spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I heard as yet, to eat them in England. And when I shall be cald to testifie such speeches as I deliuered there, I will not be found so raw in my matter, as to lose my errant in the carriage, as master Vescie hath doone, or to craue further respite for the registering of his manifold treasons. As for my secret méetings with Irish rebels, where I persuaded master Vescie, that you were able to prooue them, I would be found willing to acknowledge them. For if my conscience were so deepe lie stoong, as you pretend, I would take it for better policie, by acknowledging my trespasse, to appeale to my king his mercie, than by denieng my faults, to stand to the rigor of his iustice.

"And as for méetings, I had neuer so manie in woods with rebels, as you master Vescie, haue had in your chamber with coves. For it hath beene manifestlie apperented, that when the baron of Ophalie, and the best of the nobilitie of Ireland haue béene imbarde from entring your chamber, an Irish cow should haue at all times accesse vnto you. No, master Vescie: a cow, an horsse, an hauke, and a siluer cup haue beene the occasion of your slacknesse. When the subiects were preided, you would be content to winke at their miserie, so that your mouth were stopt with briberie. And when you had gathered your crums sufficientlie together, you held it for a pretie policie (and yet it was but a bare shift) to charge the nobilitie with such packing, as you dailie did practise. But you must not thinke that we are babes, or that with anie such stale deuise, or grosse iuggling tricke, you may so easilie duske or dazell our eies. Can anie man that is but slenderlie witted, so far be caried, as to beleue, that master Vescie, being the kings deputie in Ireland, hauing his maiesties treasure, hauing the nobilitie at his becke, the kings armie at his commandement; but that, if he were disposed to besturre himselfe, he were able to ferret out such barebréech brats as swarme in the English pale? If he said

he could not, we must smile at his simplicitie; if he could and would not, how may he colour his disloialtie?

"Yea, but I beare such stroke with the Irish, as that vpon anie priuat quarrell I am able to annoie them. What then? Bicause the baron of Ophalie can reuenge his priuat iniuries without the assistance of the deputie; therefore the deputie may not vanquish weake and naked rebels without the furtherance of the baron of Ophalie: whereas the contrarie ought to be inferd, that if a priuat person can tame the Irish, what may then the publike magistrat doo, that hath the princes paie? But in déed it is hard to take hares with foxes. You must not thinke, master Vescie, that you were sent gouernour into Ireland to dandle your truls, to pen your selfe vp within a towne or citie to giue rebels the gaze, to pill the subiects, to animat tratiors, to fill your coffers, to make your selfe by marring true men, to gather the birds whilst other beat the bushes, and after to impeach the nobilitie of such treasons, as you onelie haue committed.

The combat
challenged.

"But for so much as our mutuall complaints stand vpon the one his yea, and the other his naie, and that you would be taken for a champion, & I am knowne to be no coward: let vs, in Gods name, leaue lieng for varlets, berding for ruffians, facing for crakers, chatting for twatlers, scolding for callets, booking for scriueners, pleading for lawyers; and let vs trie with the dint of sword, as become martiall men to doo, our mutuall quarels. Wherefore to iustifie that I am a true subiect, and that thou Vescie art an archtraitor to God & to my king, here in the presence of his highnesse, and in the hearing of this honorable assemblie, I challenge the combat." Whereat all the auditorie shouted.

Vescie fled into
France.
Kildare bestowed
on the lord
Gerald.

Now in good faith, quoth Vescie, with a right good will. Wherevpon both the parties being dismist vntill the kings pleasure were further knowne, it was agréed at length by the councell, that the fittest triall should haue béene by battell. Wherefore the parties being as well thereof aduertised, as the daie by the king appointed, no small prouision was made for so eager a combat, as that was presupposed to haue beene. But when the prefixed daie approached néere, Vescie turning his great boast to small roost, began to crie creak, and secretlie sailed into France. King Edward thereof aduertised, bestowed Vescies lordships of Kildare and Rathingan on the baron of Ophalie, saieng that albeit Vescie conueied his person into France, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

The first earle of
Kildare created.
1315

The members of
the order of
Kildare.

The baron returned to Ireland with the gratulation of all his friends, and was created earle of Kildare, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second his reigne, the foureteenth of Maie. He decessed at Laraghbrine (a village néere to Mainooth) in the yeare 1316, and was buried at Kildare, so that he was earle but one yeare. The house of Kildare among diuerse gifts, wherewith God hath abundantlie indued it, is for one singular point greatlie to be admired, that notwithstanding the seuerall assaults of diuerse enimies in sundrie ages, yet this earle that now liueth is the tenth earle of Kildare, to whome from Iohn the first earle, there hath alwaies continued a lineall descent from father to son: which trulie in mine opinion is a great blessing of God. And for as much as this earle now liuing as his ancestors before him, haue beene shrewdlie shooed at by his euill willers, saieng that he is able, but not willing to profit his countrie: the posie that is framed for him, signifieng his mind, runneth in this wise:

"Quid possim, iactant: quid vellem, scire recusant:
Vtraque Reginae sint, rogo, nota meæ."

Lord Gerald.

His eldest sonne is lord Gerald, baron of Ophalie, for whom these two verses following are made:

"Te pulchrum natura fecit, fortuna potentem,
Te faciat Christi norma, Giralde, bonum."

Sir Thomas Butler earle of Ormond and Osserie. The Butlers were ancient English gentlemen, and worthie seruitors in all ages. Theobald Butler lord of Carrike and Iohn Cogan were lord iustices of Ireland. This Butler died in the castell of Arckelow, in the yeare 1285. This lord Theobald Butler the younger, and son to the elder Theobald, was sent for by Edward the first, to serue against the Scots. This noble man deceased at Turue, and his bodie was conueighed to Weneie, a towne in the countie of Limerike. Sir Edmund Butler a wise and valiant noble man was dubbed knight at London by Edward the second.

Earle of Ormond.

1247

The Butlers (as I am informed) descended by ancient records to haue bene earles of the Carrike.

1299

1309

This man being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, vpon the repaire of Iohn Wogan (who before was lord iustice) to England, besieged the Obrenies in Glindalorie: and were it not that they submitted themselues to the king and the lieutenants mercie, they had not béene onelie for a season vanquished, but also vtterlie by him extirped. This noble man was in his gouernement such an encourager and furtherer of seruitors, as that he dubd on saint Michael the archangels daie thirtie knights in the castell of Dublin. He was a scourge vnto the Scots that inuaded Ireland, when he was lieutenant. He discomfited Omourgh a notorious rebell, neare a towne named Balie lethan. After diuerse victorious exploits by him atchieued, he sailed into England, and so to Hispaine in pilgrimage to saint Iames. Vpon his returne to England, he deceased at London, and his bodie being conueied into Ireland was intoomed at Balligauran.

1312

1312

1315

1316

1321

James Butler earle of Ormond was lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare 1359. The lord Butler and vicount Thurles was dubd knight by Henrie the sixt in England, in the yeare 1425, at which time sir Iames Butler, sir Iohn Butler, sir Raie Butler, were in like maner knighted. James Butler, who married the earle of Herefords daughter, was preferred to the carledome of Ormond in the first yeare of Edward the third, which fell vpon the heirs generall, lastlie vpon sir Thomas Butler earle of Wilshire, after whome it reuersed to Pierce Butler, whome a little before king Henrie the eight had created erle of Ossorie. I read Butler earle of Tipperarie in the yeare 1300. The Latine historie calleth him *Dominum de pincerna*, the English le Butler. Whereby it appeareth, he had some such honour about the prince. His verie name is Becket, who was aduanced by Henrie the seconds eldest sonne, lord Butler, in recompense of the death of Thomas of Canturburie their kinsman. His eldest sonne is the lord Butler and vicount Thurles. For the earle now liuing these two verses (in the remembrance of him) are made:

1359

1425

1327

The first earle of Ormond.

Tipperarie.

“Magnus auus, maiorq. pater, sed natus vtróq.

Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.”

Gerald fitz Gerald earle of Desmond. Maurice fitz Thomas a Geraldine, was created earle of Desmond the same yeare, soone after that Butler became earle of Ormond. His eldest sonne is lord fitz Gerald of Desmond. The erle now liuing, thus speaketh:

“Euasi tandem, iactatus fluctibus alti,

Et precor in portu sit mea tuta ratis.”

Sir Richard Bourke earle of Clenrickard, a branch of the English familie de Burgo. The Bourkes haue beene ancient noble men before their comming to Ireland: and in old time they haue beene earles of Vlster. His eldest sonne is lord Bourke baron of Enikelline. His verse is this:

Clenrickard.

“Quam mihi maiorum fama bona gesta dederunt,

Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.”

Connogher Obren earle of Tomond: the name of earle giuen to Murragh Obren for tearme of life, and after to Donogh Obren, in the fift yeare of the reigne of Edward the sixt, now confirmed to the heires males, his eldest sonne is baron of Ibracan. Vpon the erle now liuing this fantasie was deuised:

Tomond.

1550

“Non

“ Non decet externos, sine causa, quærere reges,
Cùm licet in tuta viuere pace domi.”

Clencare.
Barrie.
Roch.
Gormanstowne.

Mac Cartie More earle of Clencare, created in the yeare 1565. Vicount Barrie. Vicount Roch. Preston Vicount of Gormanstowne: whervnto is latelie annexed the baronie of Lawnedresse. One of their ancestors sir Robert Preston, then chiefe baron of the exchequer, was dubbed knight in the field, by Lionell duke of Clarence. This gentleman matched in wedlocke with Margaret Birmingham ladie of Carbrrie, who decessed in the yeare 1361. After whose death sir Robert Preston was seized of the said lordship in the right of his wife, and being molested by rebels, placed a garison in the castell, whereby the subiects were greatlie eased, and the rebels greatlie annoied.

1361

1367

1476

1492

1494

1397

Preston came
from Lancashire.

There hath béene another sir Robert Preston of this house, great grandfather to the vicount now liuing. This gentleman was deputie to Richard, second son to Edward the fourth, in the sixtéenth yeare of the reigne of his father: and after likewise in the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, he was deputie to Iasper duke of Bedford, erle of Penbroke, & lieutenant of Ireland: and at the same time was he appointed by the king generall receiuer of his reuenue in Ireland. How wiselie this noble man behaued himselfe in peace, and how valiantlie he bequit himselfe in warre, sundrie of king Henrie the seuenth his letters to him being deputie, addressed, doo manifestlie witnesse. There was a parlement holden before him at Drogheda, which was repealed in the tenth yeare of Henrie the seuenth. Sir Christopher Preston was dubbed knight in the field by Edmund earle of March, lord deputie of Ireland. William Preston was lord iustice of Ireland in Henrie the eight his reigne. The house is ancient, planted in Lancashire, and from thense departed into Ireland, being to this daie seized of a manour in Lancashire, named of the house Preston. The vicount now liuing speaketh in this wise, as it were present in person, and saith:

“ Si quantum vellem, tantum me posse putarem,
Nota esset patriæ mens mea firma meæ.”

Baltinglasse.

1542

1175

Eustace *aliàs* Powar, vicount of Baltinglasse, lord of Kilcullen to him and his heires males, the foure and thirtith yeare of Henrie the eight. Their ancestor Robert de Powar was sent into Ireland with commission, and his offspring hath rested there since the yeare 1175. Powar *aliàs* Eustace is written baron of Domuile in the yeare 1317. The vicounts poesie now liuing is this that followeth:

“ Cùm bonus ipse manes, an non laus magna putatur,
Prudenter cuius posse placere viro?”

Mountgaret.
1550
Déece.
Athenrie.

Ardigh.

Kerie.
Courcie.

Slane.

Sir Richard Butler vicount Mountgaret to him and his heires males in the fift yeare of Edward the sixt. Vicount Déece. Lord Bermingham baron of Athenrie, now degenerate and become méere Irish, against whome his ancestors serued valiantlie in the yeare 1300. Iohn Bermingham was lord of Athenrie Anno 1316. Iohn Bermingham baron of Ardigh, called in Latine de alrio Dei, in the yere 1318. Mac Maurice, *aliàs* Fitzgerald, baron of Kerie. L. Courcie, not verie Irish; the ancient descent of the Courcies planted in Ireland with the conquest. Fleming baron of Slane. Simon Fleming was baron of Slane, 1370. The L. now liuing thus speaketh:

“ Slanius inuictus princeps mihi nomen adaptat,
In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.”

Killine.

Plunket baron of Killine, his familie came in with the Danes, whereof they haue as yet speciall monuments. Sir Christopher Plunket lord of Killine, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, which title is to be seene at this day in Killine, grauen on his toome. The baron that now liueth, thus frameth his poesie:

“ Ornant

“Ornant viuientem maiorum gesta meorum,
Talia me nequeunt viuua cadente mori.”

Nugent baron of Deluen, an ancient house. Sir Gilbert de Nogent, or Nugent, ^{Deluia.} came into Ireland, with sir Hugh de Lacie, one of the first and valiant conquerors of the countrie. This Gilbert matched with Rosa de Lacie, sister to Hugh de Lacie. He had giuen him vpon the conquest the baronies of foure, and of Deluine by the said sir Hugh, of whose brother Richard de Nogent, otherwise called Richardus de Capella, the house of Deluin is descended. In a conueiance past from sir Gilbert to his brother Richard, these words are inserted: “Dedi & concessi fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conquestum meum in Hibernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, qui vocatur Deluin, & totam terram meam in Anglia.” The baron now liuing & louing his countrie thus speaketh:

“In patria natus, patriæ prodesse laboro,
Viribus in castris, consilijsq. domi.”

S. Laurence, baron of Howth, signifieng the disposition of his mind, he speaketh ^{Howth.} in this wise:

“Si redamas, redamo, si spernis, sperno. Quid ergo?
Non licet absq. tuis viuere posse bonis?”

Plunket baron of Dunsanie. Vpon the baron now liuing, this deuise was framed ^{Dunsanie} as you see:

“Gratia quod dederat, si non fortuna negabit,
Dux tam præclaro stemmate dignus eris.”

Barnewall baron of Trimlestowne. They came from litle Britain, where they are ^{Trimlestowne.} at this day a great surname. Vpon their first arriuall, they wan great possessions at Beirhauen, where at length by conspiracie of the Irish they were all slaine, except one yoong man, who then studied the common lawes in England, who returning, dwelt at Drunnagh besides Dublin, where his heires to this daie are settled. This ^{Drunnagh.} house as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worshipfull gentlemen that be of the surname, beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ireland: howbeit of late it hath béene greatlie maimed thorough the decease of thrée woorthie and famous Barnewals. The first was Robert Barnewall L. of Trimlestowne that last was, ^{Robert Barnewall.} a rare noble man, and indued with sundrie good gifts, who hauing wholie wedded himselfe to the reformation of his miserable countrie, was resolved for the whetting of his wit, which nathelesse was pregnant and quicke, by a short trade and method he tooke in his studie, to haue sipt vp the verie sap of the common law, and vpon this determination sailing into England, sickened shortlie after at a worshipfull matrones house at Cornuberie, named Margaret Tiler, where he was to the great ¹⁵⁷² gréeffe of all his countrie pearsed with death, when the weale publike had most need of his life. The second Barnewall that deceased was M. Marcus Barnewall of ¹⁵⁷⁴ Donbroa, whose credit and authoritie had it béene correspondent to his valure and ^{Marcus Barnewall.} abilitie, he would (I doubt not) haue béene accounted and knowne for as od a gentleman (none dispraised) as anie in the English pale of Ireland.

The third of the surname that departed this life, was sir Christopher Barnwall ^{Sir Christopher Barnwall knight.} knight, the lanterne and light as well of his house, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who being sufficientlie furnisht as well with the knowlege of the Latine toong, as of the common lawes of England, was zealouslie bent to the reformation of his countrie. A déepe and a wise gentleman, spare of spéech, and therewithall pithie, wholie addicted to grauitie, being in anie pleasant conceipt rather giuen to simper than smile, verie vpright in dealing, measuring all his affaires with the safetie of conscience, as true as stéele, close and secret, fast to his friend, stout in a good quarell, a great housholder, sparing without pinching, spending without wasting, of nature mild, rather choosing to pleasure where he might harme, than willing

1175

willing to harme where he might pleasure. He sieked the thrée and twentieth of Iulie of an hot burning ague, and ended his life at his house of Turuic the first of August, to the great losse as well of his friends as of his countrie, vpon whose death a sonne in law of his framed this epitaph consisting of sixtéene verses.

“*Læta tibi, sed mœsta tuis mors accidit ista,
Regna dat alta tibi, damna dat ampla tuis.
Lætus es in cœlis vllō sine fine triumphans,
Mœstus at in terris diues inópsque iacet.
Nam sapiente caret diues, qui parta gubernet,
Nec, qui det misero munera, pauper habet.
Te gener ipse caret, viduæ, te rustica turba,
Atque vrbana cohors, te (socer alme) caret.
Non est digna viro talis respublica tanto,
Nam sanctos sedes non nisi sancta decet.
Mira loquor, sed vera loquor, non ficta reuoluo,
Si maiora loquar, nil nisi vera loquar.
Mortuus es? Nobis hoc crimina nostra dederunt.
Mortuus es? Virtus hoc tibi sacra dedit.
Viuus es in cœlo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Christi,
Viuus vt in mundo sis, tibi fama dabit.*”

For the lord of Trimlestownell now liuing, desiring a name of fame after death, this was deuised.

“*Quod mihi vita dedit, fratri Mors sæua negauit,
Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.*”

Dunleith.

1511

Edward Butler baron of Donboin, giuen to Edmund Butler esquier, and his heires males, in the thrée and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. For the baron now liuing, these verses are made.

“*Dum sequitur natus summi vestigia patris,
Filius optato tramite cuncta geret.*”

Vpper Osserie.

1541

Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrike baron of Vpper Osserie, giuen to Barnabie Mac Cullopatrike and his heires males, in the three and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Donat Clonnagh Machgilpatrike was a peerelesse warriour in the yeare 1219. Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrike, now lord of vpper Osserie, was knighted by the duke of Norfolke at the siege of Leith in Scotland: in the begining of Q. Elizabeths reigne, for whome these verses are made:

“*Principis in gremio summi nutritus & altus,
Hausit ab illustri regia dona schola.*”

Louth.

1611

Plunket, baron of Louth, to sir Christopher Plunket and his heires males; in the 33 yeare of K. Henrie the eight. This baronie was an erldome pertaining to the Berminghams, in the yeare 1316, & sooner. For the baron now liuing, this was deuised:

“*Nobilis, ingenuus, firmis quoque firmus amicis,
Nubila seu cœlum lûxue serena regat.*”

Dungauon.

Curraghmore.

Desert.

Insirkoin:

1543

Baronets.

Oneile, baron of Dungauon, to whom the earledome of Tiron was intailed by gift of king Henrie the eight. Powar, baron of Curraghmore. Mac Surtan, lord Desert, his ancestors were lords in the time of Lionell duke of Clarence, earle of Vlster, in the yeare 1360: now verie wild Irish. Murragh Obrene, baron of Insirkoin, to him and his heires males, in the fiue and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. There are besides these noble men, certeine gentlemen of woorship, commonlie called baronets, whom the ruder sort dooth register among the nobilitie, by terming them corruptlie barons; whereas in verie déed they are to be named neither barons, nor baronets, but banrets. He is properlie called a banret, whose father was

no carpet knight, but dubbed in the field vnder the banner or ensigne. And he that is so dubbed it is not vsuall for anie to be a knight by birth, the eldest sonne of such a knight with his heires, is named a bannerret, or a banret. Such are they that here insue. Sentleger, banret of Flemarge, méere Irish. Den, banret of Pormanstowne, waxing Irish. Fitzgerald, banret of Burnechurch. Welleslie, banret of Norragh, Huseie, banret of Galtrim. Saint Mighell, banret of Scrine. And Nangle, banret of the Nauan. English gentlemen of longest continuance in Ireland are those, which at this day either in great pouertie or perill doo keepe their properties of their ancestors lands in Vlster, being then companions to Courcie, the conqueror and earle of that part. These are the Sauages, Iordans, Fitz Simons, Chamberleins, Russels, Bensons, Audleies, Whites, Fitz Vrsulies, now degenerat and called in Irish Mac Mahon, the Beares sonne.

THE NAMES OR SURNAMES OF THE LEARNED MIN AND AUTHORS OF IRELAND,
AND WHAT BOOKES THEY WROTE.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

ARDERICUS, whome Marianus Scotus termeth Barbosus, because of his long beard, a learned man, greatlie in old time renowned in Ireland. But for as much as in his age the countrie was not stored with such as imploied their labors in gathering together the saiengs and doings of sage persons, the discontinuance of his fame is rather to be imputed to the ignorance of the time, than to the want of his deserts. He flourished in the yeare 1053. Alen, a learned physician. James Archer a student of diuinitie. Argobastus, the second bishop of Argentine, successor to the holie prelat saint Amand, borne in Ireland, a learned and deuout clerke: who leauing his countrie and liuing in heremit wise, in certeine solitarie places of France, instructed the people of that realme in the feare of God, and the knowledge of the scriptures. In his preaching he was noted to haue so singular a grace, and so prosperous successe, that such as were by anie worldlie misaduenture afflicted, vpon the hearing of his godlie sermons would suddenlie be comforted. The French king Dagobertus, aduertised of his learning and vertue, caused him to be sent for, vsing him as his chiefe counsellor in all his weightie affaires; and after aduanced him to be bishop of Argentine: he wrote a booke of homilies. He deceased in the yeare 658: & was buried hard by a gibbet néere the citie, pitcht on the top of an hill called saint Michaels hill, which was doone by his owne appointment, in that he would follow the example of his maister Christ, who did vouchsafe to suffer without the citie of Ierusalem, where offenders and malefactors were executed. Barnwall. Bradie a preacher. Brendan an abbat borne in Connagh, in his youth trained vp vnder Hercus a bishop: and being further stept in yeares, he trauelled into England, where he became a profest moonke, vnder an abbat named Congellus, he flourished in the yeare 560: and wrote these bookes insuing. "Confessio christiana lib. 1. Charta cœlestis hereditatis lib. 1. Monachorum regula lib. 1."

Edmund Bernerden a frier, he procéded doctor of diuinitie in Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Brigide the virgine, borne in Leinster, she flourished in the yeare 510: she wrote a booke of hir reuelations. Browne a ciuilian. Barnell. Butler a Waterfordian, sometime scholer to maister Peter White; he translated Maturinus Cordarius his booke of phrases into English, in the yeare 1562. James Caddell, he wrote "Diuersa epigrammata." Carberie a profound ciuilian. Celsus archbishop of Armagh, borne in Ireland, and schooled in the vniuersitie of Oxford, he flourished

- in the yeare 1128: he wrote these bookes following. "Testamentum ad ecclesias lib. 1. Constitutiones quedam lib. 1. Ad Malachiam epistolæ complures." Cléere, borne in Kilkennie, and proceeded maister of art in Oxford. John Clin borne in Leinster, being profest a greie frier, he bestowed his time in preaching, chieflie in the towne of Kilkennie. This man was a good antiquarie, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, beginning at the natiuitie of Christ, and stretching to the yeare 1350: in which yeare he flourished. He wrote these bookes following. "Annalium chronicon lib. 1. De regibus Anglorum lib. 1. De custodijs prouinciarum lib. 1. De Franciscanorum cœnobijs & eorum distinctionibus lib. 1."
- Cogie.** Henrie Cogie doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Colme, a learned and an holie monke, he flourished in the yeare 670: he wrote a booke intituled "Pro socijs Quartadecimanis." Columbanus, borne in Vlster, and trained in learning and knowledge as well in England as in France, for his learning and vertue, was elected to be abbat. Hauing trauelled diuerse countries, at length he repaired to Italie, and there in an abbeie by him founded, called *Monasterium Bobiense*, he ended his life the twentieth of Nouember. He left to his posteritie these bookes: "In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos librum 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Monasteriorum methodos lib. 1. Epistolas ad commilitones lib. 1. Aduersus regem adulterum lib. 1." Conganus an Irish abbat, of whom saint Barnard maketh great account, he flourished in the yeare 1150: and wrote to saint Bernard "Gesta Malachiæ archiepiscopi lib. 1. Ad Bernardum Clareuallensem epist. plures." Connour. Walter Conton: he wrote in the Latine toong diuerse epigrams and epitaphs. Simon Coniell a diuine. Cornelius Hibernus, otherwise named Historicus, by reason that he was taken in his timè for an exquisit antiquarie, as may appeare by the Scottish historian Hector Boetius, by whom he acknowledgeth himselfe to be greatlie furthered. He flourished in the yeare 1230: and wrote "Multarum rerum Chronicon. lib. 1." Richard Creagh borne in Limerike, a diuine, he wrote "Epistolas complures. Responsiones ad casus conscientiae. De vitis sanctorum Hiberniæ. Topographiam Hiberniæ," with diuerse other bookes.
- Crumpe.** Henrie Crumpe borne in Ireland, and brought vp in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he grew by reason of his profound knowledge in diuinitie to no small credit. Hauing repaired to his natie countrie, minding there to defraie the talent wherewith God had indued him, he was suddenlie apprehended by Simon bishop of Meth, and kept in duresse, by reson that he was suspected to be of no sound religion. He florished in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred ninetie and two, and wrote these bookes: "Determinaciones scholast. lib. 1. Contra religiosos mendicantes lib. 1. Responsiones ad obiecta lib. 1." Edmund Curren archdeacon of old Laghlin, there hath béene an Irish bishop of the name. Patrike Cusacke a gentleman borne, and a scholer of Oxford, sometime schoolemaister in Dublin, and one that with the learning that God did impart him, gaue great light to his countrie; he imploied his studies rather in the instructing of scholers, than in penning of books, he florished in the yeare one thousand fíue hundred three score and six, and wrote in Latine "Diuersa epigrammata."
- Dalie.** Dalie schooled in the vniuersitie of Paris, hauing a prètie insight in scholasticall diuinitie, he made "Diuersas conciones." Sir Willielme Darcie knight, a wise gentleman, he wrote a booke intituled "The decaie of Ireland." Dauid Delahide, an exquisite and a profound clerke, sometime fellow of Merton college in Oxford, verie well séene in the Latine and Gréeke toongs, expert in the mathematical, a proper antiquarie, and an exact diuine. Whereby I gather that his pen hath not béene lazie, but is dailie bréeding of such learned bookes as shall be auailable to his posteritie. I haue séene a proper oration of his in the praise of master Heiwood being

being Christmasse lord in Merton college intituled, "De ligno & fœno," also "Schemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta." Deurox, there are two brethren of Deurox. the name learned, the elder was sometimes schoolemaister in Weiseford.

Peter Dillon a diuine, and Iohn Dillon likewise a student in diuinitie. Doudall, sometime primat of Armagh, a graue, a learned, and a politike prelat, verie zealouslie affected to the reformation of his countrie, he made "Diuersas conciones." Dormer a lawyer, borne in Rosse, scholer of Oxford, he wrote in ballat roiall, "The decaie of Rosse." Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler would faine prooue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith he was borne in England. So that there shall as great contentión rise of him, as in old time there rose of Homers countrie. For the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie; the Chyans claimed him to be theirs, the Salaminians aduouched that he was their countriman: but the Smirniens were so stiffelie bent in proouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, & therevpon they did consecrat a church to the name of Homer. But what countriman soeuer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtill and profound clerke. The onelie fault wherewith he was dusked, was a litle spice of vaine glorie, being giuen to carpe and taunt his predecessor diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Wherevpon great factions are growen in the schooles betwene the Thomists and Scotists; Thomas being the ringleader of the one sect, and Scotus the belweadder of the other. He was fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and from thense he was sent for to Paris to be a professor of diuinitie. Finallie, he repaired vnto Cullen, where in an abbeie of greie friers (of which profession he was one) he ended his life. The books he wrote are these: "Commentarij Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. Quodlibeta scholastica lib. 1. In Analytica posteriora lib. 2. In metaphysicam quæstiones lib. 12. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. De perfectione statuum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de Sanctis lib. 1. Collationes Parisienses lib. 1. Lectura in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentarij in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli lib. plures. Quæstiones vniuersalium lib. 1. Quæstiones prædicatorum lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In categorias Aristotelis lib. 1. Tetragrammata quædam lib. 1. Commentariorum imperfectorum lib. 1."

Eustace a doctor of diuinitie, a verie good schooleman, he florished in the yeare one thousand fife hundred thirtie and six. Oliuer or Oliuer Eustace a student of the ciuill and canon law, a good humanician, and a proper philosopher. Nicholas Eustace a gentleman borne, surpassing birth by learning, and learning by vertue. Maurice Eustace a student of diuinitie, one that notwithstanding he were borne to a faire liuing, yet did wholie sequester himselfe from the world.

Fagan a batchellor of art in Oxford, and a schoolemaister in Waterford. Daniell Ferraile, a diuine and a schoolemaister. Fergutius son to Ferquhardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part suppose him to haue béene an Irish man. He florished in the yeare of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and before the incarnation two hundred ninetie and two, in the fife and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was by misadventure drowned néere a rocke in the north of Ireland that of him is called to this daie Carregfergus; vpon whose mishap these verses were made:

"Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis,
Fergusius petræ sic dedit apta suæ."

This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, "Leges politicæ lib. 1." Finnanus scholer to one Nennius and Segenius, taken for a deepe diuine in his age; he florished in the yeare six hundred sixtie and one; he wrote "Pro veteri paschatis ritu

Dillon.
Doudall.

Dormer.

Duns Scotus
maior & minor
cap. 10.

St. in post. 10
Arch. p. 10.

Thomiste.
Scotista.

1308

Eustace.

Fagan.
Ferraile.
Fergutius.

Carregfergus.

- Field. ritu lib. 1." Field a physician. Thomas Field a master of art. John Fitzgerald, commonly named John Fitzedmund, a verie well lettered ciuillian, a wise gentleman, and a good householder.
- Fitzgerald. Robert Fitzgerald *alias* Robert Fitzmaurice borne in the countie of Kildare. David Fitzgerald, vsuallie called David Duffe, borne in Kerie, a ciuillian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of musike, skilfull in physike, a good & generall craftsman much like to Hippias, surpassing all men in the multitude of crafts, who comming on a time to Pisa to the great triumph called Olympicum, ware nothing but such as was of his owne making; his shooes, his pattens, his cloke, his cote, the ring that he did weare, with a signet therin verie perfectlie wrought, were all made by him. He plaied excellentlie on all kind of instruments, and soong therto his owne verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logike, rhetorike, and philosophie he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none.
- Fitzrafe. Richard Fitzrafe, primat of Armagh, scholer in the vniuersitie of Oxford to Baconthorpe a good philosopher, & no ignorant diuine: an enimie to friers, namelie such as went begging from doore to doore, whereby he purchased the hatred of all religious persons. He was by Edward the third his means made archdeacon of Lichfield, after created primat of Armagh, being cited before pope Clement the sixt, for reproouing the begging friers. In the heat of the said contention he deceased in Italie, whose bones were caried into Ireland, and buried at Dondalke, where he was borne. He wrote these bookes insuing: "De paupertate seruatoris lib. 7. Contra fratres mendicantes lib. 16. In extrauagantem Ioannis 23 lib. 1. Determinationes ad eundem lib. 1. Contra suum archidiaconum lib. 1. Propositiones ad papam lib. 1. Contra fratrum appellationem lib. 1. Sermones ad crucem Pauli lib. 1. Sermones coram pontifice lib. 1. De statu vniuersalis ecclesiæ lib. 1. Lectura sententiarum lib. 4. Quæstiones earundem lib. 1. Lectura theologica lib. 1. Sermones ad clerum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 1. Mariæ laudes Auenioni lib. 1. Illustrationes euangeliorum lib. 4. De passione dominica lib. 1. De peccato ignorantie lib. 1. De iure spiritali lib. 1. De vafricijs Iudæorum lib. 1. Propositionum suarum lib. 1. Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Dialogorum plurium librum vnum."
- 1800
Fitzsimons. Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice and lord chancellor of Ireland at one time, a famous clerke, and exquisitelie learned both in philosophie and diuinitie: being in companie with king Henrie the seuenth, and hearing an oration that was made in his praise, the king demanded him, what fault he found most in the oration? Trulie (quoth he) if it like your highnesse, no fault, sauing onelie that the orator flattered your maiestie ouermuch. Now in good faith, our father of Dublin (quoth the king) we minded to find the same fault our selues. Thomas Fitzsimons, a verie proper diuine: he wrote in English a treatise of the church. Leonard Fitzsimons, a deepe and pithie clerke, well séene in the Gréeke and Latine toong, sometime fellow of Trinitie college in Oxford, perfect in the mathematical, and a painefull student in diuinitie: he hath a brother that was trained vp in learning in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim. Michaell Fitzsimons, schoolemaster in Dublin, a proper student, and a diligent man in his profession, he wrote "Orationem in aduentum comitis Essexiæ Dublinium, Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanishani, Ductusa epigrammata."
- Flattisburie. Philip Flattisburie, a worthie gentleman, and a diligent antiquarie, he wrote in the Latine toong, at the request of the right honourable Girald Fitzgerald erle of Kildare, "Diuersas chronicas:" he florished in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and seauenteene, & deceased at his towne named Iohnstowne néere the Naas.
- Fleming. Thomas Fleming: there is a Fleming now liuing, of whome I heare great report to be an absolute diuine, and a professor thereof. Foillanus a learned moonke, he trauelled

travelled into France, where thorough the liberalitie of an holie virgine, named Gertrude, he founded an abbeie called Monasterium Fossense, where at length he suffered martyrdom. Fursæus peregrinus, so called, because he was borne in Ireland, and did bestow his yeares as an estranger in France, where he founded an abbeie named Comobium Latiniacense: he wrote certeine pamphlets, that by tract of time are perished, he flourished in the yeare six hundred and sixtie, and was buried in his owne monasterie.

Robert Garuie, fellow of Oriall college in Oxford, a student of both the lawes, a man well spoken as well in the English as in the Latine. Robert Gogan a preacher. William Hardit a doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred and twentie. Hickie, physicians, the father and his sonne. Hugo de Hibernia, so called, because his surname is not knowne, he was a greie frier, and a great traeller, he flourished in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred and sixtie, he wrote "Itinerarium quoddam lib. 1." Oliuer Huseie, a professor of the arts in Dowaie. Derby Hurle, a ciuilian, and a commendable philosopher: he wrote "In Aristotelis physica." Robert Ioise, borne in Kilkennie, a good humanician. Radulphus Kellie a moonke, brought vp in the knowledge of the Latine toong in Kildare, in which he profited so well, that for his eloquence and wisdom he was sent to Clement the sixt, as the speaker or prolocutor of all his order, and also was appointed the generall aduocat or deputie vnder Petrus de Casa, master generall of the order. After he was aduanced to be archbishop of Cashill, in which honour he deceased; hauing at vacant houres written "In iure canonico lib. 1. Epistolarum familiarium lib. 1." Thomas Kenedie, a ciuilian.

Kernie, he wrote in Irish "Catechismum, Translationem bibliæ." Cagher, a nobleman borne, in his time called Mac Murrough, he descended of that Mac Murrough that was sometime king of Leinster, he was a surpassing diuine, and for his learning and vertue was created bishop of Leighlin and abbat of Grage: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and fiftie, and was an hundred yeares old when he deceased. Iames King, borne in Dublin, and scholer to M. Patrike Cusacke, vnder whome being commendable trained, he repaired to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he deceased before he could attein to that ripenesse of learning, whereto one of so pregnant a wit was like in time to aspire, he wrote "Carmina in laudem Henrici Sidnæi, Diuersa epigrammata." Leie, a learned and an expert physician. Leurouse a learned diuine, sometime bishop of Kildare, and deane of saint Patriks in Dublin. Aeneas Loghlen, or Mackleighlen, master of art, and a preacher. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare one thousand five hundred seuentie and six in August, he is a proper philosopher, no stranger in scholasticall diuinitie, a pretie Latinist: he wrote "De speciebus contra mendacem monachum, In Aristotelis physica, Theses ex præcipuis iuris vtriusque partibus selectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali consecratas."

Peter Lombard borne in Waterford, scholer to master Peter White, hauing imployed two yeares and a halfe in the studie of philosophie at Louaine, he was chosen when he proceeded master of art, Primus vniuersitatis, by the vniforme consent of the foure principals, which preferment did happen to none in such consenting wise, in manie yeares before: he wrote "Carmen heroicum in doctoratum Nicholai Quemerfordi." Dorbie Macchragh, a student in diuinitie. Macgrane, a schoolemaster in Dublin, he wrote carols and sundrie ballads. Malachias borne in Vlster, his life is exactlie written by saint Barnard, in whose abbeie he died in the yeare one thousand one hundred fortie and eight, he wrote "Constitutorum communium lib. 1. Legum cœlibatus lib. 1. Nouarum traditionum lib. 1. Ad D. Barnardum epist. plures." Malachias, the minorit or greie frier, a student in the vniuersitie

of Oxford, where he attained to that knowledge in diuinitie, as he was the onelie man in his time that was appointed to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a sharpe reproouer of vice, a zelous imbracer of vertue, enemie to flatterie, friend to simplicitie; he flourished in the yeare one thousand thrie hundred and ten, he wrote "De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1. Conciones plures, lib. 1."

Mauricius.
Iohannes Camertes.
in exp. 3. Sol.

Mauricius Hybernus, of him Iohannes Camertes, thus writeth. "Annis ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea insula oriundus Mauricius, D. Francisci ordinis professus, in dialecticis, vtraque philosophia, metaphysicis, ac sacra theologia plurimum eruditus. Vix insuper dici potest, qua humanitate, quæue morum sanctimonia præditus fuerit. Is cum annis plurimis in Patauino gymnasio bonas artes docuisset, cum summa omnium gratia, ob eius singularem eruditionem, ac candidissimos mores, à Iulio secundo pontifice maximo in Tuanensem archiepiscopum creatus est. Quò cum relicta Italia bellis in ea sæuientibus proficisceretur, non multum post, magna studiorum iactura, cum nondum quinquagesimum ætatis suæ attingisset annum, mortem obiit. Erant plurima suæ doctrinæ in manibus monumenta, sed ea ob immaturam eius mortem edere non licuit. Quantum fuerit inter eum, dum viueret, & me necessitudinis vinculum, testantur sexcentæ epistolæ, quas plenas charitatis indicijs, varijs temporibus ad me dedit. Eis (quanta veræ amicitiae vis) post amici obitum, relegens soleo assidue recreari."

There did (saith Ioannes Camertes) of late yeares one Mauricius borne in Ireland excell, a greie frier profest, verie well seene in logike, deepelie grounded in philosophie, both morall & naturall, learned in the metaphysiks, in diuinitie péerlesse. Scantlie maie I tell with how great courtesie & vertue he was indued. When he had professed at Padua the liberall arts manie yeares with no small renowme; he was created by Iulius the second, not onelie for his profound knowledge, but also for the sinceritie of his life, archbishop of Tuen. When he was traouelling thitherward, being departed frō Italie, by reason of the vprores that were there daily increasing, he ended his life to the great losse of learning, before he was full fiftie yeares old. He had sundrie works in hand, which he could not haue finished by reason of his vntimelie death. How déere and entier friends he and I were one to the other during his life, the letters he addressed me from time to time, to the number of six hundred, thwackt with loue and kindnesse, doo manifestlie declare. And by perusing of them after his death (such is the force of friendship) I am greatlie comforted. Thus farre Camertes. This Mauricius wrote "Commentarios super Scotum in prædicabilia, In magistrum sententiarum lib. 4." Mauricius archbishop of Cashill, he florished in king Iohns reigne. Giraldus Cambrensis, vpon his comming into Ireland, and debasing the countrie in the hearing of this prelat, saiong that albeit the inhabitants were woont to brag of the number of their saints, yet they had no martyrs: You saie verie well sir (quoth the archbishop) indéed as rude as this countrie is or hath béene, yet the dwellers had the saints in some reue-
rence. But now that the gouernement of the countrie is come to your kings hands, we shall (I trust) shortly be stored with martyrs.

Mauricius C.

Moonie.

Neilan.

Nugent.

John Miagh a diuine, he wrote a treatise, "De possessione monasteriorum." Moonie a ciuillie, and a good Latinist. Neilan, sometime fellow of Alsoules college in Oxford, a learned physician. Patrike Nigran a diuine. Philip Norris a scholer of Oxford and after deane of S. Patriks in Dublin, he flourished in the yeare 1446, and wrote these workes. "Declamationes quasdam lib. 1. Lecturas scripturarum lib. 1. Sermones ad populum, lib. 1. Contra mendicitatem validam lib. 1." Nugent, baron of Deluin, schooled in the vniuersitie of Cambridge. William Nugent a proper gentleman, and of a singular good wit, he wrote in the English toong diuerse sonets.

David Munge, borne in the towne of Kildare; for his learned lectures, and subtile

tile disputations openlie published in Oxford and Treuers in Germanie, he was taken for the gem and lanterne of his countrie. In his time Giraldus Bononiensis, being maister generall of the Carmelits, was at iar with William Liddington, the prouinciall of all the English Carmelites. Wherevpon tenne of the wisest and learnedest Carmelits that then were resiant in England, being fullie elected to resist their generall, Obuge was chosen to be the forman of all the said crew. Giraldus Bononiensis vnderstanding that he being an Irishman, was so hot in the controuersie, was egerly bent against Obuge, because he assured himselfe to haue had fauour at his hands, by reason Obuge was borne in that countrie where the Giraldines his kinsmen were planted, and therevpon he was banished Italie. This storme in processe of time being appeased, the outcast Carmelite was made the generall gardian of all his fraternitie in Ireland: which countrie by his continuall teaching and preaching was greatlie edified. Ouer this he was so politike a counsellor, that the nobilitie and estates in causes of weight, would haue recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophie an Aristotle, in eloquence a Tullie, in diuinitie an Augustine, in the ciuill law a Iustinian, in the canon a Panormitane, he flourished in the yeare 1320, he deceased at Kildare, leauing these learned workes insuing to posteritie. "Sermones ad Clerum lib. 1. Epistolæ 32 ad diuersos lib. 1. Propositiones disputatas lib. 1. Lectiones Treuerenses lib. 1. Regulæ Iuris lib. 1. Contra Giraldum Bononiensem."

Giraldus Bononiensis.

Owen Odewhee, a preacher, and a maker in Irish. Thomas Oheirnaine, deane of Corke, a learned diuine, he wrote in "Latine Ad Iacobum Stanihurstum epist. plures." Thomas Oheirligh, bishop of Rosse, an exquisite diuine, brought vp in Italie. Pander, a man zelouslie addicted to the reformation of his countrie, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latine, intituled "Salus populi." Patricius, who notwithstanding he be no Irishman borne, yet I may not ouerslip him in the catalog of Irish authors, for as much as his whole works tended to the conuersion and reformation of that countrie: he was surnamed Succetus or Magonius, an absolute diuine, adorning his deepe knowledge therein with sinceritie of life. Being sent into Ireland by the appointment of Celestinus the first, accompanied with Segetius a priest, he conuerted the Iland from idolatrie and paganisme to christianitie. He wrote these bookes following. "De antiquitate Aualonica lib. 1. Itinerarium confessionis lib. 1. Odorporicon Hybernix lib. 1. Historia Hybernix ex Ruano lib. 1. De tribus habitaculis lib. 1. De futura electorum vita lib. 1. Abiectoria quædam 366. lib. 1. Ad Cereticum tyrannum epist. 1. Sermones lib. 1. Ad Aualonicos incolas epist. 1. Ad Hybernias ecclesias epist. plures. Ad Britannos epist. plures." He deceased, being one hundred, twentie, and two yeares old, in the yeare 458, or as some suppose 491, and lieth buried in an ancient citie, in the north of Ireland, named Downe, according to the old verse, which saith:

"Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius."

Patricius Abbas a learned man, and much giuen to the edifieng of his countrymen: he florished in the yeare 850, and deceased at Glasconburie. Some ascribe the finding of saint Patrikes purgatorie to this abbat, not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie; but that error hath béene before sufficientlie reprooued. This abbat wrote "Homilias lib. 1. Ad Hybernios epist. plures." Petrus Hybernicus, professor of philosophie in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lanterne of scholemen, both in philosophie and diuinitie, was his scholer; being therefore as highlie renowned as Socrates is for being maister to Plato; or Plato is, for hauing Aristotle to his scholer. This Petrus flourished in the yeare 1230, he wrote "Quodlibeta theologica lib. 1." Plunket, baron of Dunsanie, scholer in Ra-

Patricius abbas.

Petrus Hybernicus.

Plunket.

father

father in law, to the vniuersitie of Oxford. Where, how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of his acquaintance presentlie perceiue, so hereafter when his workes shall take the aire, that now by reason of bashful modestie, or modest bashfulness are wrongfullie imprisoned, and in manner stiepled in shadowed couches, I doubt not, but by his fame and renoune in learning, shall be answerable to his desert and valure in writing.

Poomrell, a batchelor of diuinitie, sometime chapleine in New college in Oxford, after returning to his countrie, he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thence flitted to Louaine, where through continuall hearing of lectures and disputations, more than by his priuat studie, he purchased a laudable knowledge in diuinitie. Whereby he gaue manifest shew of the profit that riseth of exercise and conference. Vpon this occasion, one of his acquaintance was accustomed to tell him that he had all his diuinitie by hearesaie. He decessed at Louaine in the yere 1573. **Nicholas Quemeford**, doctor of diuinitie, proceeded the thrée and twentieth of October, he wrote in English a verie pithie and learned treatise, and therewithall exquisitelie pend, intituled; Answers to certeine questions propounded by the citizens of Waterford; Diuerse sermons. There liued latelie of the surname a graue prelat in Waterford, and properlie learned.

Rian, therè liued two brethren of the surname, both scholers of Oxford, the one a good ciuilian, the other verie well séene in the mathematical. **Richard** archdeacon of saint Patriks, chancellor in the vniuersitie of Dublin, procéded doctor of the canon law, in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred and twentie. **Robert Rochford** borne in the countrie of Weiseford, a proper diuine, an exact philosopher, and a verie good antiquarie. There is another **Rochford** that is a student of philosophie. **Rooth**, batchelor of law, procéded in the vniuersitie of Oxford. There hath béene another **Rooth** vicar of S. Iohns in Kilkennie pretilie learned. **Iohannes de sacro bosco**, borne in Holiwood, and thereof surnamed **De sacro bosco**; he wrote an excellent introduction, "**De Sphæra**." **Sedgraue**, two brethren of the name, both students in diuinitie. **Shaghens** fellow of Balioll college in Oxford, after schoolemaister in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man. **Sheire**, scholer in Oxford and Paris; he wrote, "**De Repub**." **Elias Sheth** borne in Kilkennie, sometime scholer of Oxford, a gentleman of a passing good wit, a plesant conceited companion, full of mirth without gall; he wrote in English diuerse sonets. **Michaell Sheth** borne in Kilkennie, master of art. **Skidmor** borne in Corke, and gardian of Yoghill.

Richard Smith borne in a towne named Rackmackneie, thrée miles distant from Weiseford, surnamed **Smith**; of his father, who was by occupation a smith, being foureteene yéeres of age he stole into England, and repaired to Oxford, where in tract of time he procéded doctor of diuinitie, was elected doctor of the chaire, taken in those daies for a péerelesse pearle of all the diuines in Oxford, as well in scholasticall as in positieue diuinitie. Vpon the death of queene Marie he went to Louaine, where he read openlie the apocalypse of saint Iohn, with little admiration and lesse reprehension; he wrote in English against licentious fasting, or the libertie of fasting; "The assertion of the sacrament of altar; A defense of the sacrifice of the masse one booke; Of vnwritten verities one booke; Retractations one booke." In the Latin toong he wrote "**De cœlibatu sacerdotum lib. 1. De votis monasticis lib. 1. De iustificatione hominis librum vnum**."

Nicholas Stanihurst, he wrote in Latine "**Dietam medicorum lib. 1.**" he died in the yeare one thousand fve hundred fiftie and foure. **Iames Stanihurst**, late recorder of Dublin, ouer his exact knowlege in the common lawes, he was a good orator, and a proper diuine. He wrote in English, being speaker in the parlements; "An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the

the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c : in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie; An oration made in the beginning of the parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, in the second yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quéene Elisabeth; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie knight, &c : in the eleuenth yeere of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quéene Elisabeth." He wrote in Latine, "Pias orationes. Ad Corcaciensem decanum epistolas plures:" he deceased at Dublin the seuen and twentieth of December, being one and fiftie yeares old. Vpon whose death, I, as nature and dutie bound me, haue made this epitaph following:

" Vita brevis, mors sancta fuit (pater optime) visa,
 Vita timenda malis, mors redamanda bonis.
 Vrbs est orba sopho, legum rectore tribunal,
 Causidicóque cliens, atque parente puer.
 Plurima proferrem, sed me prohibere videtur,
 Pingere vera dolor, fingere falsa pudor.
 Non opus est falsis, sed quæ sunt vera loquenda,
 Non mea penna notet, buccina fama sonet.
 Hoc scripsisse satis, talem quandóque parentem
 Est habuisse decus, sed caruisse dolor.
 Filius hæc dubitans, talem vix comperit vsquam,
 Vllus in orbe patrem, nullus in vrbe parem.
 Mortuus ergo, pater, poteris bene viuus haberi,
 Viuis enim mundo nomine, mente Deo."

Walter Stanihurst, sonne to James Stanihurst, he translated into English "Innocent de contemptu mundi." There flourished before anie of these a Stanihurst, <sup>Circa annu-
Dom. 1506.</sup> that was a scholer of Oxford, brother to Gennet Stanihurst, a famous and an ancient matrone of Dublin, she lieth buried in saint Michaels church. Sutton, one ^{Sutton.} of that name, is a verie good maker in English. Matthew Talbot schoolemaster, ^{Talbot.} a student in Cambridge. William Talbot. John Talbot sonne to William, a master of art, he wrote in Latine, "Orationem in laudem comitis Essexiæ, Diuersa epigrammata." Edmund Tanner a profound diuine, he wrote "Lectiones in summam ^{Tanner.} D. Thomæ." Tailer batchelor of art, procéded in the vniuersitie of Oxford, he ^{Tailer.} wrote in Latine "Epigrammata diuersa."

Thomas Hybernus borne in Palmerstowne néere the Naas, he procéded doctor <sup>Thomas Hyber-
nus.</sup> of diuinitie in Paris, a déepe clerke and one that read much, as may easilie be gathered by his learned workes: he flourished in the yeare 1290, and wrote with diuerse other workes, these bookes insuing: "Flores bibliæ, Flores doctorum lib. 2. De christiana religione lib. 1. De illusionibus dæmonum lib. 1. De tentatione diaboli lib. 1. De remedijs vitiorum lib. 1." Laurentius Toole archbishop of Dub- ^{Toole.} lin. Trauerse doctor of diuinitie, he florished in the reigne of Henrie the eight. ^{Trauerse.} There hath beene after him a schoolemaister in Dublin of that name. Tundalus ^{Tundalus.} Magus a knight, after he became a Charterhouse moonke, much giuen to contemplation, wherein he is reported to haue seene diuerse visions of heauen and hell, and therevpon he wrote "Apparitionem suarum lib. 1." he florished in the yeare 1149.

Virgilius Soliuagus a noble man borne, being stept in yeares, he trauelled into <sup>Virgilius Soliu-
gus.</sup> Germanie, where being knowen for a vertuous and learned prelat, he was chosen by Odilon duke of Bauaria, to be their rector or gardian of an ancient abbeie, named S. Peters abbeie, placed in the citie of Salisburgh, after he was created Episcopus Iuuaniensis, and founded in the said towne of Salisburgh a church. In his time one Bonifacius an Englishman, being generall visitour in Bauaria, rebap-

tized certaine, whome he suspected not to haue béene orderlie baptized. Virgilius detesting the fact, hauing consulted with Sidonius archbishop of Bauaria, withstood Bonifacius in his fond attempt. The controuersie being brought before pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius held an error, and that Virgilius and Sidonius published in that point sound doctrine, as who so will read Zacharias his epistle vnto Bonifacius shall plainely see. Virgilius deceased 784, and lieth buried in his church at Salisburgh: he wrote "Ad Zachariam Rom. pont. epist. 1."

Tome primo con-
clitatus.

Vlugh.

Vltanus.

Virgalius.

Vsher.

Wadding.

Walsh.

Owen Vltagh a physician, his father proceeded doctor of physike in Paris. Vltanus a lerned moonke fellow to Foillanus, with whome he trauelled into France, and with continuall preaching edified the inhabitants of that realme; he florished in the yeare 640. Gilbertus Vrgalius a profest Carmelite, and a student in Oxford, he florished in the yeare 1330, he wrote in two great tomes, "Summam quarundam legum, De rebus theologicis lib. 1." Vsher, or Vscher a student in Cambridge, and a preacher. Wadding, a proper versifier, he wrote in Latine vpon the burning of Paules stéeple, "Carmen heroicum, Diuersa epigrammata." Edward Walsh, he florished in the yeare 1550, and wrote in English "The dutie of such as fight for their countrie, The reformation of Ireland by the word of God." James Walsh, master of art, and student in diuinitie, he translated into English, "Giraldum Cambrensem," he wrote in Latine "Epigrammata diuersa."

Richard Walsh master of art and student in diuinitie. There is a learned man of the name beneficed in S. Patrikes church in Dublin, student in Cambridge, and now a preacher. Peter Walsh a proper youth, and one that would haue béene an ornament to his countrie, if God had spared him life, he died of a surfet at London, about the yeare 1571. There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname, who writeth a verie proper Latine verse. Wellesleie deane of Kildare, there liueth an other learned man of the name, who is archdeacon of saint Patrikes. Peter White borne in Waterford, fellow of Oriall college in Oxford, the luckie schoolemaster of Mounster; he bestowed his time rather in the making of scholers, than in the penning of bookes, and to the instruction of youth, he wrote "Epitom. in copiam Erasmi, Epitom. figurarum rhetoricar. Annotationes in orat. pro Archia poeta. Annotat. in orationem pro T. A. Milone. Epigrammata diuersa." John White batchelor of diuinitie borne in Clonmell, he wrote in Latine "Diuersa pia epigrammata." Andrew White a good humanician, a pretie philosopher. Wise, of this surname there florished sundrie learned gentlemen. There liueth one Wise in Waterford, that maketh verie well in the English. Andrew Wise a toward youth, and a good versifier. William an abbat, and (as it is thought) a soothsaier, he florished in the yeare 1298, and wrote "Prophetias rerum futurarum lib. 1." Dauid Woolfe, a diuine.

Wellesleie.

White.

Wise.

William.

Woolfe.

Thus far (gentle reader) haue I indeuoured to heape vp together a catalog of such learned Irishmen, as by diligent insearch could haue bin found. Howbeit, I am to request thée not to measure the ample number of the learned of that countrie by this brieft abstract: considering, that diuerse haue beene, yea and are yet liuing, of profound knowledge that to me are vnknowne, and therefore in this register not recorded.

THE DISPOSITION AND MANERS OF THE MEERE IRISH, COMMONLIE CALLED THE WILD IRISH.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

BEFORE I attempt the vnfolding of the maners of the meere Irish, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne thée reader, not to impute anie barbarous custome that shall

shall be here laid downe, to the citizens, townesmen, and inhabitants of the English pale, in that they differ litle or nothing from the ancient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Welsh men, being therefore as mortallie behated of the Irish, as those that are borne in England. For the Irish man standeth so much vpon his gentilitie, that he termeth anie one of the English sept, and planted in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English churle: but if he be an Englishman borne, then he nameth him, Bobdeagh Saxonnegh, that is, a Saxon churle: so that both are churles, and he the onelie gentleman. And therevpon if the basest pezzant of them name himselfe with his superior, he will be sure to place himselfe first, as I and Oneile, I and you, I and he, I and my master, whereas the courtesie of the English language is cleane contrarie.

The people are thus inclined, religious, franke, amorous, irefull, sufferable of infinit paines, verie glorious, manie sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great almesgiuers, passing in hospitalitie. The lewder sort, both clearkes and laie men are sensuall and ouer loose in liuing. The same being vertuouslie bred vp or reformed, are such mirrors of holinesse and austeritie, that other nations reteine but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kind of chastisement. They follow the dead corpse to the graue with howling and barbarous outcries, pitifull in apparance: whereof grew, as I suppose, the prouerbe, To wéepe Irish.

Gréedie of praise they be, & fearefull of dishonor, and to this end they estéeme their poets, who write Irish learnedlie, and pen their sonets heroicall, for the which they are bountifullie rewarded; if not, they send out libels in dispraise, whereof the lords and gentlemen stand in great awe. They loue tenderlie their foster children, and bequeath to them a childes portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship: so beneficiall euerie waie, that commonlie fūe hundred cowes and better, are giuen in reward to win a noble mans child to foster, they loue & trust their foster brethren more than their owne. The men are cleane of skin and hew, of stature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big & large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of bodie.

Their infants, they of meaner sort, are neither swaddled nor lapped in linnen, but folded vp starke naked in a blanket till they can go. Proud they are of long crisped bushes of heare which they terme glibs, and the same they nourish with all their cunning, to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable péece of villanie. Water cresses, which they tearme shamrocks, roots and other herbs they féed vpon, otemeale and butter they cram together, they drinke wheie, milke, and beefe-broth. Flesh they deuoure without bread, and that halfe raw: the rest boileth in their stomachs with *Aqua vitæ*, which they swill in after such a surfet by quarts and pottels: they let their cowes bloud, which growne to a gellie, they bake and ouerspread with butter, and so eate it in lumps. No meat they fansie so much as porke, and the fatter the better. One of Iohn Oneis household demanded of his fellow whether béefe were better than porke? That (quoth the other) is as intricat a question, as to aske whether thou art better than Onele.

Their noble men, and noble mens tenants, now and then make a set feast, which they call coshering, wherto flocke all their retainers, whom they name followers, their rithmours, their bards, their harpers that féed them with musike: and when the harper twangeth or singeth a song, all the companie must be whist, or else he chafeth like a cutpurse, by reason his harmonie is not had in better price. In their coshering they sit on straw, they are serued on straw, and lie vpon mattresses and pallets of straw. The antiquitie of this kind of feasting is set foorth by Virgil, where Dido interteineth the Troian prince and his companie. They obserue diuerse

Irish gentilitie,

The inclination
of the people.

To wéepe Irish.

Poets estéemed.

Foster children.

The stature of
the people.

Infants.

Glibs.

Their diet.

Porke.

Coshering.
Followers.Lib. pri. Aen.
circa finem.

uerse degrés, according to which each man is regarded. The basest sort among them are little yooong wags, called Daltins, these are lackies, and are seruiceable to the groomes or horsseboies, who are a degré aboue the Daltins. Of the third degré is the kerne, who is an ordinarie souldior, vsing for weapon his sword and target, and sometimes his peece, being commonlie so good markemen as they will come within a score of a great castell. Kerne signifieth (as noble men of deepe iudgement informed me) a shower of hell, because they are taken for no better than for rakehels, or the diuels blacke gard, by reason of the stinking sturre they kéepe, wheresoeuer they be.

The fourth degré is a galloglasse, vsing a kind of pollar for his weapon. These men are commonlie weieward rather by profession than by nature, grim of countenance, tall of stature, big of lim, burlie of bodie, well and stronglie timbered, chieflie féeding on béefe, porke & butter. The fift degré is to be an horsseman, which is the chieftest next the lord and capteine. These horssemen, when they haue no staie of their owne, gad & range from house to house like arrant knights of the round table, and they neuer dismount vntil they ride into the hall, and as farre as the table. There is among them a brotherhood of karrowes, that proffer to plaie at cards all the yeare long, and make it their onelie occupation. They plaie awaie mantle and all to the bare skin, and then trusse themselues in straw or leaues, they wait for passengers in the high waie, inuite them to game vpon the gréene, and aske no more but companions to make them sport. For default of other stuffe, they pawne their glibs, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their dimissaries, which they léese or redéeme at the courtesie of the winner.

One office in the house of noble men is a taleteller, who bringeth his lord asléepe with tales vaine and friuolous, wherevnto the number giue sooth and credit. Without either precepts or obseruations of congruitie, they speake Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common schooles of leachcraft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold on sixtéene or twentie yeares, conning by rote the aphorismes of Hippocrates, and the ciuill institutes, with a few other parings of those faculties. In their schooles they groouell vpon couches of straw, their bookes at their noses, themselues lie flat prostrate, and so they chant out with a lowd voice their lessons by péecemeale, repeating two or three words thirtie or fortie times together. Other lawyers they haue liable to certeine families, which after the custome of the countrie determine and iudge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and receiued among their neighbors: be it murther, felonie, or trespasse, all is remedied by composition (except the grudge of parties séeke réuenge) and the time they haue to spare from spoiling and preiding, they lightlie bestow in parling about such matters. The Breighon (so they call this kind of lawyers) sitteth on a banke, the lords and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they procéed. To rob and spoile their enimies they déeme it none offense, nor seeke anie meanes to recouer their losse, but euen to watch them the like turne. But if neighbors & friends send their purueiors to purloine one another, such actions are iudged by the Breighons aforesaid. They honour and reuerence friers and pilgrims, by suffering them to passe quietlie, and by sparing their mansions, whatsoever outrage they shew to the countrie besides them. The like fauor doo they extend to their poets & rithmours.

In old time they much abused the honorable state of mariage, either in contracts vnlawfull, méeting the degrés of prohibition, or in diuorsements at pleasure, or in reteining concubines or harlots for wiues: yea euen at this daie, where the clergie is faint, they can be content to marrie for a yeare and a daie of probation: and at the years end, or anie time after, to returne hir home with hir mariage goods, or as much in valure, vpon light quarels, if the gentlewomans friends be vnable to

to reuenge the iniurie. In like maner maie she forsake hir husband. In some corner of the land they vsed a damnable superstition, leauing the right armes of their infants vnchristened (as they tearme it) to the intent it might giue a more vngratious and deadlie blow. Others write that gentlemen's children were baptised in milke, and the infants of poore folke in water, who had the better or rather the onelie choise. Diuerse other vaine and execrable superstitions they obserue, that for a complet recitall would require a seuerall volume. Whereto they are the more stiffelie wedded, bicause such single preachers as they haue, reprocue not in their sermons the péeuishnesse and fondnesse of these friuolous dreamers. But these and the like enormities haue taken so déepe root in that people, as commonlie a preacher is sooner by their naughtie liues corrupted, than their naughtie liues by his preaching amended.

*Superstition in
baptisme.*

*I. h. Cai. 11. 2.
Cant. ant.*

*Ireland why su-
perstitious.*

Againe, the verie English of birth, conuersant with the sauage sort of that people become degenerat, and as though they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup, are quite altered. Such force hath education to make or mar. God with the beams of his grace clarifie the eies of that rude people, that at length they maie see their miserable estate: and also that such as are deputed to the gouernement thereof, bend their industrie with conscionable policie to reduce them from rudenes to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from trecherie to honestie, from sauagenesse to ciuilitie, from idlenesse to labour, from wickednesse to godlinesse, whereby they maie the sooner espie their blindnesse, acknowledge their loosenes, amend their liues, frame themselves pliable to the lawes and ordinances of hir maiestie, whome God with his gracious assistance preserue, aswell to the prosperous gouernment of hir realme of England, as to the happie reformation of hir realme of Ireland.

FINIS.

THE FIRST INHABITATION OF

IRELAND,

BY WHOME IT WAS INSTRUCTED IN THE FAITH, WITH THE SEVERALL INVASIONS
OF THE SAME, &c.

THE AUTHORS PREFACE OR INTRODUCTION TO THE SEQUELE OF THE HISTORIE.

ALTHOUGH (vndoutedlie) the originall of all nations for the more part is so vncerteine, that who soeuer shall enter into the search thereof, further than he findeth in the holie scriptures, may seeme as it were rather to talke with men that dreame, than to gather authorities sufficient wherevpon to ground anie warranted opinion: yet for as much as the authors (whom in this Irish historie we chieffie follow) haue set downe what they haue found in the Irish antiquities, concerning the first inhabitation of this countrie of Ireland, and because the reader also may be peraduenture desirous to vnderstand the same, we haue thought good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauing the credit vnto the due consideration of the circumspect reader; and where the errors are too grosse, giuing by the way some cautions, in like sort as our authors themselues haue doone. According therefore to the order of all other nations and people that seeke to aduance the glorie of their countries, in fetching their beginning with the furthest from some one of ancient antiquitie: so likewise the Irishmen haue registred in their chronicles, that their countrie was first inhabited by one of Noahs neeces, after the manner following.

THE
FIRST INHABITATION OF IRELAND, &c.

IN the yeare of the world, 1525: the patriarch Noah began to admonish the people of vengeance to followe for their wickednesse and detestable sins, to build his arke to foresheue his kinsfolkes and friends of that vniuersall floud which was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered with water; & that within few yeares, except they amended in time. This did he before the generall floud, one hundred & fiue and twentie yeares. But when euerie man seemed to neglect this wholesome admonition, one Cesara that was néece to Noah, hearing hir vncles prophesie, doubted least the same should come to passe; and therefore determined with certeine hir adherents to séeke aduentures in some forren region, perswading hir selfe, that if she might find a countrie neuer yet inhabited, and so with sin vnspotted, the generall sentence of Gods wrath should not there take effect. Wherevpon rigging a nauie, she committed hir selfe to the seas, sailing foorth, till at length she arriued in Ireland onelie with three men, & fiftie women, hauing lost the residue of hir companie by misfortune of sundrie shipwracks made in that hir long & troublesome iourneie. The names of the men were these, Bithi, Laigria, and Fintan. The coast where she first set foot on land, and where also she lieth buried, is called *Nauiculare littus*, that is, the shipping riuage or shore. The stones wherein the memorie hereof was preserued from violence of waters, haue béene scene of some (as they themselues haue reported) but how trulie I haue not to say: within fortie daies after hir comming on land there, the vniuersall floud came & ouerflowed all that coast as well as all other parts of the world. But where as this tale bewraieth it selfe too manifestlie to be a meere vntruth, if the time and other circumstances be throughlie examined, I will not stand longer about the prooffe or disprooffe thereof; sauing that it is sufficient (as I thinke) to bring it out of credit, to consider, how that the art of sailing was vnknowne to the world before the vniuersall floud, and no part inhabited except the continent of Syria, and thereabouts. But to passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof grauen in a stone (a deuice borrowed from Iosephus, as some thinke) it shall be sufficient for the glorie of the Irish antiquitie to grant that Ireland was discouered and peopled by some of Noahs kinred, euen with the first Ilands of the world (if they will needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to that which is set foorth in their histories, when about thrée hundred yeares after the generall floud immediatlie vpon the confusion of toongs, Iaphet & his posteritie imboldened by Noahs example, aduentured to commit themselues by ship to passe the seas, & to search out the vnknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuerse Iles in these west parts of the world.

There was (saie they) in that retinue one of the same progenie named Bartolenus or Bastolenus, who encouraged with the late attempt and successe of Nimrod kinsman to Ninus (then newlie intruded vpon the monarchie of Assyria) searched so far west, intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without anie partner

Cesara néece to Noah.

An. mundi.
1550

Rob. Isaac in
Gene. 5.

An. mundi.
1557
After the best
authors make
300 yeares, and
not 100 be-
twéene Noahs
floud and Babel.

Bartolenus, or
Bastolen
Clem. li
Cambre

Ruthurgus, right
gentleman.

Ireland first in-
habited.

Giants.

Bergon the
sonne of Nep-
tune and brother
to Albion (as
John Bale hath)
conquered Ire-
land and the
Orkneys.
But examples
soone followed.

Rebellion against
gouvernors.

A worthy re-
solution.

Victorie too
cruellie vsed.

Anno mundi.
2257

Ruanus how
King he liued.

partner in authoritie, till at length fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of Ireland. Here he settled himselfe with his three sonnes Languina, Salamis, and Ruthurgus, right actiue and stout gentlemen, who searching the land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names in certaine notable places named after them; as Languinie, Stragruus, and mount Salanga, since named saint Dominiks hill, and Ruthurgus his poole. Little is remembred of Bartolenus, sauing that in short space with manie hands working at once, he rid and made plaine a great part of the countrie ouergrown with woods and thickets.

Thus was Ireland inhabited by this people vnder the gouernment of those three sons of Bartolenus and their offspring, about the space of three hundred yeares. Together with Bartolenus arriued Ireland certaine godles people of Nimrods stocke, woorthilie termed giants, as those that in bodilie shape excéeded the common proportion of others, and vsed their strength to gaine souereigntie, and to oppresse the weake with rapine and violence. That linage (Chams brood) did grow in short while to great numbers, and alwaie indeuored themselues where soeuer they came to beare the rule ouer others. One cause hereof was their bodilie strength, answerable to their hugeness of stature; another, the examples of Cham or Zoroastres the magician, and Nimrod grandfather to Ninus. Which two persons in themselves and their progenies were renowned through the world as victorious princes, ruling ouer two mightie kingdoms Egypt and Assyria. A third cause there was, as this: they repined at the blessings bestowed vpon Sem and Iaphet, thinking it necessarie to withstand and preuent all lawfull rule and dominion, least the curse of slauerie prophesied by Noah should light vpon them, as at length it did. Herevpon rebelliouslie withdrawing their due obedience from their lawfull gouernors here in Ireland, and taking head, set vp a king of their owne faction, and maintaining his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides betwixt the lawfull gouernors & these vsurpers, with dailie raises and skirmishes, so much to the grieft of them that coueted to liue in quiet vnder their rightfull princes, that they determined with the chance of one generall battell, either wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else to end their liues in frédome, and so to be rid of further miserie. But first, where there had growen certaine debates and enimitie among themselues, whereby they had infeebleed their owne forces, they thought good to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the giants, concluding therefore an agrément, and ioining in league with promise to assist ech other to subdue their common enimies, they assemble their power foorth of all parts of the land, and comming to ioinie battell with the giants, after they had fought right fiercelie together for the space of certaine houres, the victorie inclined to the rightfull part; so that the lawfull kings preuailing against the wicked tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole brood of that mischeefous generation. For the kings meaning to deliuer themselues of all danger in time to come, vsed their happie victorie with great crueltie, which turned to their owne confusion: for where they neither spared man, woman, nor child that came in the waie for more despise, & fuller satisfieng of their whole reuenge, they did not vouchsafe to burie the carcasses of their slaine enimies; but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs: whereof through stench of the same, such an infectiue pestilence insued in all places through corruption of aire, that few escaped with life, beside those that got them awaie by sea.

And hereby lieth a vaine tale among the Irishmen, that one of the giants named Ruanus, chancing to be preserued from this mortalitie, liued forsooth two thousand and one and fortie yeares, which is more than twise the age of Methusalem. By this man (saie they) saint Patrike was informed of all the estate of the countrie: and

and after that vpon request he had receiued baptisme of the said Patrike, he deceased in the yeare after the birth of our sauior foure hundred and thirtie, as in the Irish histories hath bin vnaduisedlie registred. But such foolish tales and vaine narrations may warne the aduised reader how to beware of yéelding credit vnto the like idle fantasies and forged tales, when they hap to light vpon such blind legends. For where some of the poets vsed for inuention sake to faine such dreaming fables for exercise of their stiles and wits: afterwards through error and lacke of knowledge, they haue béene taken with the ignorant for verie true and most assured histories. But now to the matter, as we find it recorded of an infinit number of giants slaine and made awaie in manner afore rehearsed, certeine there were that got them into some lurking dens or caues, and there kept them till lacke of vittels inforced them to come foorth, and make shift for sustenance; and perceiuing no resistance because the land was in manner left desolat, they waxed bolder; and when they vnderstood how things had passed, they settled themselues in the best part of the countrie, easilie subduing the poore séelie soules that remained, and so reuiuing their lineage, they became lords of the whole Iland, kéeping the same in subiection for the space of three score yeares together.

Among Iaphets sons we read in Genesis that Magog was one, who planted his people in Scythia nere Tanais, from whence about the yeare of the world two thousand thrée hundred & seuentene. Nemodus with his foure sonnes, Starius, Garbaneles, Anuinus, Fergusius, capteins ouer a faire companie of people, were sent into Ireland, who passing by Grecia, and taking there such as were desirous to séeke aduentures with them, at length they landed in Ireland, innabited the countrie, and multiplied therein, although not without continuall warre, which they held with the giants for the space of two hundred and sixteene yeares, in the end of which terme the giants preuailing chased them thense againe, so that they retired into Syria. This was about the yeare after the creation (as by their account it should séeme) two thousand fíue hundred thirtie and thrée, from which time the giants kept possession of the land without forren inuasion, till the yeare two thousand seauen hundred and foureteene; but yet in all that space they were not able to frame a common-welth: for falling at variance among themselues, and measuring all things by might, seditiouslie they vexed ech other. Which thing coming to the knowledge of the Grecians mooued fíue brethren, sonnes to one Dela, being notable seamen and skilfull pilots to rig a naue, and to attempt the conquest of this Iland. These were of the posteritie of Nemodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, Rutheranuis, & Slanius. When all things were readie, and their companies assembled, they tooke the sea, and finallie arriuing here in Ireland, found the puissance of the giants sore weakened through their owne ciuill dissention: so that with more ease they atchiued their purpose, and wan the whole countrie, vtterlie destroyeng and rooting out that wicked generation enimies to mankind; and after diuided the Iland into fíue parts, and in each of them they seuerallie reigned. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and auoid contention, they concluded to fix a mere-stone in the middle point of Ireland, to the which ech of their kingdoms should reach, so as they might be equallie partakers of the commodities found within that countrie soile.

These are also supposed to haue inuented the distribution of shires into cantreds, euerie cantred or baronie containing one hundred townships. At length desire of souereigntie set the fíue brethren at variance, & greatlie hindred their growing wealths. But Slanius getting the vpper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a low eb, tooke on him as cheefe aboue his other brethren, incroching round about the midle stone for the space of certeine miles, which plot in time obtained the priuilege & name of one entier part, & now maketh vp the number of fíue parts

Forged tales and fables win credit in time, to passe among the vn-skilfull people for true histories.

Gen. 20.

Anno mundi

2317

Nemodus with his foure sonnes.

Ireland eft-soones inhabited by the offspring of Iaphet. The giants preuaile.

2533

The sonnes of Dela a Grecian skilfull in the art of sailing.

They passe into Ireland, and destroyed the giants.

They diuide the countrie into foure parts.

A cantred.

Desire of souereigntie cause of variance.

Slanius departed
this life.

A new armie of
Scythians land
in Ireland.
Partaking.

Brennus called
into Ireland to
aid one part of
the factious
people.

Segwin.
Allobroges.

2436

Sée more of
this matter in
the beginning of
the Scottish
historie.

The riuer of
Munda, now
Mondego.
Brachara now
Braga.

Brigantium.
See more hereof
in Scotland.
Gathelus passeth
into Ireland.

(into the which Ireland is said to be diuided) and is called Meth, and in Latine *Media*, taking that name (as some haue gessed) for that in respect of the other, it contained but the moitie of cantreds, that is, sixtéene (where ech of the other comprehended two and thirtie a péece) or else for that it lieth in the midst of the land. This part Slanius ioined as a surplusage ouer and aboue his inheritance, to the monarchie: which part notwithstanding grew to a seuerall kingdome. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finallie Slanius departed this life, and was buried in a mounteine of Meth, that beareth hitherto (as they saie) the name after him. Then the princes subiect to him, began to stomach the matter, and denied their obeisance to his successor: wherevpon insued continuall wars betwixt them, falling still at debat for the land of Meth, which strife of long time might neuer fullie be appeased. In the necke of these troubles also there arriued in Ireland a new armie of Scythians, who made claime to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their forefather Nemodus: and so taking & making parts, they set all in an vprore, that hauocke was made on each side with fire and sword in most miserable maner.

To be short, they spent themselues in pursuing one an other with such outrage, that now they cared not what nation or what souldier they receiued to their aid, to kéepe vp or beat downe a side. By which occasion the Britons also put in a foot among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus to direct his course thither, with the same nauie which he had made readie to passe ouer into Gallia, now called France, to the aid of Segwin then king of the Allobroges that inhabited the countries called Sauoie and the Delphinat. But his enterprise into Ireland tooke small effect, though there were other kings of the Britons that gat dominion there, in so much that Gurguntius, or Gurgwintius, the sonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions to belong to him by lineall descent: notwithstanding the British princes neuer inioied the quiet possession thereof, longer than they held it by maine force, but were often repelled and put to the worsse with seeking after it, finding there small gaine other than stripes, whereof they bare awaie great plentie. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastlie (vnder the conduct of foure capteins) passed into Ireland from Biscaie, and inhabited that Iland, it shall not be impertinent in following the order which our author kéepe, to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may appeere from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

In the yeare of the world 2436, after the vniuersall flood 780, whilst the Israelits serued in Egypt, Gathelus the sonne of one Neale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon disfaour exiled his countrie with a number of his factious adherents and friends. This noble gentleman being right wise, valiant, and well spoken, comming into Egypt, got honorable interteinment of Pharaosurnamed Orus, as in the Scottish historie more plainelie appeereth. And afterwards departing that countrie, trauersed the seas, and landing first in Portingall, after some bickering with the inhabitants; at length yet he got by their consent a portion of the countrie, lieng by the banks of the riuer ancientlie called Munda, & now Mondego, where shortlie after he began to build a citie first named Brachara, but now Barsalo, as Hector Boetius bath. After this, when Gathelus his people began to increase in power, through persuasion of the Spaniards their neighbors, they remooued into Galicia, where they also builded a citie named Brigantium, which is now called Coruna. Finallie, when they grew into such an huge multitude, that Galicia was not able to susteine them, Gathelus with a certeine number of them passed ouer into Ireland, and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge speciallie in all languages, he was highlie honored: for he not onelie enriched and beautified the Irish toong, but also taught them letters, sought vp their antiquities,

quities, practised their youth in warlike feats after the maner of the Greekes and Egyptians, from whence he descended.

To conclude, he was so acceptable to them, that to gratifie such a benefactor, they agreed to name the Iland after him Gathelia, and after his wife Scotia. This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onelie to Humfreie Lhuid, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of antiquities, by reason of the sundrie arguments of improbabilitie, aswell in the miscount of yeares as other vnlikelihoods found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, throughly weighed, and well considered. Yet certeine it is, that Ireland was ancientlie named Scotia, and the people Scots, as by diuerse old writers it may be sufficientlie prooued: albeit by what occasion it first tooke that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted. But to proceed with the historie as we find it. The residue of Gathelus his people, which remained in Spaine, founded the citie of Baion in the confines of Gascoigne, and replenished the seacoasts of Spaine with store of inhabitants, and welnéere about two hundred yeares after their first arriual there (when they were eftsoones pestered with multitude of people) they began to fansie a new voiage, but whether at that time they passed ouer into Ireland, or some whither else, it is vncerteine.

Notwithstanding sure it is, that in the daies of Gurguntius king of the Britons, the chiefe gouernour of Baion with foure brethren Spaniards, of the which two are said to be Hiberus and Hermion, not the sonnes (some thinke) of Gathelus (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but some other perhaps that were descended from him, who vnderstanding that diuerse of the westerne Iles were emptie of inhabitants, assembling a great number of men, women, and children, imbarcked with the same in threé score great vessels, and directing their course westward, houered a long time in the sea about the Iles of Orkeneie, vntill by good hap they met with Gurguntius then returning from the conquest of Denmarke (as in the British historie it appéereth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of vittels and other necessaries, being such as they were not able longer to abide the seas, incumbered with a sort of women and children, to direct and appoint them to some place where to inhabit; promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege people to him and his heires for euer.

Gurguntius aduising himselfe hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Irish in subiection, and conceiuing hope that those strangers should either subdue or wholie destroye that vnruly generation, tooke the othes of those Spaniards with hostages; and furnishing them and their ships with all things needfull, set them ouer into Ireland, where assisted with such Britons as Gurguntius had appointed to go with them for their guides, they made a conquest of the whole countie, & settled themselues in the same. Some write, that Ireland was before that present void of all inhabitants: but yet they agréee that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Britons, & that vnder such conditions as before is recited. So that it appéereth the kings of this our Britain had an elder right to the realme of Ireland, than by the conquest of Henrie the second, which title they euer maintained, and sometimes preuailed in pursuing thereof, as in the daies of King Arthur, to whom the Irish (as in some histories is remembred) acknowledged their due subiection with paiement of their tribute, and making their appéerance at the citie called in the British toong Caer Lheon. Wherevnto when their free assent, the submission of their princes with lawfull conquest and prescription are adioined, an inuincible title must needs be enforced.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantiallie aided by the Britons, settled themselues, and diuided their seats in quarters, the foure brethren reigning seuerally apart in foure sundrie portions in good quiet and increase of welth, vntill their pride

The names of Ireland, & whereof the same were derived, as they hold opinion.

Gurguntius.

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards seats in Ireland to liue vnder his subiection.

The arriual of the Spaniards in Ireland. Geoffrey Mon.

The Irish were subject to K. Arthur. Westchester.

Dissention betwixt the brethren.

Such are the
fruits of ambi-
tion.

See more hereof
in the descrip-
tion.

No crime so
manifest or de-
testable that
wanteth a co-
lourable pretense
to excuse it.

Ireland divided
into five king-
domes.
One souereigne
ruler ouer the
rest.

Picts arriue in
Ireland.

The oration of
Rodorike king of
the Picts king of
Ireland.

pride and ambition armed two of them against the other two: as Hiberus and one of his brethren against Hermion and the other brother. In this dissention Hermion slue his brother Hiberus. Of whom at the same time the countrie (as some hold) was named Hibernia, as in the description further appeareth: although some rather hold, that it tooke the name of iron, of the plentifull mines of that kind of mettall wherewith that land aboundeth: and so those ancient writers which name it Ierna, named it more aptlie after the spéech of the inhabitants than others, which name it Hibernia. But to procéed. Hermion herevpon to auoid the ill opinion of men, for that he had thus attained to the souereignetie by the vnnaturall slaughter of his brother, in that unhappie ciuill warre, purged himselfe to his subiects, that neither maliciouslie nor contentiouslie, but for his necessarie defense and safetie he had borne armes against his brethren: and to witnesse how farre he was from all desire to rule alone, he appointed certeine capteins as kings, to rule vnder him seuerall countries, reseruing to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of Meth allotted to the monarchie for the better maintenance of his estate.

These parts appointed foorth in this wise at length grew to five kingdomes, Leinster, Connagh, Vlster, and Mounster diuided into two parts, and sometime to more, by vsurping or compounding among themselues: but euer one was chosen to be chiefe souereigne monarch ouer them all. Thus it séemeth that certeinelie the Spaniards of the north parts of Spaine, inhabiting the countries about Biscaie and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne histories and the British doo wholie agré:) but from whense they came first to inhabit those countries of Spaine, verelie I haue not otherwise to auouch: for no other writers that I can remember, but (such as haue registred the Scottish chronicles) make mention of the comming thither of Gathelus with his wife Scota and their people, in maner as by the said chronicles is pretended. But now to our purpose. An hundred and thirtie chiefe kings are reckoned of this nation from Hermion to Laogirius, the sonne of Nealus Magnus, in whose time that holie estéemed man Patrike conuerted them to christianitie. But now in the meane time whilest the Irishmen liued in some tollerable order and rest vnder their seuerall kings, one Rodorike a Scithian prince with a small companie of men, being weather driuen round about the coasts of Britaine, was by chance cast vpon the shore of Ireland.

These were Picts, and the first that had been heard of in these parties (as some authors haue recorded) a people from their verie cradle giuen to dissention, land-leapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardie. They being brought and presented to the Irish king, craued interpretors, which granted, Rodorike their cheefeteine made this request for him and his, as followeth: Not as denegate from the courage of our ancestours, but fashioning our selues to fortunes course, we are become to craue of Ireland, as humble supplicants that neuer before this present haue so embased our selues to anie other nation. Behold sir king, and regard vs well, no light occasion causeth these lustie valiant bodies to stoope. Scithians we are, & Picts of Scithia, no small portion of glorie resteth in these two names. What shall I speake of the ciuill warre that hath expelled vs from our natieue homes, or rip vp old histories to mooue strangers to bemone vs? Let our seruants and children discourse therof at leisure, if perhaps you will vouchsafe to grant vs some time of abode in your land, to the which effect and purpose our vrgent necessitie beséecheth your fauors, a king of a king and men of men are to craue assistance. Princes can well discerne and consider how néere it toucheth their honour and suertie, to vphold and releue the state of a king, by treason decayed. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more beseemeth the nature of man, than to be mooued with compassion, and as it were to féele themselues hurt, when they heare and vnderstand of other mens calamities. Admit (we beseech you) and

receiue

receiue amongst you these few scattered remnants of Scithia: if your roomes be narrow, we are not manie: if the soile of your countrie be barren, we are borne and enured to hardnesse: if you liue in peace, we are at commandement as subiects: if you warre, we are readie to serue you as souldiours: we demand no kingdome, no state, no pompous triumph in Ireland: we are héere alone, and haue left such things behind vs with our enimies: howsoeuer you estéme of vs, we shall content our selues therewith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mind not what we haue beene, but what we are.

Great consultation was had about this request of these strangers, and manie things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the Irish laid foorth for answer the opinions of their antiquaries; that is, such as were skilfull in old histories and saiengs of their elders, wherevnto they gaue credit, and therefore they gathered it could not be expedient to accept the Scithians into the land, for that mingling of nations, in one realme bréedeth quarels: moreouer, that the multitude of the inhabitants was such, as roome in the whole Ile was vneth able to receiue them, and therefore those few new commers, being placed among so manie old inhabitants, might bréed quicklie some disturbance to bring all out of ioint. But (said they) though we may not conuenientlie receiue you among vs, yet shall you find vs readie to further you to be our neighbours.

Doubtfull consultation.

The answer of the Irish to the request of the Picts.

Not far hense there lieth the great Ile of Britaine, in the north part whereof being void of inhabitants, your manhoods and policies may purchase for you roomes to place your selues at ease: we shall appoint you capitains to guide you thither, we shall assist to settle you with our forces in that countrie, make readie your ships that yée may passe thither with all conuenient speed. Incouraged with this persuasion, they tooke their course towards the north parts of Britaine now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britaine was readie to await their coming, and with sharpe battell vanquishing them in field, slue Rodorike with a great number of his retinues. Those that escaped with life, and sought to him for grace, he licenced to inhabit the vttermost end of Scotland. This Marius Humfrie Lhuid taketh to be the same, whome the Romane writers name Aruiragus, who reigned about the yere of our Lord seuentie, a prince of a noble courage and of no small estimation in his daies (as should séeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the said Humfreie Lhuid auoucheth) was Meurig.

The Irish persuadeth the Picts to place themselves in Britaine.

Marius otherwise called Aruiragus king of Britons.

But now concerning the Picts, whether that those that escaped with life, got seats by king Meurigs grant (as aboue is specified) or that getting to their ships, they withdrew into the Iles of Orkeneie, and there remained. Wiues they wanted also to increase their issue: and bicause the Britons thought scorne to match their daughters with such an vnknowne and new come nation, the Picts continued their first acquaintance with the Irish, and by intreatie obtained wiues from them, with condition, that if the crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yéeld thus much to the prerogatiue of the woman, that the prince should be elected rather of the blood roiall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (saith Beda) the Picts were well known to kéepe vnto his time.

Picts marieng with the Irish doe couenant the succession of their kings.

But howsoeuer we shall giue credit to this historie of the first comming of Picts into this land, if we grant that to be true which Geffreie of Monmouth reporteth of this victorie obtained by Marius against the Picts: yet haue I thought good to aduertise the reader, that the Britons of this Ile were disquieted by that nation long before the supposed time of the said king Marius. For Mamertinus in his oration intituled "Panegyricus, Max. Dictus" hath these words (speaking of the conquest which Iulius Cesar had héere against the Britons.) But in that age (saith he) Britaine was neither furnished with anie ships of warre for battell on the sea, and
the

the Romans after the warres of Affrike and Asia, were well practised with the late warres against the pirats, and after that against Mithridates, in which they were exercised as well by sea as land. Moreouer, the British nation was then vnskilfull, and not trained to feats of war, for the Britons then being onelie vsed to the Picts and Irish enimies, people halfe naked through lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romans force, so that Cesar might onelie as it were glorie in this, to haue passed in that iourneie ouer the ocean sea.

See Diodorus Siculus, who saith they should inhabit a portion of Britaine.
Hec. Boetius.
 Héereby it should séeme that the Picts and Irish did disquiet the Britons, before the comming of Iulius Cesar into this Ile of Britaine. But whether they inhabited at that time in some part of Ireland, or in some of the out Iles by Scotland, either in anie part of Germanie, or Scandinauia; or else whether they were alreadie setteled in the furthest parts of Scotland, as in Cathnesse, towards Dungesbie head: we haue not to affirme, other than that which in Scotland we haue written, in following Hector Boetius, whose opinion how farre it is to be suspected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the consideration of others. But for the first comming as well of the Picts as Scots (whom he maketh inhabitants within this Ile so long before) either the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had anie gouernement heere, by anie ancient or approoued writer. I cannot persuaide my selfe, that either Scots or Picts had anie setteled seats within the bounds of this Ile of Britaine, till after the birth of our sauour: but that rather the Scots, as yet inhabiting in Ireland, and in the westerne Iles called by the Romane writers Hébrides, and the Picts, in the Iles of Orkneie called in Latine *Orchades*, did vse to make often inuasions vpon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coasts that lie néere to the sea side ouer against those Iles.

See more heereof in England.
The Picts when they first inhabited Britaine.
The Scots in Britaine.
Hum. Lhuid.
 From whence they comming ouer in such vessels or boats, as the fishermen doo yet vse, at length the Picts first about the yere of our Lord 290, as Humfreie Lhuid hath noted, entred generallie into Cathnesse, and other the north parts of Britaine, where they setteled themselues, and remooued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and shortlie the Scots likewise came ouer and got seats in the west parts ouer against the north of Ireland, and in those westerne Iles, which Iles they first got into their possession. And in this sort those nations Picts and Scots came first to inhabit héere in this our Ile of Britaine, as the said Humfreie Lhuid, not without aduised coniectures grounded vpon good reason and sufficient authoritie to lead him so to estéeme, hath written in his short commentaries of the description of Britaine.

Gefferie Monmouth the translator not the author of the British historie.
The doubt of the time of the comming of Picts and Scots into Britaine.
Fergus king of Scots.
The marble stone.
 And verelie I thinke we may more safelie beléue that which he auoucheth in this behalfe, than that which Hector Boetius setteth downe, sith for anie thing I can perceiue, his authorities bring no such warrant with them, but we may with good reason suspect them. But for the man himselfe, euen as he hath verie orderlie, and with no lesse cunning than eloquence set downe diuerse things incredible, and reported some other contrarie to the truth of the historie for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it; so in his excuse it may be alledged, that he was not the author of those matters, but wrote what he found in Cambell, Veremound, Cornelius Hibernensis, and such other, in like case as Gefferie of Monmouth wrote what he found in old ancient British monuments, & was not the deuiser himselfe (as some haue suspected) of such things as in his booke are by him expressed. But now to returne to the Picts. It may be that they came at seuerall times in like manner as the Scots did out of Ireland, of whome the first is remembred to be Fergus, the son of Ferquhard, a man right skilfull in blasoning of armorie, himselfe bare a lion gules in a field of gold. The marble stone wherof in the Scottish historie is mentioned, brought into Ireland by Simon Brechus, and kept till those daies as a pretious iewell, this Fergus obtained towards the prospering of his iourneie: for that

that it was thought, who so had the same in possession, could not but obtaine soverieignty and rule over others as a king, namelie those of the Scottish nation. This stone Fergus bringing into Scotland, left it there. But although that Fergus be put in ranke among those Scottish kings that should reigne in Britaine, yet he bare small rule there, & was diuers times beaten backe into Ireland, where finallie he was drowned by misfortune in the creeke of Knockfergus.

Knockfergus.

That he incountred with Coilus king of the Britons (as the Scots write) is not possible, as our author hath verie well noted; except they mistake the name of Coilus for Cailus, with whome the age of Fergus might well meet: the rather, for that in the first yeare of Cailus reigne the Picts entered, Fergus immediatlie after them, 330 yeares yer Christ was borne; where Coilus reigned in the yeare after the incarnation 124, about which time befell the second arriuall of the Picts in Britaine. And thus it may be they mistake, by error of the name, Coilus for Cailus, and the second arriuall of the Picts for the first. But now to the course of the historie. Whilest the Picts were seated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude; the Irish made sundrie errands over to visit their daughters, nephues, and kinsfolks, and by their often comming and going they were aware of certeine waste corners, and small Ilands void of inhabitants, as that which seemed rather neglected and suffered to lie waste.

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Hereof they aduertised their princes, namelie Reuther or Reuda, who being descended of Fergus, determined to inuest himselfe in certeine portions of land beside the Picts. He therefore well appointed passed over, and partlie by composition, and partlie by force, got possession of those quarters which were desolate, & began to erect a kingdome there, by little and little increasing his limits: and finallie got betwixt the Picts and Britons, possessing that countrie which tooke the name of him called Reudersdahall, and now Riddesdale (as you would saie) Rheudas part; for Dahall in the Scottish toong signifieth a part. In these quarters he could not settle himselfe, but that he was oftentimes assailed by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chance was to be slaine, but the kingdome continued still in the hands of his successors: and the Picts and Scots grew in friendship together, permitting ech other to live in quiet.

Reuther or Reuda.

The amitie betwixt Scots and Picts.

The Scots nestled themselves in the Iles and coasts alongst the sea side. The Picts held the middle part. But shortlie after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuersitie of people, place, custome and language, together with the memorie of old grudges, moued such gelousie and inward hate betwixt those nations, that it seemed they were readie to breake out into open dissention vpon the first occasion. And as in such cases there neuer wanteth one deuise or other to raise tumults: it chanced that certeine of the Scottish nobilitie had got out of Greece (as some write) a Molossian hound, which both in swiftnesse of foot, and pleasantnesse of mouth, was accounted peerlesse. This hound being stollen by a Pict, was cause of the breach of peace; so that cruell wars thereof insued, as in the Scottish historie more at large appereth. But where some write, that Eugenius should reigne over the Scots when this quarell fell out for stealing of this hound, Hector Boetius saith, it was in king Crathlinths daies. Morouer it shuld seeme by that which the same Boetius writeth, that the hound or greihound for the which this trouble rose, was not fetched so far as out of Grecia, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithstanding because the Latinists call such kind of dogs *Molossi*, for that the first generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Grecia called *Molosse*; it may be, that some haue thought that this greihound came from thence, for that he was so called after the name of that place from whence the breed of him first came. But to returne to the historie.

Their falling out.

Strife about dog.

Carausius agre-
eth them.
Anno Christi.
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The Scots ex-
pelled.
See more of this
matter in Scot-
land.

3-6

The Picts rooted
foorth by the
Scots.

Giraldus Cam-
brensis.

Gregorie king of
Scots subdueth
Ireland.

875

Sir Henrie
Sidacie.

After the Scots and Picts had tugged together a while, at length one Carausius a Briton laboured a friendship betwixt them, and bringing his purpose to passe, persuaded them to lend him their helpe to expell the Romans out of Britaine; but his hap was shortlie after to be slaine by the Romane capteine Aleetus. And so new sturs were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romans, the Scots & Picts for the most part taking part with the Britons, till at length Maximus the Romane lieutenant found means to set the Scots and Picts at variance, and ioining with the Picts in league, vsed their aid against the Scots, whome he so earnestlie pursued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were vtterlie expelled out of all the coasts of Britaine, so that they fled some into one part, some into another, but the most number got them ouer into Ireland, and the Iles, where they remained for the space of fourtie threë yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Fergus, being the second of that name, as they account him. From thensefoorth the Scots kept such foot in Britaine, that they incroched vpon their neighbors, in such wise as they waxed stronger than the Picts, whome in the end they quite rooted forth, and nestled themselues in their seats, although now at their first returne they concluded a firme amitie with the same Picts, that ioining their forces together, they might the better make head against both Romans and Britons, whome they reputed as common enimies to them both.

Thus the Scots a liuelie, cruell, vnquiet, ancient and victorious people, got place within this Ile of Britaine, mixed first with Britons, secondlie with Picts, thirdlie and chieflie with the Irish, which after this time left their name of Scots vnto those in Britaine, and chose rather to be called Irish: and then came vp the distinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Ireland, *Scotia minor* for the countrie inhabited by the Scots within Britaine. But Cambrensis saith, that the Scots chieflie preuailed vnder the leading of six valiant gentlemen, sons to Muridus king of Vlster, who in the time of Neale, surnamed the great that inioied the monarchie of Ireland, passing ouer into Scotland to succour their countriemen there, at length tooke vp for themselues certeine parcels of ground, which their posteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrensis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord 1200, who treateth hereof more largelie in his booke intituled "*Topographia Britannia*." Since which time they haue béene euer taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictish nation being driuen into corners, albeit the mounteine parts and out Iles euen vnto this daie are inhabited with a wild kind of people called Redshanks, estéemed by some to be mingled of Scots and Picts.

The Scots write, that their king Gregorie the sonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 875, pretending a title to Ireland, as belonging to him by right of lawfull succession, made a iourneie thither, and within a small time made a conquest of the countrie. This Gregorie lieth buried in one of the out Iles called Iona, or Colmekill, where they speake naturallie Irish: and therefore some of the Scots would séeme to make the conquest of Henrie the second in Ireland, a reuolting from the right inheritors: although they doo confesse they can not tell how they came from the possession of it, otherwise than by forging a tale that they willinglie forewent it, as reaping lesse by reteining it, than they laid foorth, and so not able to discharge that which was to be defraied about the kéeping of it they gaue it ouer, persuading themselues that the kings of England haue gained little or nothing by the hauing of Ireland. And yet in the time whilest sir Henrie Sidacie was gouernour there, when the countie of Vlster was anouched to belong vnto the crowne: it was prooued in open parlement, that the reuenues of that earledome, in the daies of Edward the third were reckoned, and found to amount vnto the summe of one and thirtie thousand marks yearelie, the same being

but

but a fift part of Ireland: so that if things were well looked vnto, and such improuement made as might be, Ireland would suffice to beare the necessarie charges, and yéeld no small surplusage vnto the princes coffers.

But now as it falleth foorth in the historie. We haue thought good here to shew in what sort Ireland came to receiue the christian faith. We find in deed that immediatlie after Christes time, saint Iames the apostle, & other traouelling into these west parts, did first instruct the Irish people, and teach them the glad tidings of the gospell, so that diuerse amongst them euen then were christened, and beléueed, but not in such numbers (as may be thought) whereby it should be said, that the countrie was generallie conuerted. Notwithstanding, the Scottish chronicles auouch, that in the daies of their king Fincomarke, who departed this life in the yeare of our redemption thrée hundred fiftie and eight, Ireland was conuerted to the faith by this meanes.

Ireland instructed in the faith by saint Iames the apostle.

A woman of the Pictish bloud chanced (saie they) to serue in those daies the queene of Ireland, which woman being a christian hir selfe, first instructed hir mistresse in the faith and true points of christianitie; and the quéene hir husband, who conuerted the whole Irish nation. Howbeit, by the report of the Irish writers themselues, this should not seeme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrie was rather still estéemed as one of the vnchristened Iles, till about the yeare foure hundred twentie and six, whilest Celestine the first of that name gouerned the see of Rome, who vpon conference had with his cleargie, touching the restoring of the christian faith in the west parts of the world, greatlie decaied there by the heresie of Pelagius, vnderstood that Ireland also by reason of distance from the hart of christendome, and rudenesse of the nation, had receiued little fruit at all of true religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other that then were assembled to treat of those matters was one Paladius archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauell towards the conuersion of anie of those lands whither it shuld please them to appoint him to go. Celestine knowing the sufficiencie of the man consecrated him bishop, authorised his iourneie by letters vnder his seale, furnished his wants, and associating to him such religious persons and others as were thought necessarie to assist him, deliuered to him the bible with great solemnitie, & other monuments in furtherance of his good speed. At length he landed in the north of Ireland, from whence he escaped right hardlie with his life into the Iles adioining, where he preached the gospell, and conuerted no small number of Scots to the christian beliefe, and purged that part that was christened from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottish historie more at large appéereth. He was required by the Scots that inhabited here in Britaine, to leaue the Iles and come ouer vnto them, there to instruct the people in the waie of true saluation, to the which with the popes licence he séemed willing enough: and the bishop of Rome the more readilie condescended thereto for that in the instant time, when Paladius was to depart, one Patrike attended at Rome, suing for licence to be sent into Ireland.

Paladius offereth to go into Ireland.

He is consecrated bishop.

Paladius landed in Ireland.

The pope therefore granted that Paladius might passe ouer to the Scots in Britaine, and appointed Patrike to go with authoritie from him into Ireland; where, vpon his arriuall he found the people so well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarie to their accustomed frowardnesse, that a man would haue thought that had séene their readines, how that the land had béene reserued for him to conuert. And bicause it pleased God to bestow such an vniuersall benefit to this land by his meanes, we haue thought good in following our author herein, to touch some part of the course of his life. This Patrike in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the marches betwixt England and Scotland, in a towne by the sea side called Eiburne,

Patrike sent into Ireland.

Paladius appointed to go into Scotland.

The towardnesse of the Irishmen to heare Patrikes preaching.

Where saint Patrike was borne,

whose father hight Calphurnius, a deacon and sonne to a priest: his mother named Conches, was sister to saint Martine that famous bishop of Towers in France.

The life of saint
Patrike in briefe.

Patrike of a child was brought vp in learning, and well instructed in the faith, and much giuen to deuotion. The Irishmen in those daies assisted with Scots and Picts were become archpirats, sore disquieting the seas about the coasts of Britaine, and vsed to sacke litle small villages that laie scattered along the shore, and would often lead awaie captiue the inhabitants home into their countrie. And as it chanced, Patrike being a lad of sixteene yeares old, and a scholer then in secular learning, was taken among other, and became slaue to an Irish lord called Mac-buaine, from whome after six yeares terme he redéemed himself with a peece of gold which he found in a clod of earth, that the swine had newlie turned vp as he followed them in that time of his captiuitie, being appointed by his maister to kéepe them. And as affliction commonlie maketh men religious, the regard of his former education printed in him such remorse and humilitie, that being thenseforth weaned from the world, he betooke himselfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that land: and herewith not despairing, but that in continuance some good might be wrought vpon them, he learned their toong perfectly. And alluring one of that nation to beare him companie for exercise sake, he departed from thence, and got him into France, euer hauing in his mind a desire to see the conuersion of the Irish people, whose babes yet unborne séemed to him in his dreames (from out of their mothers wombs) to call for christendome.

S. Patrike was
taken prisoner
when he was
young.

Affliction ma-
keth men reli-
gious.

He passeth into
France.

In this purpose he sought out his vncke Martine, by whose means he was placed with Germanus the bishop of Auxerre, continuing with him as scholer or disciple for the space of fortie yeares: all which time he bestowed in like studie of the holie scriptures, praiers, and such godlie exercises. Then at the age of threescore and two yeares, being renowned through the Latine church for his wisdom, vertue and skill, he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his commendation from the French bishops vnto pope Celestine, to whom he vttered his full mind and secret vow, which long since he had conceiued touching Ireland. Celestine inuested him archbishop and primat of the whole Iland, set him forward with all fauour he could deuise, and brought him and his disciples onward to their countrie.

Patrike is inuest-
ed archbishop of
Ireland.

430

In the threé and twentieth yeare therefore of the emperor Theodosius the yoonger, being the yeare of our Lord 430, Patrike landed in Ireland, & bicause he spake the toong perfectly, and withall being a reuerend personage in the eies of all men, manie listened and gaue good eare to his preaching, the rather for that (as writers haue recorded) he confirmed his doctrine with diuerse miracles: but speciallie those regarded his words before all others, they had some tast of the christian faith aforehand, either by the coming into those parties of Paladius, and his disciple one Albion an Irish bishop, or otherwise by some other: for it is to be thought, that continuallie there remained some sparke of knowledge of christianitie euer since the first preaching of the gospell (which was shortlie after the ascension of our sauour) by saint Iames (as before is mentioned.) In continuance of time Patrike wan the better part of that kingdome to the faith.

Albion an Irish
bishop, came
to Paladius.

Ireland was then
ruled by the great
monarch of Ire-
land, who permitted
the Irish to be
converted to
Christianity.

Conall lord of
Connagh.

Logan king of
Leinster.

Laigerius sonne of Neale the great monarch, although he receiued not the gospell himselfe, yet permitted all that would to imbrace it. But sith he refused to be baptised, & apply to his doctrine; the bishop denounced against him a curse from God accordingly, but tempered yet with mercie and iudgement, as thus: That during his life he should be victorious, but after him neither the kingdome should stand, nor his linage inherit. From thence he tooke his waie vnto Conall lord of Connagh, who honourablie receiued him, and was conuerted with all his people; and after sent him vnto his brother Logan king of Leinster, whome he likewise conuerted. In Mounster he found great friendship and fauour by means of a

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there, called the earle of Daris, who honoured him highlie, and gaue him a dwelling place in the east angle of Armagh called Sorta, where he erected manie cellcs and monasteries, both for religious men and women. He trauelled thirtie yeares in preaching through the land, planting in places conuenient bishops and priests, whose learning and vertuous conuersation by the speciall grace and fauor of God, established the faith in that rude nation. Other thirtie years he spent in his prouince of Armagh among his brethren, placed in those houses of religion, which by his meanes were founded, and so he liued in the whole about one hundred twentie two yeares, and lieth buried in Downe.

Of saint Patrikes purgatorie ye shall find in the description of the countrie, and therefore we doo here omit it. But yet bicause we are entered to speake of the first foundation of churches and religious houses here in Ireland, in following our author in that behalfe: we will speake somewhat of such other holie men and women as are renowned to haue liued in Ireland, as ornaments to that Ile, more glorious than all the triumphs & victories of the world, if their zeal had béene seasoned with true knowledge of the scriptures: as it maie well be that in some of them it was, howsoever mistaken by the iudgement and report of the simple, which hath raised not onelie of these persons, but also of the verie apostles themselues, certeine fantasticall tales, which with the learned are out of all credit. But this matter I will leaue to diuines to discusse, trusting that the reader will content himselfe to heare what we find recorded by old writers, which we shall set downe, and offer to their considerations to thinke thereof as reason maie best mooue them.

Giraldus Cambrensis telleth, that in saint Patriks time florished saint Bride the virgine, and saint Colme, which two, with the same Patrike, were buried in Downe (as in the Scottish historie ye maie find) and (as the same Giraldus saith) their three bodies were found there shortlie after the conquest. Sir Iohn Conweie being president of Vlster, in viewing the sepulture, testified to haue séene thre principall iewels; which were then translated, as honourable monuments woorthie to be preserved. Of saint Colme it is doubted in what age he liued. Briget, otherwise called Bride, was base daughter to one Dubtactius, a capteine in Lenster, who perceiuing the mother with child, sold hir secretlie (fearing the gealousie of his wife) to an Irish Peet, reseruing to himselfe the fruit of hir wombe. She was there deliuered of this Briget, whome the Péet trained vp in learning, and vertuous education, and at length brought hir home to hir father.

The damsell also was instructed in the faith by saint Patrike, that preached then in those quarters, whervpon she became so religious and ripe in iudgement, that not onlie the multitude of people, but also a whole synod of bishops assembled néere to Dublin to heare hir aduise in weightie causes, such estimation they had of hir. One fact of hir being yet a child, made hir famous. The king of Leinster had giuen to hir father Dubtactius as a token of his good liking towards him for his valiant seruice, a rich sword, the furniture whereof was garnished with manie costlie iewels. And as it chanced, the damsell visiting the sicke neighbours diuerslie distressed for want of necessarie reliefe (hir father being a sterne man, and his ladie a cruell shrew) she could deuise no other shift to helpe to reléue the want of those poore and needie people, but to impart the same iewels of that idle sword among them. This matter was heinouslie taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chanced that shortlie after he came to a banket in hir fathers house, and calling the maid afore him that was not yet past nine yeres of age, he asked hir how she durst presume to deface the gift of a king in such wise as she had doon his? She answered that the same was bestowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremitie, I would haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your selues too & ail, were yée in my power to giue, rather than

The earle of Daris.

S. Patrikes purgatorie.

Religious houses & churches founded.

Mensdoings mistaken.

Giral. Camb.

Sir Iohn Conweie president of Vlster.

S. Colme.

Péet, that is, Magus in Latine, or (as we may say) a magician or soothsayer in English. An. Dom. 459.

The estimation wherein she was had.

The king of Leinster.

She professed
virginitie.

An Dom. 500.
Briget departed
this moe.

A concordance of
the foure euang-
gelists.

Cenanus first a
man of war, and
after a bishop.

Abbat Brendan.

Madoc.

Melingus.

Colme king of
Leinster.

The answer of
the archbishop
of Cashill to Gi-
raldus Cam-
brensis.

Malachias.

The monasterie
of Banchor re-
paired.

than Christ should starue. She professed virginitie, and allured other noble yoong damsels vnto hir fellowship, with whome she continued in hir owne monasterie, where she was first professed, vntill the yeare of our Lord 500, and then departing this life, shee was buried in Downe in saint Patriks toome.

Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monuments of hers, there was found a concordance of the foure euangelists, seeming to be written with no mortall hand, beautified with mystical pictures in the margent, the colours and cunning workmanship whereof at the first blush appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heedful view of the diligent beholder verie liuelie and woonderfull artificiall. Cenanus that was first a souldier, succeeded saint Patrike in the see of Armagh, after he had certeine yeares followed the warres. Brendan abbat at the age of ten yeares was of such incomparable holinesse (as they saie) and therewith so wise and learned, that his father and mother, thinking themselves to haue gained the most worthie fruit that might insue of their mariage, by mutuall consent professed continencie, and abandoned matrimoniall companie. He flourished in the daies of saint Briget, and liued in familiar societie with saint Arons the bishop, and Fintan the abbat.

Madoc *alias* Edan of noble parentage taken prisoner by the king of Temore, and kept in his court with diuerse yoong men his schoolefellowes, openlie adiuured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might serue God as they were accustomed, the which being now kept in sunder and restrained of libertie, they were forced to discontinue. Herypon immediatlie they were dismissed. He died bishop of Fernes, and laid the foundation of that burrow. His successor Melingus, although he was bishop, gaue himselfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne hands deriued and brought a running spring to his monasterie, induring that trauell daily after praier and studie for the space of eight yeares together.

Fintan abbat was had in such reuerence, that whereas Colme king of Leinster kept Cormake the kings son of Tensill prisoner, he went boldlie with twelue of his disciples through the prease of all the souldiors, and in sight of the king was suffered to borow the yoong prince. For the Irish are not sterne against those of whom they haue conceiued an opinion of holinesse. I remember (saith our author) that Cambrensis writeth himselfe merilie to haue obiected to Morice then archbishop of Cashill, that Ireland in so manie hundred yeares had not brought foorth one martyr. The bishop answered pleasantlie (alluding to the late dispatching of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enormities, yet haue spared euer the bloud of vertuous men. Marie now we are deliuered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making martyrs, so that from hensefoorth I trust no complaint shall need for want of martyrs. Malachias was borne in Armagh of a noble progenie, brought vp in vertue by the example of his mother, and trained foorth in learning, profited greatlie in deuotion: so that being yet but a verie babe, he was espied diuerse times to steale awaie from his companions to praie in secret. He was so graue and modest, that of himselfe he chose the most graue and seuer schoolemaister, refusing an excellent clearke, because he saw him somewhat lightlie demeaning himselfe at game. In the beginning of his youthfull yeares, he became the disciple of Imarius an old recluse, whose austeritie of conuersation the whole towne had in great reuerence. There he became a deacon, and at fife and twentie yeares a priest.

The archbishop, for the fame and the opinion of his woorthinesse, receiued him to be assistant to him in office, in the which he so behaued himselfe, that he reformed superstitions, and reuiued the force of religion, namelie in the vniformitie of their church seruice, wherein before time they iarred. The famous monasterie of Banchor he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vncke left him. The same monasterie

monasterie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of manie religious houses in France. This abbeie being spoiled and nintie of his brethren murdered in one day by the prior, the possessions whereof being come to the hands of Malachias by his vncles assignement, he restored foorthwith, and aduanced the foundation. At the age of thirtie yeares he was by canonicall election forced to accept the bishoprike of Conereth, a people of all the Irish then most sauage and wild, whome with inestimable trauell he reclaimed from their beastlie maners. In the meane while died Celsus bishop of Armagh, after whome succéded Malachias, at the age of eight and thirtie yeares. But before this, neere hand the space of two hundred yeares together, a custome had crept into the countrie, that the metropolitane see was conferred vpon such bishops as were married, and were of the bloud roiall, in maner by way of inheritance. Wherefore Nigellus or Neale the next of kinred, animated by the parcialitie of some princes, and getting into his custodie the bible and staffe, and other monuments of saint Patrike, wherevnto opinion of the common people tied the prelacie, came to his palace with a band of souldiors to haue slaine the bishop. When all the people wept and houled for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demanding what was their purpose? The bloudie souldiors letting fall their weapons, in stead of executing the pretensed murtherer, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as friends.

Married bishops held the see successiuelie and of one familie, neither would the Irish haue had anie other than of the house. See saint Barnard *In vita Malachie. Balz.* &c. The bible and staffe.

Thrée yeares he sat in the primasie rather to discontinue the horrible corruption before vsed, than with intent to settle himselfe there. After he had remoued the abuse, he procured Orlasius to succéed him in the archbishops see, and he returned to his former see of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the bishoprike of Coner. But Malachias vnderstanding that in times past they were six seuerall sees, he diuided them againe, and ordeined an other to the bishoprike of Coner, desirous rather to lessen his cure than to inlarge the fruits by taking more charge vpon him. Malachias being demanded of his brethren the monkes of Benchor, where and when he would wish to die and to be buried, if it laie in his choise? He answered: If in Ireland, beside the bodie of saint Patrike: if beyond the seas, at Clareuale where saint Barnard was then resiant, and in the feast of Alsoules. He purposed within few daies to sue to pope Eugenius for increase of the number of metropolitans, which request was shortlie after accomplished. And in this viage which he thus made, he staid at Clareuale, and there diuerse times openlie foreshewed, that the yeare of his departure foorth of this world was come; and accordinglie when he had taken leaue of saint Barnard and the brethren, he went downe from his chamber to the church and there did communicat. Which doone, he returned to his lodging, and there on Alsoules daie in the yeare of his age 54, he gaue vp the ghost, so mildlie and quietlie, that it seemed rather a sleepe than a death.

For lineall descent of bishops.

Malchus, though borne in Ireland, yet he spent the most part of his time in the monasterie of Winchester in England, and from thence was taken and admitted bishop of Lismore. Saint Barnard remembreth of him, by occasion he cured a lunatike child in confirming, else (as they termed it) in bishopping him. This miracle seene and confessed by manie hundreds of people, was blowne through the world. The same time happened discord betwixt the king of Mounster and his brother, and as the matter was handled, the king was ouermatched and fled into England, where he visited Malchus in his abbeie, and would by no meanes depart from him; but remaine there vnder his rule and gouernment, so long as it pleased God to denie him quiet returne into his countrie: he contented himselfe with a poore cell, vsed dailie to bath himselfe in cold water, to asswage the wanton motions of his flesh, and for his diet receiued none other delicats than bread, water, and salt, day and night, sobbing and bewailing with great remorse of conscience his former misde-

Malchus.

Discord betwene the king of Mounster and his brother.

mened

mened life. At length the other kings and people of Ireland began to repine at the usurper, set vpon him with open war, vanquished him in a pitch field, and called home the rightfull prince his brother againe, to resume his kingdome, who with manie earnest persuasions of Malchus and of Malachias could vneth be brought to forsake that trade of life and companie, the which he had with such delectation inured himselfe vnto.

Thus far of the Irish saints. Of the which, as some of them are to be esteemed right vertuous and godlie men, so other of them are to be suspected as persons rather holie by the superstitious opinion of the people, than indued with anie such knowledge of true godlinesse and sincere religion, as are woorthie to be registred in the number of those that of right ought to passe for saints, as by certeine late writers may appeare. But this we leaue to the iudgement of the aduised reader, for that in such matters we mind not to preiudice anie mans opinion, but onelie wish the reader to take heed how he giueth credit to that, which oftentimes is found written by authors touching feigned miracles, and other vaine superstitious dealings, wherethrough manie zealous persons haue often beene deceiued. Now therefore to leaue saints, and returne to other matters touching the Irish historie. In the yeare 586: the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Ilands in the northwest ocean called the Iles of Orkenie, and scowred the seas, that none other nation durst vneth appeare in sight for dread of them. A people giuen greatlie to seeke the conquests of other realmes, as they that could not faile to find more warme and fruitfull places for to inhabit than their owne. These hot fellows chanced to light into Ireland by this meanes. Careticus the king of Britaine ran into such hatred of his people, that they raised warres against him. The Saxons that possessed now six seuerall kingdomes in the Ile of Britaine, reioised not a litle at this ciuill discord betwixt the Britaine king and his subiects.

Wherevpon meaning to make a full conquest of the Britains, & vtterlie to expell them forth of all the Ile, he assembled their powers, & ioined to the same Gurmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all times a nauie in a readinesse, and men to furnish it, holpe the Saxons to chase the Britains into the marches of Wales. For from thense (being retired into the mountains and woods) they could not driue them. This Gurmound (as some thinke) builded at the same time the towne of Gurmondchester, and after being assisted by the Saxons, made a viage into Ireland, where he sped not greatlie to his desire, and therefore the Irish account not this for anie of their conquests, as some of their antiquaries informed our author. Gurmound therefore finding but sorrie successe, built a few slight castels and forts in the frontiers, and so left the land, and sailed from thence into France, where at length he was slaine. Our chronicles in déed name him king of Ireland; but the Irish affirme that before Turgesius, there was none of the easterne people that obtained dominion in their countrie.

Giraldus Cambrensis to make the matter whole (a Gods name) thinketh Turgesius to haue conquered the land, as lieutenant or deputie vnder Gurmundus. But this being granted, there ariseth a more manifest contradiction than the former: for he himselfe numbred betwixt Laogirius king of Ireland that liued in the yéere foure hundred and thirtie, and Edlunding, whome Turgesius vanquished, 33 monarchs, whose reigns comprehended foure hundred yeares, so that Turgesius liued in the yeare after the incarnation eight hundred and thirtie. Then it is too plaine that he could not haue anie dooings with Gurmundus, who ioined with the Saxons against Careticus, in the yeare five hundred foure score and six. This knot (saith our author) might be vtwinved with more facilitie thus. Gurmundus made much of that little he got, and wrote himselfe king, which title our histories doo allow him, because he made the waie plaine, ioined it a while, and set open the gate vnto

*Tex.
Bala.*

586
*The Norwegians
scowred the seas,
and made the
Iles of Orkenie.*

*They invade Ire-
land.*

*Gurmundus an
architect of the
nation of Nor-
waie.*

Campion.

Turgesius.

*Laogirius.
430*

*The doubt re-
solved.*

vnto his countrimen. Turgesius atchiued the whole exploit, and brought it to perfection, and in these respects either of them may be called king and conqueror of Ireland.

Turgesius therefore with his Norwegians the second time inuaded Ireland, sustained diuerse losses and ouerthrowes: but in the end fortifieng himselfe by the sea coasts, & receiuing thereby his fréends at his pleasure, waxed so strong that he subdued the whole Ile, still erecting castels and fortresses as he wan ground, so to maister the Irish that with such manner of strengths of wals and rampires had not as yet béene acquainted: for till those daies they knew no defense but woods, bogs, or strokes. Turgesius so brided the Irish kings, and kept them in awe, that without interruption he reigned like a conqueror thirtie yeares. He cried hauocke & spoile where anie rich preie was to be had, sparing neither those of the laitie nor of the clergie, neither church nor chappell, abusing his victorie verie insolentlie. Omalaghilen king of Meth was in some trust with the tyrant. His onelie daughter Turgesius craued for his concubine. The father hauing a readie wit, and watching his time, began to breake with Turgesius in this wise: Sauing your fansie my lord (quoth he) there are diuerse ladies of bloud in this countrie néeseter bedfellows for a king than that browne gristle: and therewith he began to reckon vp a number of his néeces and cousines, indowed (as he set them foorth) with such singular beautie, as they séemed rather angels than mortall creatures. The tyrant as it were rauished, and doting in loue of those peereles péeces before he saw them, by reason of such excéeding praises as he thus heard of them, doubted yet least Omalaghilen extolled them to preserue his daughter out of his hands: and the subtill father cloked his drift with modest behauior, lingering time to inflame the leachers follie, as he that wished anie thing more to be suspected, than that which he meant most earnestlie to bring to passe.

At length, when Turgesius séemed to take his delaieng thus of time somewhat displeasantlie, he vsed this or the like speech: "If I should saie (quoth he) that I gaue you my sole daughter with goodwill to be defloured, your high wisdom would soone ghesse that I did but flatter you; and yet if ten daughters were déerer to me than your good pleasure and contentation, by whose bountifull goodnes both she, & I, and we all are supported, I were vnwoorthie that secret and nere fréendship wherin it liketh you to vse me. As for the wench, it will be in part honorable for hir to be required to the bed of such a prince, sith quéenes haue not sticked to come from farre, and yeeld the vse of their bodies to noble conquerors, in hope by them to haue issue. And howsoeuer it be taken, time will weare it out, and redéeme it; but such a fréend as you are to me and mine, neither I nor mine shall liue to see. And verelie I meane not to hazard your displeasure, if it were for a greater matter than the value of twentie maidenheads; séeing fathers haue not sticked to giue vp their owne wiues to quench the lusts of their sons. Therefore am I thus agréed, name the daie and place, separat your selfe from the view of your court, conferre with those that haue a deintie insight, & skilfull eies in discerning beuties; I will send you my daughter, & with hir the choise of twelue or sixteene gentlewomen, the meanest of the which may be an empresse in comparison. When they are before you, make your game as you like, and then if my child please your fantasie best, she is not too good to be at your commandement: onelie my request is, that if anie other shall presume vpon your leauings, your maiestie will remember whose child she is."

This liberall proffer was of Turgesius accepted (whose desire was most insatiable) with manie good words, thanks, & faire promises. To be short, the same daie Omalaghilen put his daughter in prince-like apparell, attired after the trimmest wise, and with hir sixteene proper yong men beautifull and amiable to behold:

Turgesius what he did.

He buildeth fortresses.

Turgesius reigned in Ireland thirtie yeares.

Omalaghilen king of Meth.

The policie of Omalaghilen.

The Ile was practised by

Alexander the
the Assassination
of M. . . .
against the Per-
son of the . . .
Gordon . . .
for . . .

and so being sent to the king were presented vnto him in his priue chamber, hauing none about him but a few dissolute youthfull persons; whervpon those disguised yoong striplings drew forth from vnder their long womanish garments their skeins, and valiantlie bestirring themselues, first stabbed their weapons points through the bodie of the tyrant, and then serued all those youths that were about him with the like sawce, they making small or no resistance at all. The brute of this murther was quicklie blowne abroad through all Ireland: and the princes readie to catch hold on such aduantage, rose in armes with one assent, in purpose to deliuer themselves from bondage, and recouer libertie.

The persuasion
of Omalaghilen.

All Meth and Leinster were speedilie got together, resorting vnto Omalaghilen the author of this practise, who lightlie leapt to horsse, and commending their forward redinesse in so naturall a quarell, said: "My lords and fréends, this case neither admitteth delaie, nor requireth policie; hart and hast is all in all. Whilest the matter is fresh and greene, and that some of our enimies lie still and sléepe, some lament, some curse, some are together in counsell, and all the whole number dismaied: let vs preuent their furie, dismember their force, cut off their flight, seize vpon their places of refuge and succour. It is no victorie to plucke their feathers, but to breake their necks; not to chase them in, but to rowse them out; to weed them, not to rake them; not to tread them downe, but to root them vp. This lesson the tyrant himselfe did teach me. I once demanded of him as it were in a parable, by what good husbandrie the land might be rid of certeine rauening foules that annoied it. He aduised vs to watch where they bred, and to fire their nests about their eares. Go we then vpon these coruorants which shrowd themselves in our possessions, and let vs so destroye them, that neither nest nor root, neither séed nor stalke, neither branch nor stumpe shall remaine of this vngratious generation." Scarse had he ended his tale, but that with great showts and clamors they extolled the king, as defendor of their liues and liberties; assuring them both of their bold and hardie stomachs and speedfull expedition ioined with their confederats, and with a running camp swept euerie corner of the land, rased the castels to the ground, chased awaie the strangers, slue all that abode battell, ech man recovering his owne, with the state of gouernment.

Gurmond.

Thus in effect haue the Irish writers reported of Turgesius a Norwegian, whether he did reigne before the supposed time of Gurmond, or whether that he came thither as lieutenant to him: which if it shuld be true, no doubt the same Gurmond was some king of the Danes, or Norwegians, and not of the Affricans (as some of our countrimen name him.) Which error is soone committed, in taking one heathenish nation for another, as those men haue doone that haue named the Hungarians (when they did inuade Gallia before they were christians) Saracens. And so likewise might that author (whosoever he was) whome Geffreie of Monmouth followeth, finding Gurmond written to be a king of the miscreants, mistake the Norwegians for Affricans, because both those nations were infidels: and therefore sith happilie the Affricans in the daies when that author liued, bare all the brute about other heathenish nations then, as the Turks doo now, he named them Affricans. Howsoever it was, certeine it is that the Danes or Norwegians made sundrie inuasions into Ireland, and that at seuerall times. But for Turgesius, whether he were an absolute king, or but a lieutenant of some armie, vnder some other king named Gurmound, or peraduenture Gormo, (as such names are soon corrupted) I cannot affirme, bicause that no certeine time is set downe in the chronicles which are written of those nations, whereby they may be so reconciled together, as sufficeth to warrant anie likelie coniecture in this behalfe.

But if I should saie (with the readers licence) what I thinke, this Gurmound whatsoever he was, made no such conquest of Ireland, nor of this our Ile of Britaine

taine (as by some writers is supposed) but yet might he peradventure land in Wales, and either in fauor of the Saxons then enimies to the Britons, or in hatred of the christian name persecute by cruell wars the British nation, and vse such crueltie as the heathenish nations then were accustomed to practise against the christians in all places where they came, and chanced to haue the vpper hand. The chieftest cause that moueth me to doubt thereof, is for that I find not in anie of our approoued ancient English writers, as Beda, Malmesburie, Huntington, Houeden, or such like, anie plaine mention made of him; whereby I may be throughlie induced to credit that which I find in Geffrie Monmouth and others recorded of him, except his name be mistaken, and so thereby some error crept in, which I am not able to resolute.

But sith we are entred to speake thus farre of the Norwegians, here by the waie I haue thought it not impertinent to the purpose of this Irish historie, to write what we find recorded in the chronicles of those northerly regions, Denmarke, Norweie, and Sweden, written by Saxo Grammaticus, Albertus Crantz, and others, concerning the sundrie inuasions made by the Danes, Norwegians, or Normans (whether we list to call them) into Ireland. Fridleie or Fridlenus king of Denmarke that succeeded Dan the third of that name, surnamed the Swift, arriuing in Ireland, besieged the citie of Dublin, & perceiuing by the strength of the walles, that it would be an hard matter to win it by plaine force of hand without some cunning policie, he deuised to catch a sort of swallowes that had made their nests in the houses within the towne, tied wild fier to their wings, and therewith cast them vp, and suffered them to flie their waies, wherevpon they comming to their nests, set the houses on fier, which whiles the citzens went about to quench, the Danes entred the citie and wan it.

Secondlie, Frotho king of Denmarke, the third of that name, after he had subdued the Britons here in this Ile, made a voiage into Ireland also, where he landed with some danger: for the Irishmen had strawed all alongest the shore a great number of caltrops of iron, with sharpe pricks standing vp, to wound the Danes in the fées, as they should come foorth of their ships to follow them, for they meant to flee of a pretended policie for that purpose. But Frotho perceiuing their deceitfull craft, followed them more aduisedlie than rashlie, and so put their capteine named Keruill to fight, and slue him in the field; whose brother remaining in life, & mistrusting his owne puissance, yélded himselfe to Frotho, who diuiding the preie amongst his souldiers and men of warre, shewed thereby that he onelie sought for glorie and not for gaine, reseruing not a pennie of all the spoile to his owne vse. After this, in the daies of king Frotho the fourth of that name, which reigned ouer the Danes, one Starcater a giant, in companie of Haco a Danish capteine, made a iournie likewise into Ireland, where in the same season, one Huglet reigned as monarch ouer that Ile: who hauing plentie of treasure, was yet so giuen to couetousnesse, that by such vnprincelie parts as he plaid, to satisfie his greedie desire to fill his coffers, he became right odious, and farre out of all fauor with his subiects. Yet there were of his nobles, verie valiant and worthie men, namlie two, Gegathus & Suibdaus: wherevpon, when it came to passe that he should ioine in battell with his enimies the Danes, the most part of all his people fled out of the field, so that Gegath and Suibdaue were in maner left alone. For they regarding their honors and dutie that appertained to men of their calling, would not flie, but manfullie did what laie in their powers to beat backe the enimies, insomuch that Gegathus raught Haco such a wound, that the vpper part of his liuer appeared bare. He also wounded Starcater in the head right sore, so that in all his life daies, he had not before that time receiued the like hurt: in the end yet Huglet the monarch of Ireland was slaine, and Starcater obtaining the victorie, did make great

*Saxo Gram.
Alb. r. Crantz.*

Fridlenus.

Dublin besieged.

*Dublin set on
fire, and won by
the Danes.*

Frotho the third.

*Caltrops strawed
by the Irish to
annoie the
Danes.*

*Keruill gouernour
of Irishmen
slaine.*

*Frotho the
fourth.
Starcater a giant.*

*Huglet king of
Ireland.*

*Gegathus &
Suibdaus.*

Haco wounded.

*Starcater
wounded.
Huglet slaine.*

slaughter of the Irish subiects, the which had followed their king to this battell, being men (thorough his corrupt example and slouthfull trade of life) degenerat from all warlike order and vse of manlike exercise.

Dublin woon.

After this, the Danes went vnto Dublin, which towne they easilie tooke, and found such store of riches and treasure therein, that euerie man had so much as he could wish or desire; so as they needed not to fall out among themselues for the partition, sith there was so much for each mans share as he could conuenientlie carrie awaie. Thus hath Saxo Grammaticus written in effect of Starcater comming into Ireland: of whome the Danish writers make such mention, both for his huge stature and great manhood. Some haue thought, that Starcater was the verie same man which the Scots name Finmaccole, of whome in the Scottish historie we haue made mention: but whereas the Scottish writers affirme that he was a Scottish man borne, the Danish writers report that he was borne in Eastland, among the people called Estoners. Reignirus the sonne of Siwardus the second king of Denmarke, hauing atchiued sundrie victories in England and Scotland, and subdued the Iles of Orkneie, he passed likewise into Ireland, slue Melbricke king of that land, and tooke the citie of Dublin by siege, where he remained the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he departed from thense.

Reignirus.

Melbricke king of Ireland slaine.

Gurmo the third of that name king of Denmarke. He marrieth Thira daughter to Etheldred king of England. Canute and Harold.

After this, Gurmo the third of that name king of Denmarke, although an infidell himselfe, and a cruell persecutor of the christian religion, yet tooke to wife a christian ladic named Thira, daughter to Etheldred king of England, who had issue by him two sonnes Knaught, or Canute, and Harold, proouing men of high valiancie and notable prowesse, insomuch that after the atchiuing of diuerse worthie victories against the enimies néere home, they made a voiage into England, not sparing to inuade the dominions of their grandfather king Etheldred: who rather reioising, than séeming to be ofiended with those manlike enterprises of his cousins, proclaimed them his heires to sucéed after him in all his lands and dominions, although of right the same were to descend first vnto their moother Thira. The young men being encouraged with their grandfather his bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuasion of Ireland, where at the siege of Dublin, Canute or Knaught the elder brother was shot into the bodie with an arrow, and died of the wound: howbeit his death was kept close by his owne commandement giuen before he died, till his people had got the citie into their possession. But the gaine was small in respect of the losse, which was thought to redound vnto the whole Danish nation by the death of that noble young gentleman Canute, who for his high prowesse and valiancie was most tenderlie beloued of all men; but namelie of his father king Gormo, insomuch that he sware to kill him with his owne hands, who-soeuer should first tell him newes of his death.

They inuade Ireland. Canute is slaine.

This Gormo was now a man far stricken in age, and blind, hauing small ioie of anie worldlie pleasures, otherwise than to heare of the welfare and prosperous proceedings of his sonnes. When therefore his wife quéene Thira had perfect aduertisement of hir sonnes death, and that neither she nor anie other durst breake the matter vnto hir husband, she deuised a shift how to signifie that vnto him by outward signes, which by word of mouth she was affraid to expresse, as thus. She caused moorning apparell to be made for hir husband, & putting off his roiall robes, clad him therewith, and other things appertaining to moorners she also put about him, and prepared all such furniture and necessaries as were vsed for funerall exequies, witnessing the lamentable grieffe concerned for the losse of some friend, with that kind of moorning weed and funerall ceremonies. Which when Gormo perceiued: Wo is me (saith he) you then signifie the death of my sonne Canute. Whereto she made answer, that he and not she had discover the truth of that which was meant by those moorning garments; and with that speech ministred cause of

The policie of Thira to signifie to hir husband the death of Canute.

hir

hir husbands death, whereby she became presentlie a widow, not openlie moorning for hir sonne, before she moorned likewise for hir husband: for he tooke such griefe for Canutes death, that immediatlie he died thorough sorow and dolor: so as Thira was thus driuen to lament, as well the death of hir sonne, as of hir husband both-at once. But now to the purpose of the Irish historie.

Gormo dieth of
sorrow.

Ye haue thus partlie heard what the Danish writers doo record in their histories, touching the conquests which their people made in Ireland; but whether the same be meant of that which goeth before, or rather of that which followeth, touching the trade which the Norwegian merchants vsed thither; or whether the Irish writers haue passed these iournies ouer with silence, which the Danish writers in forme (as before is touched) doo make mention of, I cannot affirme. But like it is that as the Danes, or Normans, whether you will call them, did inuade Ireland as well as England, France, and Scotland, in those daies according to the report of their writers, and that by waie of open warre as well to conquer the countrie, as to take preies, prisoners, and booties, and not for trade of merchandize onelie: albeit that they might peraduenture so get entrie at the first, as by the Irish histories it should seeme they did shortlie after the slaughter of Turgesius. And afterwards when they saw themselues settled, and perceiued that they began to grow to be enuied of their Irish neighbours, who therevpon would not sticke to molest them as occasions serued, they saw no better meane to assure themselues against their aduersaries, than to send vnto their countriemen, which in those daies roued abroad (as before I haue said) in euerie quarter of this our west ocean, waiting for opportunitie to aduance their conquests in each countrie where auie thing might be gotten. And so this maie agréee verie well with the Irish writers, whom as I doo not take upon me to controll, but rather to report the storie as I find it by them written, I will procéed with the order which they follow. After the countrie was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppressed by the same Turgesius & his people, Danes or Norwegians whether they were (for so Cambrensis estéemeth them) the Irish deliuered of seruile bondage, fell to their old woonted vomit, in persecuting each other: and hauing latelie defaced their fortified townes and castels, as receptacles and couerts for the enimie, all sides laie more open to receiue harme.

This being perceiued and thoroughlie considered, the princes that in the late rule of Turgesius had espied some towardnesse to wealth & ease, fell in hand to discourage the madnesse & follie of their ancestors, which saw not the vse of that which their enimies abused: they begun to loth their vnquiet trade of life, to wish either lesse discord, or more strength in each mans dominion; to cast the danger of naked countries, readie to call in the enimies, as the strength of forts & castels was a meane to preserue them from losse. Faine would they haue provided remedie in this case, if they had knowne how. The former subiection, though it seemed intollerable, yet they felt therein procéeding steps towards peace. The gaine that rose of merchandize, rest and suertie to the whole estate of the countrie. For the difference was great betwixt the indeuours of the two nations, Norwegians and Irish. The first knew the waie to thriue, might they get some commodious seats and soile. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

While the princes and potentats staid ypon such a good consideration, certaine merchants of Norwaie, Denmarke, and of other those parties, called *Ostmen*, or *Ostmen*, (as in our vulgar language we tearme them) Easterlings, bicause they lie East in respect of vs, although indée they are by other named properlie Normans, and partlie Saxons, obtained licence safelie to arriue here in Ireland with their wares, and to viter the same. Herevpon the Irish, thorough traffike & barteing with these Normans or Danes (for so they are called also in our English chronicle) by exchanging of wares and monie, finding them ciuill and tractable, and deliting also with.

Easterlings have
gave to trade into
Ireland.

They build
townes on the
sea coasts.

Waterford,
Limerike,
Dublin.

The merchant
strangers moue
rebellion.

The field of
Clontars.

The seuerall
names of the
strangers which
in these daies
afflicted France,
England, Scot-
land and Ireland.

1095

The Easterlings
and be called
Normans.

Maximus Rex
the great king or
monarch of Ire-
land.

The power of
the monarch in
election of
bishops.

Goderius king of
Leinster.
Terdienatus the
monarch.
Patricius conse-
crated bishop of
Dublin by Lan-
franke.

1152
Christian bishop
of Lismore.

with gaie conceipts, brought into them by those merchants (such as till they saw them they neuer estéemed néedfull) they began to enter into a desire that a trade might be open betwixt them & the other nations, wherevpon to allure other, they licenced these merchant strangers to build (if they thought good) hauens townes in places most commodious. This was no sooner granted, than begun, and with speed finished.

Amilanus founded Waterford; Sutaricus, Limerike; Iuorus, Dublin; and so by others diuerse other townes were built as leisure serued. Then by the helpe and counsell of these men, manie castles, forts, steeples, and churches, euerie where were repaired. And thus are the Irish mingled also with the bloud of the Danes, Norwegians, or Normans, who from thensefoorth continuallie flocked into Ireland, to the great commoditie of the inhabitants, liuing amongst them obedientlie, till wealth pricked and moued them to raise rebellion: but they could not haue holden out, had not the conquest insuing determined both their quarrels. In the meane while they became lords of the hauens and burrow townes, planted men of warre in the same, and oftentimes skirmished with their aduersaries; but yet measured their fortune with indifferent gaines, and crept no higher than the same would giue them leaue. Onelie a memorie is left of their field in Clontars, where diuerse of the Irish nobilitie were slaine, that lie buried before the crosse of Kilmainam. These are by our author, not without good iudgement, reported to be Danes, which people then being pagans, sore afflicted England, and after that France, from whence they came againe into England with William Conqueror. So that those people called *Ostomanni*, Esterlings, Normans, Danes, Norwegians, & Suedeners, are in effect all one nation, borne in that huge region called Scandinavia; and as it appeareth by conference of times and chronicles, muchwhat about one season, vexed the Frenchmen, afflicted Scotland, subdued England, and multiplied in Ireland. But in the yeare of Christ 1095, perceiuing great enuie to remaine and lurke in the distinction of the names Easterlings and Irish, that were altogether westernne; and the Easterlings not easterne indéed, but rather simplie northerne: in consideration whereof, and bicause they magnified themselues in the late conquest of their countriemen, who from Normandie comming ouer into England ruled there at their pleasure, these strangers in Ireland would algate now be also called and accompted Normans.

Long before this time (as yée haue heard) Ireland was bestowed into two principall kingdomes, and sometime into more, whereof one was euer elected and reputed to be cheefe, and as it were a monarch, whome in their histories they name *Maximum regem*, that is, the greatest king, or else without addition, *Regem Hiberniae*, the king of Ireland: the other they name *Reguli* or *Riges*, that is to wit, small kings or else kings, by limiting the places whereof they were to be reputed kings, as of Leinster, Connagh, Vlster, Mounster, or Meth. To the monarch, besides his allowance of dominion, titles of honor, and other priuileges in iurisdiction, there was granted to him a négatiue in nomination of bishops, when they were vacant: for the cleargie and laetie of the diocesse commended one, whom they thought conuenient vnto their king, the king to the monarch, the monarch to the archbishop of Canturburie: for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland had not receiued their palles.

In this sort was nominated to the bishoprike of Dublin then void, in the yeare of Christ 1074, at the petition of Goderius king of Leinster, by sufferance of the cleargie and people there, with the assent of Terdienatus the monarch, a learned prelat called Patricius, whome Lanfranke of Canturburie consecrated in Paules church at London, and sware him to obedience after the manner of his ancestors. Christian bishop of Lismore, legat to Eugenius the third, summoned a prouinciall counsell

councell in Ireland, wherein were authorised foure metropolitan seas, Armagh, ^{Foure metropo-} Dublin, Cashill, and Tuen; of the which places were bishops at that present, ^{litan seas in} Ireland. Gelasius, Gregorius, Donatus, Edonius. For hitherto though they yéelded a primasie to the bishop of Armagh in reuerence of saint Patrike the first bishop there: ^{The bishop of} yet the same was but of good will, and confirmed rather by custome than by sufficient decree; neither did that archbishop take vpon him to inuest other bishops, but sent them to Canturburie (as before is mentioned) which from hensefoorth they vsed not to doo, insomuch that the next bishop named Laurence, sometime arch- ^{Laurence arch-} bishop of saint Keuins in Golandilagh, was ordered and installed at home by ^{bishop of S. Ke-} Gelasius primat of Armagh. ^{uins.}

1162

F I N I S.

Not well vnderstanding what the writer of this part of the Irish historie ment to fall vpon so blunt a conclusion; but supposing it was vpon some reasonable inducement: we thought it conuenient to leaue it as we found it: intending (without anie addition herevnto) to set downe the conquest of Ireland, as the same was left recorded by Girald of Cambria: whose prefaces and historie, right worthie the reading, doo immediatlie follow.

THE NAMES OF THE GOUERNORS, LIEUTENANTS, LORD IUSTICES, AND DEPUTIES OF IRELAND,

SINCE THE CONQUEST THEREOF BY KING HENRIE THE SECOND.

The years of our Lord.			The years of our Lord.
1174	R ICHARD Strangbow earle of Pen- broke gouernor, hauing Reimond le Grace ioined in commission with him.	Roger lord Mortimer second time lord iustice.	1319
1177	Reimond le Grace lieutenant by himselfe. William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant, hauing John de Curcie, Robert Fitz Ste- phans, and Miles Cogan ioined in commission with him.	Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare lord iustice.	1320
	Hugh Lacie lieutenant.	John Birmingham earle of Louth lord iustice.	1321
1182	John Lacie constable of Ches- } gouer- ter and Richard de Peche } nors.	John lord Darcie lord iustice.	1323
	Hugh Lacie againe lieutenant.	Roger Outlaw prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.	1327
	Hugh Lacie the younger, lord iustice.	Anthonie lord Lucie lord iustice.	
1227	Henrie Loandoris archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice.	John lord Darcie second time lord iustice.	1332
1228	Maurice Fitzgiralde lord iustice.	John lord Charleton lord iustice.	1337
1253	John Fitzgeffreie knight, lord iustice.	Thomas bishop of Hereford lord iustice.	1338
	Alain de la Zouch lord iustice.	John lord Darcie ordeined lord iustice by patent during his life, by Edward the third.	1339
1258	Stephan de Long Espe lord iustice.	Rafe Vfford lord iustice.	
	William Deane lord iustice.	Robert Darcie lord iustice.	1346
1261	Sir Richard Rochell or Capell lord iustice.	John Fitzmaurice lord iustice.	
1267	David Barrie lord iustice.	Walter lord Bermingham lord iustice, his deputies were John Archer, prior of Kilmainan & Baron Carew, with sir Thomas Rokesbie.	
1268	Robert Vfford lord iustice.	Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond had the office of lord iustice for terme of his life, of king Edward the third his grant.	
1269	Richard de Excester lord iustice.	Thomas Rokesbie knight lord iustice.	1355
1270	James lord Audleie lord iustice.	Almericke de saint Amand	1357
1272	Maurice Fitzmaurice lord iustice.	John Butler earle of Or- } appointed L. Walter lord Genuille lord iustice.	
	Robert Vfford againe lord iustice.	mond } I. by turnes. Maurice Fitzth. earle of } Kild.	
1281	Fulborne bishop of Waterford lord iustice.	Lionell duke of Clarence lord iustice.	1361
	John Samford the archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice.	Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond L.I.	1367
	William Vescie lord iustice.	William lord Windsor the first lieute- nant in Ireland.	1369
1295	William Dodingsels lord iustice.	Richard Ashton lord iustice.	1372
	Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.	Roger Mortimer } Iustices and lieutenants John Wogan lord iustice.	1381
1311	Theobald Verdon lord iustice.	Philip Courtneie } specially recorded in Ri- Edmund Butler lord iustice.	
1317	Roger lord Mortimer lord iustice.	James earle of Orm. } chard the seconds daies.	
	Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.		

Robert

The
yeare of
our
Lord.

The
yeare of
our
Lord.

- Robert Vere earle of Oxford marques of Dublin created duke of Ireland.
- 1394 Roger Mortimer earle of March lieutenant.
- Roger Mortimer earle of March and Vlster lieutenant.
- Roger Greie lord iustice.
- John Stanleie knight lord lieutenant.
- 1401 Thomas of Lancaster brother to king Henrie the fourth lord lieutenant, whose deputies at sundrie times were Alexander bishop of Meth, Stephan Scrope knight, and the prior of Kilmainan.
- 1403 James Butler earle of Ormond lord iustice.
- Girald earle of Kildare lord iustice.
- 1407 James Butler earle of Ormond, sonne to the foresaid James, lord iustice.
- 1413 John Stanleie againe lord lieutenant.
- Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.
- 1414 John lord Talbot of Sheffield lieutenant.
- 1420 James Butler erle of Ormond the second time lieutenant.
- Edmund earle of March, James earle of Ormond his deputie.
- John Sutton lord Dudleie, sir Thomas Strange knight his deputie.
- Sir Thomas Stanleie, sir Christopher Plunket his deputie.
- Lion lord Welles, the earle of Ormond his deputie.
- James erle of Ormond by himselfe.
- John earle of Shrewesburie, the archbishop of Dublin in his absence lord iustice.
- Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king Edward the fourth, had the office of lieutenant by king Henrie the sixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at sundrie times were, the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzeustace knight, James earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare.
- Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare, lord iustice in king Edward the fourth his daies, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the K. had the office of lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by sundrie times these:
- Thomas earle of Desmond, John Tiptoft erle of Worcester, Thomas erle of Kildare, Henrie lord Graie of Ruthine. } Deputies to the duke of Clarence. 1470
- Sir Rouland Eustace lord deputie.
- Richard duke of Yorke, yoonger sonne to king Edward the fourth, lieutenant.
- Edward sonne to Richard the third lieutenant, his deputie was Girald earle of Kildare.
- Iasper duke of Bedford and earle of Pembroke, lieutenant, his deputie was Walter archbishop of Dublin.
- Edward Poinings knight, lord deputie. 1494
- Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, lieutenant, his deputie Girald earle of Kildare.
- Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, lord deputie.
- Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, after duke of Norfolke, lieutenant. 1520
- Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, lord deputie. 1523
- Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare againe lord deputie.
- The baron of Deluin lord deputie.
- Piers Butler earle of Ossorie againe lord deputie. 1529
- William Skeffington knight, lord deputie.
- Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, againe lord deputie.
- William Skeffington againe lord deputie.
- Leonard lord Graie, lord deputie. 1531
- Sir William Brereton knight, lord iustice. 1531
- Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie. 1531

THE NAMES OF ALL THE LORDS DEPUTIES AND IUSTICES IN IRELAND,

SINCE THE DEATH OF KING HENRIE THE EIGHT 1546, WHO DIED IN JANUARIE.

The yeare of our Lord.		The yeare of our Lord.
1546	SIR Anthonie Sentleger knight by patent, dated 24 <i>Martij</i> , <i>Anno primo Edw. 6.</i>	Thomas earle of Sussex lord deputie, 1559 6 <i>Maij</i> .
1546	Sir Edward Bellingham lord deputie,	Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iustice. 1564
1547	22 <i>Aprilis</i> , <i>Anno eodem.</i>	Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1565
1548	Sir Francis Brian lord iustice.	{ Doctor Weston lord chancellor } 1567
1549	Sir William Brabeston lord iustice.	{ Sir William Fitzwilliams }
1550	Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 3. 4 <i>Augusti</i> .	Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1568
1551	Sir Iames Crofts lord deputie, 29 <i>Aprilis</i> .	Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice. 1570
1553	Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 1 <i>Sept. 4.</i>	Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputie, 1571 11, <i>Decemb. Anno 14 Elisab.</i>
1555	Thomas lord Fitzwalter lord deputie, 27 <i>April</i> .	Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie 3. 5 <i>Au-</i> 1572 <i>gusti 3.</i>
1556	Sir Henrie Sidneie } Lords iustices. Doctor Coren }	Sir William Drurie lord iustice, 14 <i>Sep-</i> 1579 <i>temb.</i> by patent, 18 <i>Maij</i> .
1556	Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice alone, 18 <i>Ianuarij</i> .	Sir William Pelham lord iustice. 1580
1557	Thomas erle of Sussex L. lieutenant, 19 <i>Martij</i> .	The lord Arthur Graie. 1580
1558	Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice.	{ Adam archbishop of } Dublin } Lord iustices. 1582
		{ Sir Henrie Wallop }
		Sir Iohn Perot lord deputie. 1584

THE
IRISH HISTORIE

COMPOSED AND WRITTEN BY
GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS,

AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH (WITH SCHOLIES TO THE SAME)

BY IOHN HOOKER
OF THE CITIE OF EXCESTER GENTLEMAN;

TOGETHER WITH

THE SUPPLIE OF THE SAID HISTORIE, FROM THE DEATH OF KING HENRIE THE EIGHT,
VNTO THIS PRESENT YEERE 1587,

DOONE ALSO BY THE SAID IOHN HOOKER:

AND DEDICATED TO

THE HONORABLE SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT,
LORD WARDEN OF THE STANNARIE IN THE COUNTIES OF DEVON AND CORNWALL.

1 Esdras. 4. And king Artaxerxes commanded the chronicles to be
searched whether it were true that had bene informed.

Acts. 17. And they dailie searched the scriptures whether the
things taught were true or not.

Historiæ placeant nostrates ac peregrin.

TO THE
RIGHT WORTHIE AND HONORABLE GENTLEMAN

Sir WALTER RALEIGH Knight,

SENESCHALL OF THE DUCHIES OF CORNEWALL AND EXCESTER, AND LORD WARDEN
OF THE STANNARIES IN DEUON AND CORNEWALL:

IOHN HOOKER

*Wisheth a long, a happie, and a prosperous life, with the
increase of honour.*

AMONG all the infinit good blessings, right honorable, which the Lord God hath bestowed vpon vs, I thinke none more expedient and necessarie, than the vse and knowledge of histories and chronicles: which are the most assured registers of the innumerable benefits and commodities, which haue and dailie doo grow to the church of God, and to the ciuill gouernment through out all nations. The vse of them began and was receiued euen from the first beginning, and immediatlie vpon the dispersing of the sonnes of Adam through out the world: for they were no sooner diuided into seuerall nations, but they did (as Cicero saith) make choise of some one man among themselues, who surpassed the rest in wisdom, knowledge and vnderstanding, *Ad quem confugiebant*. These kind of men for the most part in those daies were preests and philosophers, and for their great knowledge, wisdom and credit, had the charge to commend to their posteritie such notable and good acts as were woorthie the memorie. And as all other nations had such men, so the remote Ilands in the great Ocean had the like. For Britaine, now containing England, Scotland and Wales, had their Druides and Bardos, and Ireland had their Odalies or Rimers, who being verie wise men & of great credit, did deliuer all their saiengs in meeter, and were therefore called Poets. And these for the better alluring of the people to attention, and to frame them to the knowledge of vertue, did vse to sing with an instrument such lessons and instructions as they were woont to giue, whether it were concerning manners and common conuersation, or matters of policie and gouernment, or of prowesse and martiall affaires, or of the gests of their ancestors, or of anie other thing thought meet to be learned and woorthie the knowledge, by which meanes they made men the more apt, readie, and willing to applie themselues to vertue and to a commendable course of life, both concerning God how he was to be honored, the magistrate how he was to be obeied, & the common societie how it was to be conserued; and finallie how the whole course of mans life was to be ordered and directed. These and manie other like commodities when Cicero had considered, did grow by these means, which is the verie substance of an historie: he described the same to be the witnessse of time, the light of truth, the life of memorie, and the mistresse of life: willing

The first vse of histories.

The first chronographers.

The first chronographers in England and Ireland.

Poets were the first chronographers in Britaine.

The definition of an historie.
Cicero de oratore.

*Ecclesiast. 1.3.**August. de ciuit.
Diu.**Clement. Car-
ica.
Thucydides.**Pentateuch. 5.
Iosue. 1.**1. Esdras. 4.
Nehemias.**Esther. 6.**Acts. 17.**Alexander.**Iulius Cæsar.*

willing and aduising euerie man at all times and in all matters to haue their recou rs to the same, and to be well exercised in the knowledge thereof, bicause the thing past are set downe therin, and by them a man may learne what to doo in the life to come. For as the wise man saith, There is nothing new vnder the sunne: for the thing which is now hath beene, and by the things past we are taught the things to come. And so saith Augustine: “*Historia magis vel certe non minùs prænunciandis futuris, quàm enunciandis præteritis inuenitur intenta:*” Histories doo teach and aduertise vs as well of the things to come, as of the things past: and the knowledge thereof is so necessarie that Melancthon would haue no man to be vnlearned in histories, bicause “*Sine qua nulla in re quispiam lucem habet.*” And Thucydides the old ancient historiographer of Grecia would that euerie man should haue about him a booke of histories, as a thing most necessarie for him in all matters whatsoever: and this did he draw and learne (as it should seeme) from Moses, who when he had faithfullie and diligentlie written and set downe the whole course of the world, the woonderfull works of God, and all the most necessarie precepts and rules for mans life, either concerning matters of religion or causes of ciuill policies, or of common societie: then he and Iosua assembling all the people together, did deliuer vnto them the whole Pentatychon of Moses to be dailie read & taught, with a commandement that they should neuer haue that booke out of their hands, but to haue alwaies their continuall recourse to them, as well for their life, as also for their direction in all their causes. Which thing they did most diligentlie obserue and keepe, and not onelie in matters of religion, but in all doubtfull matters, as to the most true oracles, they would make their recourse for their full resolutions. As the enimies of Iehuda, when they saw the prosperous successe of the building of the temple in the times of Ezras and Nehemias, and they much maligning the same, made sute to king Artaxerxes that he would reuoke the decree which king Cyrus had made vnto the Iewes, licencing them to build the temple, alledging manie great and sundrie matters against them. Wherevpon the king commanded the chronicles to be searched, whether it were true that had beene informed against them. Likewise when Hamon had greuouslie complained vnto king Ahasuerus against Mardocheus and the Iewes, charging them with sundrie hainous offenses worthie death, the king commanded the chronicles to be searched. Also when Paule and Syllas first preached the gospell at Thessalonica and Bærea, a doctrine then accompted strange and new, they searched and examined the books “*Num hæc ita se haberent.*” For as they found things there recorded, so gaue they credit, and by the same they did proceed in the like. For it was a common thing among the Romans, that not onelie they would make recourse in all doubtfull matters to their owne annales: but what so euer they found in the like in anie other nation or commonwealth, which might further them in anie thing touching their owne affaires, they would draw the same into an example for themselues to follow, which was no small benefit to their commonwealth.

Likewise Alexander the great, notwithstanding he were brought vp in all good letters vnder Aristotle, yet when he was to enlarge his empire, he gaue himselfe to the diligent reading of Homer, the most exact chronographer of the Troian wars: and so he esteemed that booke, that in the daie time he caried it about him, and in the night time he laid it vnder his beds head; and at all times conuenient he would be reading of it, and in the end was so perfect therein, that he could verbatim repeat the whole without booke; the stratagems, the policies, and the manie deuises vsed in those warres he practised in his owne warres, which stood him in great steed. Iulius Cæsar also in his wars searched the ancient bookes and histories of the citie of Rome: and did not onelie thereby draw a paterne for his owne direction, both for his ciuill and his martiall affaires: but also, he being then the greatest monarch

monarch of all the world, thought it not preiudiciall to his imperiall estate and maiestie, to commend vnder his owne hand writing vnto his posteritie, the historie of his owne age and dooings. Manie like princes hath England bred, who haue bin verie carefull, that the memoriall of the good things doone in their times should be commended to their posteritie, to follow in the like. And therefore euerie king for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares, was woont to reteine and keepe some wise, learned, and faithfull scribes, who should collect and record the things doone in euerie their seuerall times, and all which as time and course of yeares did serue, were published; and what great good benefits haue growne thereby to this present age, and like to serue to the future time, all the world maie easilie see and iudge: for this I dare boldlie saie and affirme: No realme, no nation, no state, nor common wealth throughout all Europa, can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than doo the histories of this little Isle of Britaine or England. I would to God I might or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of bloud, murther, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greuous & irkesome to be read & considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into an historie. Which hath beene some cause whie I was alienated and vtterlie discouraged to intermedle therein: for being earnestlie requested, by reason of my some acquaintance with the maners and conditions of that nation during my short abode therein, to continue the historie of that land, from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents, which hitherto hath not beene touched; I found no matter of an historie woorthie to be recorded: but rather a tragedie of cruelties to be abhorred, and no historie of good things to be followed: and therefore I gaue the matter ouer, and was fullie resolued not at all to haue intermedled therewith. Neuerthelesse, being againe verie earnestlie requested, and no excuse neither of my age, nor of my often sicknesse, nor of my calling in the seruice of the commonwelth, nor of my small learning and skill, sufficient to compas such a matter, could be accepted: then (but with an euill will) I entred into it, and the more I bethought my selfe of the matter, the more I began to consider, and at length to behold the too great and woonderous workes of God, both of his seuerie iudgement against traitors, rebels, and disobedient; and of his mercie and louing kindnesse vpon the obedient and dutifull. Whereof, though there be infinite examples both in the sacred histories and humane chronicles: yet I find none more apparant and effectually, nor more fit for vs, and for this our time and age, than the histories of our owne nation, which yeeld vnto vs most infinite examples, how yong princes rebelling against the kings their fathers, noble men against their souereignes, and the commons against the kings and rulers, some by the mightie hand of God swallowed vp in the seas, some deuoured with the sword, some by martiall and some by ciuill lawes executed to death: and few or none which haue escaped vnpunished. But of all others, none to be compared to this tragicall discourse of Ireland, and the most vnnaturall wars of the Desmonds against hir sacred maiestie. Whose disobedience the Lord hath in iustice so seuerelie punished and reuenged, as the like hath not in our age beene seene nor knowne; which albeit somewhat at large it be set downe in the historie, yet breefelie and in effect is as followeth.

The earle of Desmond, named Girald Fitzgirald, was descended of a yonger house of the Giraldines of Kildare, and both of them descended from one and the same ancestor Girald of Windsor, a noble gentleman of Normandie; who after his arriuall into England, trauelled into Wales, and there married the ladie Nesta daughter to the great Roesines prince of south Wales, and by hir among others

had

*Mat. Parisiensis
in prefat.*

*Ireland yeeldeth
small matter for
an historie.*

*The iustice of
God against re-
bels.*

*Hen. 2.
Edw. 2.*

nances, and he shall receiue iudgement. And the Lord shall root him from out of the face of the earth that shall blaspheme his gods, and curseth the prince of the people. Euen as of the contrarie, when the people liue in all subiection, humbleness, and obedience, the Lord defendeth and keepeth them, and with his manifold blessings prospereth them; as hir maiesties good subiects dwelling within the English pale, and inhabiting within hir cities and townes can witnesse. They sow and till the land, and doo reape the fruits. Their fields are full of sheepe, and they are clothed with the wooll. Their pastures are full of cattell, and they inioie them. Their cities and townes are well inhabited, and they liue in safetie. All things go well with them, and peace and plentie resteth in their houses. Two notable examples (I saie) and woorthie to be throughlie obserued; the one of Gods iust iudgement against the rebels and traitors, and the other of mercie and loue towards the obedient and dutifull subiect. Which examples the later they are, the more should they imprint in vs an inward affection and an vndoubted resolution, to yeeld to the superiours all dutie and obedience: and by the examples of the rebels, to shun as a pestilence all disobedience and rebellion; least in dooing the like, we doo receiue the like iust iudgements with them. Let therefore the examples of the elders be sufficient persuasions and instructions to the posteritie, to follow that which is good, and to eschew that which is euill. For albeit good counsell of our friends, and conferences with the good men, maie much preuaile with vs, yet none can so much preuaile nor be of such vertue and effect, as the examples of our ancestors, and the actions of ourforefathers when they be laid before vs: "*Magis enim exemplis potest persuaderi, quam argumentis extorqueri.*" And therefore in times past, the surest course which our forefathers tooke, either in ciuill government or in martiall affaires, was that which they drew from the examples of their ancestors before them. And for as much as such is the value and vertue of the footsteps of our forefathers, I trust it shall not be offensiuie vnto you, that I doo a little digresse and speake somewhat of your selfe and of your ancestors; who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cause haue you to looke into the same: that what in some of your later forefathers was consopited, maie not in you be consepulted, but rouzed and raised vnto his former and pristinat state. And for as much as I am somewhat acquainted in their descents, let me make bold with you to laie the same downe before you.

*The prisoners
and prisoners
in the English
pale.*

*Patric, de instit
reip.*

There were sundrie of your ancestors by the name of Raleigh, who were of great account & nobilitie, and alied as well to the Courtneis earls of Denon, as to other houses of great honour & nobilitie, & in sundrie succeeding descents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them being your ancestor in the directest line, was named sir Iohn de Raleigh, who then dwelled in the house of Furdell in Denon, an ancient house of your ancestors, and of their ancient inheritance: and which at these presents is in the possession of your eldest brother. This knight married the daughter and heire to sir Roger D'amerei, or de Amerei, whome our English chronicles doo name lord de Amereie, who was a noble man and of great linage, and descended of the earls de Amereie in Britaine, and alied to the earls of Montfort in the same duchie and prouince. This man being come ouer into England, did serue in the court, and by the good pleasure of God and the good liking of the king he married the ladie Elisabeth, the third sister and coheire to the noble Gilbert earle of Clare and of Glocester, who was slaine in the battell of Bannocksborough in Scotland, in the time of king Edward the second. This earle died sans issue, he being the sonne and the said ladie Elisabeth the daughter to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, by his wife the ladie Iane de Acres or Acon, daughter to king Edward the first. This Gilbert descended of Robert earle of Glocester, sonne to king Henrie the first, and of his wife the ladie Mawd, daughter and heire

*The descent of
the lord warden.*

to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Astrouill in Normandie, coosen to the Conqueror, knight of the priuie chamber to king William Rufus, and lord of the lordship of Glamorgan in Wales. So that your ancestor sir Iohn de Raleigh married the daughter of de Amerie, Damerie of Clare, Clare of Edward the first, and which Clare by his father descended of king Henrie the first. And in like maner by your mother you maie be deriued out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobilitie, and whose vertues are highlie recorded sparsim in the chronicles of England; some greatlie commended for their wisdomes and deepe iudgements in matters of counsell, some likewise much praised for their prowesse & valiantnesse in martiall affaires, and manie of them honored for both.

All things haue
an end.

But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable vnder the sunne, and time hath deuoured and consumed the greatest men and the mightiest monarchs, and most noble commonwealths in the world, according to the old countrie saieing: Be the daie neuer so long, yet at length it will ring at euensong: so this honorable race, though for so manie descents, and for the course of so manie yeares it continued in great honor, nobilitie, and reputation, yet in processe of time the honour became to be of worship (neuerthesse alied alwaies and matched in houses of great honour and nobilitie) and so euer since possessed by knights of your owne name, vntill by little and little the honour and estimation of your noble and worthie ancestors seemed at length to be buried in obliuion, and as it were extinguished and to be vtterlie forgotten as though it had neuer beene. And now when all was past anie hope and vnremembred to the world, it hath pleased God to raise the same euen as it were from the dead, and to looke vpon you the yoongest sonne of manie, as he did vpon Ioseph, one of the yoongest sonnes of Iacob; and in you hath left a hope to restore the decayed house of your sept and familie. He hath brought you into the good fauour of your prince, who hath pleased to reward and honour in you the approoued faithfull seruice of your late ancestors and kindered deceased, and inclined hir princelie hart, conceiuing a great hope of your owne sufficiencie and abilitie to restore you againe, being the last branch remaining of so manie noble and famous houses descended. And whereof commeth this, that the Lord hath thus blessed you, and so bountifullie hath dealt with you? but onelie (as the wise man saith) “Vt noscas in omni virtute omnibus prodesse,” and that you should be beneficiall and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, “Semper aliquid ad communem vtilitatem est afferendum:” for we are not borne to our selues alone, but the prince, the countrie, the parents, freends, wiues, children and familie, euerie of them doo claime an interest in vs, and to euerie of them we must be beneficiall: otherwise we doo degenerate from that communitie and societie, which by such offices by vs is to be conserued, & doo become most vnprofitable: “Nam inutilis prorsus est, qui nullam vtilitatem reipublicæ ac communi societati possit afferre,” and euerie such man, as a member vnprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer suffered to haue a place in the hiue, than whiles he worketh; no more is that man to haue place in the publike weale than whiles he dooth some good therein, bicause through idlenesse they doo not onelie no good, but as Cato saith, they doo euill: “Nihil agendo homines malè agere discunt.” Idlenesse therefore the mother of all wickednesse, and idlers the sonnes of so bad a mother, are vtterlie to be exiled and expelled out of all well gouerned commonweales; and they onelie to be fostered, nourished and cherished, who as they are borne to the countrie, so if they doo good and be beneficiall to the same.

Cicero de officiis.

Cicero.

Cato.
Idlers ought not
to haue place in
the common-
wealth.

And how great your care hath beene heerein, the course of your life hitherto dooth manifest it. For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build there-vpon all your good actions, you trauelled into France, and spent there a good part
of

of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thence, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother sir Humfric Gilbert, trauelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discouered, infinit commodities in sundrie respects would haue insued, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea-fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said woorthie knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to haue discouraged a man of a right good stomach and value from anie like seas attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends, wherevnto you leuelled your line for the good of your cuntry, did not giue ouer, vntill you had recouered a land, and made a plantation of the people of your owne English nation in Virginia, the first English colonie that euer was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glorie of the Spaniards, & an impeach to their vaunts; who bicause with all cruell immanitie, contrarie to all naturall humanitie, they subdued a naked and a yeelding people, whom they sought for gaine and not for anie religion or plantation of a commonwealt; ouer whome to satisfie their most greedie and insatiable couetousnesse, did most cruellie tyrannize, and most tyrannicallie and against the course of all humane nature did scorch and rost them to death, as by their owne histories dooth appeare. These (I saie) doo brag and vaunt, that they onelie haue drawne strange nations and vnkowne people, to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of christianitie, and to the enriching of their cuntry, and thereby doo claime the honor to be due to themselves onelie and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as apperteineth, it shall be found much more honorable in sundrie respects, for the aduancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the common wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gaine and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospell, and a true christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable seruice before God? And what can be more honorable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without iniurie, wrong, & bloudshed; and to frame them from a sauage life to a ciuill gouernment, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests haue performed? And what can be more beneficiall to a common weale, than to haue a nation and a kingdome to transference vnto the superfluous multitude of frutelesse and idle people (heere at home dailie increasing) to trauell, conquer, and manure another land, which by the due intercourses to be deuised, may and will yeeld infinit commodities? And how well you doo deserue euerie waie in following so honourable a course, not we our selues onelie can witnesse, but strange nations also doo honour you for the same: as dooth appeare by the epistle of Bassimerus of France, to the historie of Florida: and by Iulius Cæsar a citizen of Rome in his epistle to his booke intituled "Cul-lombeados." It is well knowne, that it had beene no lesse easie for you, than for such as haue beene aduanced by kings, to haue builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to haue vsed the fruits of princes fauours, as most men in all former and present ages haue doone; had you not preferred the generall honour and commoditie of your prince and cuntry before all priuat gaine and commoditie: wherby you haue beene rather a seruant than a commander to your owne fortune. And no doubt the cause being so good, and the attempt so honorable, but that God will increase your talent, and lesse your dooings, and euerie good

man will commend and further the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man sh^l take in hand, the more aduersaries he shall haue to depraue and hinder the same: yet I am perswaded, as no good man shall haue iust cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so enuious of his countries honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthie an enterprise; and that so much the sooner, because you haue indured so manie crosses, and bene through so much enuiengs and misfortunes perscuered in your attempts, which no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so worthie a worke. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to blesse you, so much the more are you bound to be thankfull vnto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his great good merite towards you. Give me leaue therefore (I praie you) to be hold with you, not onlie to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the fauour of your prince and souereigne: who besides hir great fauour towards you manie waies, she hath also laid vpon you the charge of a gouernement in your owne countrie, where you are to command manie people by your honourable office of the stannarie, and where you are both a iudge and chancellor, to rule in iustice and to iudge in equitie. Wherin you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, because vpon your iudgement (and such as you shall appoint to be vnder you) the determinations of all their causes dooth rest and depend, knowing that a hard iudgement abideth for such as be in authoritie, if they iudge not vprightlie, and doo not yeeld iustice to euerie man indifferentlie. But you therefore carefull in this respect, that you be well reported for your vpright dealings, both herein, & in euerie of all your other actions to all men. Be you a patterne of vertue, & an example of true nobilitie, which is grounded & hath hir foundation vpon vertue, for as the poet saith, "*Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, nō caro nec sanguis.*" And therefore saith Demosthenes; If thou draw thy descent & pedegree euen from Iupiter himselfe, yet if thou be not vertuous, iust & good, *Ignobilis mihi videris.* In my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be borne of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobilitie faileth, when his ancestors vertues in him faileth, "*Hic enim verè nobilis est cēsendus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitulatur.*" Your ancestors were verie ancient, and men of great nobilitie, beneficiall to their princes and countrie manie & sundrie waies. And as in nature you are descended from them, so it hath pleased God to blesse you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike seruice, and in experience in maritimall causes, and besides hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and fauour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be carefull to restore the house of your decaied forefathers to their ancient honor and nobilitie, which in this later age hath bene obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state: which you are not onelie taught by their old and good examples, but also by the ensignes of their and your nobilitie. For the fusils, being an instrument of trauell and labour, doo aduertise you; that you are one of the sonnes of Adam, borne to walke in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common societie: which when you behold and looke vpon, you must so endeouour your selfe, euen as Agathocles king of Syracuse, whose cupbords, though they were well furnished with great store and varietie of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficientlie fraughted, vnlesse he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups, in which he vsed to drinke, to teach & remember him in the middle of his roialtie, to be mindfull of his origin estate and dutie.

*Polingnius.**Demosthenes.**Fusils, instruments of labours.**Agathocles.**White colour.*

The white colour or siluer mettall dooth teach vnto you vertue, sinceritie & godliness.

liness. For as siluer is a most excellent mettall, and next vnto gold excellling all others, and with which for the excellencie thereof, the Lord God would haue his tabernacle and his temple to be adorned and beautified with vessels and ornaments thereof; and as the white colour, if it be spotted and foule, dooth lose his grace: euen so it teacheth you to be a man of an honest and of a godlie conuersation, to lead a life in all vprightnesse, without reproch and disgrace: and that you should be seruaiceable to God and your countrie in all good actions; and therewith also (which by the gulie colour is meant) you be bold and valiant for the defense of your countrie, and for the safetie thereof to spend both life and goods, that you should be beneficiall to all men, hurtfull and iniurious to no man. And such kind of men were your ancestors, who for the same were beloued and honoured, and their names for euer registred in immortall fame and memorie. And so shall it be with you, if you doo the like, and follow their steps and examples, God shall blesse you, & you shall prosper & flourish as did Ioseph; you shall be honored, as was Daniell; and you shall be in fauor before God & man, as were your ancestors; the whole people shall speake good of you, the honour of your house shall be restored, & your talent shall be augmented & increased, & all things shall go well with you. But to returne where we left. When I had waded as far as I could in the discourse of this historie, according to such instructions as partlie by my selfe, but more by other mens helps, I had collected and gathered; and thought to haue continued the same from the death of King Henrie the eight, vnto these presents: it came vnto my mind and I thought it verie expedient, to make a new review of that, which by others had beene doone in the interuall betweene Cambrensis and my dooings, wherein I found great paines had beene taken, and that the authors had well deserued great praises and commendations. And yet in this they were much to be blamed, that all of them were beholding vnto Giraldus, and not one of them would yeeld that curtesie either to publish his historie, or vsing the same to acknowledge it. For some misliking both method and phrase, framed it into another forme, and penned it in a more loftie stile; and vnder that colour haue attributed vnto themselves the honour and fruits of another mans doings. In which, their discourtesie was the more, because they iniured so noble and woorthie a personage. For Giraldus was a noble man by birth, he being the sonne vnto Mauricius, the sonne vnto Giraldus de Windsor, and to his wife the ladie Nesta, daughter to the great Roesius prince of south Wales. He was from his youth brought vp in learning, and prooued verie well learned in all good letters both diuine and likewise humane: and by profession he was a man of the clergie, and liued by the patrimonie of the church. He was chapleine to king Henrie the second, and to king Iohn his sonne, and both of them he attended in their iorneis into Ireland, and at the request and commandement of the king the father, he wrot the historie of this land according as what he saw and knew to be true. The more noble then that this man was by birth, the more reuerend in calling, the more painfull in trauels, and the better learned he was: euen so much the more is their fault, that will borrow of him and not acknowledge it, nor thinke themselves beholding vnto him. For as Plinie saith, "Ingenui pudoris est, fateri per quos profecerimus;" It is the part of a good nature not to be ashamed to acknowledge and confesse by whom he is the better, and benefited. I know it hath beene an old vsage in all ages, and among all the ancient writers, both Græcians & Latinists, that they would borrow of other mens writings, and inlarge their owne therewith: as Plato did of Socrates and Pythagoras, Aristótle out of Plato, Cicero of them both; and so likewise others: and these men would not onelie confesse the same, which was accounted to be some part of recompense, but also they accounted their owne dooings to be so much the better, as that they were confirmed by the authoritie of such wise, graue, and well learned

Gules.

The ingratefulness vnto Cambrensis.

The genealogie of Giraldus.

learned men. The like reason might suffice to persuade such in this later age, as which be so curious that they will not haue anie father, doctor, or anie other writer to be named nor alleaged in sermons, readings, prechings, or writings; and yet they will not sticke to vse & recite verbatim, whole sentences, yea & whole pages out of other mens writings, and attribute the same to themselues, as of their owne inuention. A great fault and a point of ingratitude, not allowed among the gentiles: much lesse should it be so among christians, especiallie among them of the highest profession, “Non profiteri per quos profecerint.”

But leauing euerie man to himselfe, for as much as all histories are to be doone with all sinceritie & truth, which in this cannot be so well doone, vnlesse the first writer and author of this historie of Ireland haue his place: I haue thought good to publish and set forth Giraldus his owne workes as they are, which, leauing all other translations, I haue as faithfullie translated as the historie requireth, and in as fit an English phrase as is most meete and conuenient for the reader. And because the same so long hense written, hath sundrie obscure things, which doo require some further opening, for the better vnderstanding of the reader; I haue subnected and added to euerie chapter (so requiring) such notes and obseruations, as he shall be therewith the better instructed and satisfied. This thing thus by me doone, together with so much as I my selfe haue penned from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents: which although it maie seeme to be verie imperfect, and to want that fulnesse as the course of so manie yeares might affoord; or that some things maie be misreported and set downe, otherwise than the truth is, or that some things maie be mistaken, &c: let this be imputed vnto them, through whose default the same is so befallen; for manie things were promised and little performed; and some, who had and haue an interest in the matter, haue refused and would doo nothing. But for my selfe, according to such instructions and collections as are come to my hands, I haue after the method and nature of an historie, most sincerelie and faithfullie set downe what is materiall and woorthie the writing. And for as much as your selfe was a partie and a doer in some part of the Desmonds wars, in which you were a painfull and a faithfull seruitor, and therefore can giue some report and testimonie to this discourse, and also for the loue and honour which I doo owe and beare vnto you, I thought it my part and dutie to offer and present, and presentlie in most humble maner I doo offer and present the same vnto your good fauour and protection. And albeit the thing it selfe be verie slender, and too farre an inferior present to be offred to one of your estate and calling; yet let your courtesie couer that, and accept my good will, which as time and occasion hereafter shall serue, I shall & will be most willing (as your lordships most deuout and assured) to supplie in all the good seruices I maie or shall be able to doo at your commaundement. The Lord blesse you and multiplie your daies, to the honor of God, the good seruice of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, the comfort of your friends, and to your owne increase in all honour.
Exon. Octob. 12. 1586.

Your L. verie good friend and alie at commandement,

JOHN HOOKER.

THE
FIRST PREFACE OF
GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS

VNTO HIS HISTORIE OF THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

FORSOMUCH as in our Topographie we haue at large set foorth and described the site of the land of Ireland, the natures of sundrie things therein contained, the woonderous & strange prodigies which are in the same, and of the first origin of that nation, euen from the first beginning vntill this our time: it resteth, that at the request of sundrie men, and of some of great estate, we do now in a particular volume declare & set forth the conquest of the same land in these our daies, together with the noble acts & gests therein doone. For if we haue well disco- uered the old & ancient times long before vs, how much more should we doo that which we haue seene, and for the most part are witnesses thereof, & which are yet in our fresh & perfect memorie? Our Topographie discovereth the things done in times past and long ago; but this present historie intreateth of the things pre- sentlie doone, and in our daies. But me thinketh I see some man to shrinke vp the nose, and as it were to snuffe, because I haue written all things so plainelie and eu- dentlie; and therefore in great scorne he reacheth the booke to one, & with as great disdaine casteth it to another. But let him know this, that I haue now written this chieflie for the laie people, and for such princes as be not of greatest learning, and are therefore desirous to haue things to be vttered in such a plaine and sensible speech as they may best vnderstand the same. For whie, most plaine terms are most meet to be vsed, when the noble acts of noble men & worthie seruitors are to be published and set foorth to the notice and knowledge of all men. For this cause therefore haue I written this historie in as plaine & sensible maner as I can (leauing as much as may be) the darke & obscure maner of writing vsed in times past. And forsomuch as euerie age hath his peculiar manner, I haue accord- ing to the mind of the philosopher (whose aduise is, that the liues of the old men, and the pleasant speeches of yoong men should be receiued and followed) I haue (I saie) of purpose written in that order and phrase of speech as now is most in vre. For sith that words are but messengers of a mans mind, and giuen onelie to that end he should without close couering and couching plainelie disclose his mind and meaning: I haue purposed indeuored my selfe, that seeing what others doo not see, and knowing what others doo not vnderstand, I might so write as I might of all men be vnderstood. For whie, Seneca saith: It is better to be dumbe and not to speake at all, than so to speake as not to be vnderstood, so that the speech be framed in such phrases & order as are most meet to be vsed, & with the wise and learned do most affect. But forsomuch as some men haue maliciouslie and slanderouslie depraued my Topographie, I haue thought good by the waie here to interlace a few words in defense therof. All men generallie concerning the beginning of a good or a learned matter, doo consider and haue respect speciallie to three things; the first is, the author of the thing, then the matter it selfe, and lastlie, the ordering and well handling of the thing so begun. Concerning the first and last of these three, the enuious man
being

being afraid to vtter his malice, euen against his will giues praise & commendation to both. But yet as a staged man can not alwaies dissemble and cloke himselfe, so this man, who to haue his will ouer me & to depraue me, inueigheth against the second point, thinking and meaning by reproouing me to be a lier therein, to condemne all the rest; he obiecteth therefore and laieth to my charge the strange prodigies which I wrote, namelie how the wolfe spake and talked with a priest; of the man that in the hinder parts was like to an ox; of a woman that had a beard like a man; and a man like an horse; of a gote & a lion, which resorted and accompanied with a woman. But who so misliketh hereof, let him read in the booke of Numbers, & he shall find that Balaams asse spake and reprooued his maister. Let him examine the liues of the fathers, and he shall learne how that a satyre in the wilderness did talke with Anthonie the heremite; and how Paule the heremite was fed in the desert by a rauē. Let him read also the workes of Jerome, the Exameron of Ambrose, and the dialog of Gregorie. Let him likewise read saint Augustine his booke of the citie of God, especiallie the xv. and xxi. bookes, which are full of strange prodigies and woonders: let him read Isodorus in the xi. booke of his Etymologies, concerning woonders, his xij. booke of beasts, & his xvi. booke of pretious stones, and of their vertues; let him also read Valerius Maximus, Trogius Pompeius, Plinius, and Solinus, & in euerie of these he shall find manie things which he may mislike and thinke to be vntruths, & so condemne the residue of all the writings of so noble and woorthie men. But let him be better aduised, & consider well, how that as S. Ierome saith, there are manie things contained in the scriptures which seeme to be incredible, and to carie no truth in them, and yet neuerthelesse are most true. For whie, nature dooth not, nor can preuaile against the Lord of nature: and therefore euerie creature ought not loth, but to reuerence, and haue in great admiration the works of God: & as S. August. saith, How can that be against nature which is doone by the will of God? Bicause the will of so great a creator is the nature and beginning of euerie thing created. A portent then or a monster is not against nature, but against it which proceedeth from nature. And therefore as it is not impossible to God to ordeine and creat what natures or things he listeth; no more is it impossible to him to alter and change into what forms he listeth the things alreadie created. And yet I would not that euerie thing by me written, should forthwith be credited and receiued as an vndouted truth: for whie, I my selfe do not so firmlie beleue of them, as of things most certeine and true; sauing of such things which by experience I know to be true, and which also euerie other man may by prooffe so find it to be: For as for all other things, I so account of them, that I neither do nor will stand either in the deniall or affirmation of them. The iewellers & such as haue, & be acquainted with the pretious stones come out of India, do not so strangelie think or haue admiration of them, as they who neuer saw them afore: & yet they hauing had once experience of them, do the lesse muse & wonder at the strangenes of them. For whie, the dailie vse taketh awaie all strangenes & admiration; and euerie thing be it neuer so strange & maruellous at the first, yet by dailie viewing of them they wax to be contemned and the lesse esteemed: euen as the Indians themselues do litle value or esteeme their commodities, which we do so much maruell & wonder at. S. Augustine therefore vpon the gospell, how the water was turned into wine hath these words: Maruellous great is the power of God in the creation of the heauen & earth, & of the gouerning of the same; & as great it is to see how the raine water, by the nature of the vine is turned into wine, and how of litle and small seeds great trees and fruits do spring and grow; and yet because we do see it this daie as it were by a naturall course, we do lesse esteeme & consider of them. But yet God aboue the common course hath reserued to himselfe some small things, & which seeme to be
of

of no value, to the end that his power might appeare in greater things, and driue vs the more to consider of them. Wherefore let the malicious & enuious be contented, & not to enuie against the Lord of nature, who of purpose in the sight of man hath doone manie things against the common course of nature: because it should be apparant, & euerie man should well see, that Gods power far exceedeth mans reach & knowledge, & his diuinitie surpasseth mans vnderstanding. Cassiodorus therefore saith: It is a great point of knowledge in man to vnderstand & haue the knowledge, that God can and dooth such great and woonderfull things as do far exceed and passe the capacitie & vnderstanding of man. For God alwaies of purpose dooth transpose and alter his great things into strange forms, that albeit men may in some respect discern the same: yet fullie they can not comprehend the same. If then the old and ancient writers haue diligentlie and with good allowance noted & registred in their writings the strange prodigies in their times; whie are we doing the like (vnlesse the whole world be set in wickednesse) maligne and backbitten? For if there be anie new and strange thing in our worke, and which heretofore hath not beene heard of: yet let not the malicious & spitefull man forthwith, without further allowance condemne and depraue it, but rather suffer to remaine as it is. For as the poet saith: If our forefathers had reiected (as we do) all new things, what shuld now be old? Let him therefore cease to blame or carpe at new things, because in course of time they cease to be new, and wax to be old. He may therefore take his pleasure, and depraue the same, & yet no doubt our posteritie will allow therof. He may do what he can to hurt it, yet they will accept and read it. He may do what he can to disprooue and blame it, yet will they loue it. He may do what he can to reiect it, yet will they receiue and allow of it.

THE
SECOND PREFACE OF
GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS

VNTO THE NOBLE EARLE OF POITIERS.

HAUING beene eftsoones, and by manie requested, to register and write the historie of such noble acts doone in our times, which I haue either seene my selfe, or haue heard it crediblie reported; I was for my excuse woont to alleage the wickednesse of the time, wherein, by reason of the excessiue riotousnesse which so aboundeth, all things are so farre out of order, and men so carefull to pamper vp the bodie, that the mind, which of his nature is free, is now in captiuitie, and cannot haue his libertie. Neuerthelesse, considering, and diligentlie aduising with my selfe, how necessarie the knowledge of those things will be to our posteritie, and how nothing is more pernicious and hurtfull to a good wit, and an honest disposition, than to lie wallowing in idlenesse and sloth; I did at length with much adoo yeeld my selfe to those requests, and resolved my selfe to satisfie the same. But yet what can be more presumptuous than to write when time serueth not, & leisure wanteth? Or to desire our owne bookes to be commonlie read, and yet at no leisure to read our selues? Or that we should be subiect to the examination and sifting of a malicious reader, and an enuious iudge, and yet we not at leisure to examine our selues? Tullius, the founteine and welspring of all eloquence, being on a time requested to make an oration, is said he did excuse himselfe, because he had not studied nor read the daie before. If so famous a man, and the father of all eloquence, did so esteeme the benefit of studieng, what shall others of a farre meaner estate and learning thinke of themselues? For true it is, the wit of man if it be not reuiued with continuall and dailie reading waxeth faint and dull, and with reading it is increased and nourished as it were with a naturall food and sustenance. For as the full barns are soone spent, if they be not new stored; and the stocke of great wealth and treasure soone wasted & consumed, if it be not repared; euen so the knowledge of man being not dailie renewed by reading and perusing of other mens works dooth soone perish and decaie. We are compact and doo consist of two natures, the one temporall, the other eternall; and hauing respect to both, are to norish both, the earthie part with things transitorie and earthie according to the time, the heauenlie part with things perpetuall and euerlasting. The bodie for the time hath his cares; but the mind, which of his nature is free, and which cannot be shut vp, and as it were imprisoned, is neither vnder the power of vs, nor of anie others; let it therefore inioie his owne and proper libertie which to it apperteineth, and inioie the freedome to it belonging. As for the outward man, let him wander and straie, and be troubled about manie things, let him follow vaine and trifling toies, and doo all things as will lusteth, & let him be subiect to the miserable condition of the flesh: but the inward man, which as the kernell is inclosed in the shell, let him inioie that right and priuilege which God hath giuen vnto it; let it be so warded and defended, that being in troubles,

it

it be not troubled; and being solitarie, it be not destituted. God and the king haue ech of them their seuerall power and empire ouer vs: the king hath power onelie ouer the bodie, but the secret and incomprehensible part within vs, namelie the soule, God onelie possesseth, and he alone knoweth and searcheth the same. For it is a most noble and excellent thing, passing all other the gifts of God vnder heauen, being incomprehensible, and yet comprehending all things, and most euidentlie declaring the diuine power which is in it. For by a certeine naturall agilitie which is in him he comprehendeth all the foure corners of the world, and in a maruellous secret celeritie dooth discern the whole world and all that therein is: it hath the knowledge and vnderstanding of all arts, sciences & knowledges: he is onlie known to him that is vknownen, seene of him that is not seene, & cōprehended of him which is incomprehensible. God forbid therefore, that the continuall exercises of this soule should be hindered with vaine and worldlie cares, whereby things for a time omitted or set aside should perish or be forgotten: for what is the bodie to the soule but a heauie burthen, a paine, & as it were a prison, which though not holding him, yet hindering him? For what the shell is to the kernell, the same is the flesh to the spirit, both of them carrieng his owne impediment and burthen. Wherefore right noble now earle of Poitiers, but shortlie which shall be king of England, & duke of Normandie, hauing the force and helpe of this, I haue yeelded my selfe, and haue now written and drawen out the historie of the conquest of Ireland, and the subduing of the barbarous nation of the same in these our daies, and haue dedicated the same vnto your highnesse: that by recording the gifts thereof, and seeing how your father did grow in renowme and honor, so the same also may increase in you: and as you are knownen to be the right heire of your fathers inheritance, so you may succeed him also in his vertues and victories to your great honor. I haue hitherto trauelled in this rude and rough matter after a grosse manner, but hereafter more fullie, and in better order to be expressed and set foorth, as time and yeares shall increase, and as I shall be more at full instructed.

TO HIS MOST REUEREND LORD AND BELOUED IN CHRIST,

I O H N

THE NOBLE AND WORTHIE

KING OF ENGLAND, LORD OF IRELAND,

DUKE OF NORMANDIE AND OF AQUITAINE,

AND EARLE OF ANIOU :

GIRALDUS OFFERETH THIS HIS SIMPLE WORKE, AND WISHETH ALL HEALTH BOTH
OF BODIE AND OF SOULE, AND A PROSPEROUS SUCSESSE IN ALL
THINGS ACCORDING TO HIS HEARTS DESIRE.

IT pleased your noble and excellent father king Henrie, to send me being then attendant vpon him, ouer with you into Ireland, where when I had noted sundrie notable things, and which were strange and vnknowne to other nations: then at my returne, I made a collection and choise of the chiefest matters therein: and within three yeares, I made my booke of Topographie, of the woonders of Ireland, and of the description of that land, doone in and for the honor of your father; who hauing good liking, and being well pleased with those my trauels (for why, he was a prince (a thing rare in our times) verie well learned) his desire and pleasure was, I should also write out the historie of the last conquest of the same land, made by him and his. Which renewing my former trauels I did: but neither it, nor these my paines were considered. For vertue commonlie is more commended than rewarded. But because by negligence, or rather by reason of the great businesse, wherewith I was incumbred: I had almost forgotten the site, nature, and maner of the west parts of the said land, which I had not seene a long time. I thought it good to ouerrun, and peruse againe my said worke, and being better corrected, to dedicat the same vnto your highnesse. Wherein our historie taketh his beginning from the time that Derman mac Morogh prince of Leinster was driuen out of his countrie by his owne men, and fled to your father then being in Aquitaine: most humblie crauing, and at length obtaining aid and succor, vntill your first comming into that land, when I was with you: and haue faithfullie declared in order, what things were there doone by euerie of these noble men and capteins, which then passed thither; euen from the first to the last; and what good or euill was doone by them.

In

In which historie as in a glasse, a man may most apparantlie and euidentlie see and discern truth; who, and what they were which deserued the most honor in this conquest; whether the first aduenturers out of the diocesse of saint Davids my cousins and kinsmen; or they of the diocesse of Landaff, who came next, and who in verie deed are gentlemen, but more in name than valiant in act; and who vpon the good successe of the first, hoping to haue the like themseloes, went ouer: or else they which passed ouer the third time, who were well and fullie furnished at all points with good store of armor, vittell, and other necessities. Surelie they deserued well, who gaue the first aduenture: and they also are much to be commended, which continued the same: but they deserued best, who went ouer last. For they not onelie did establish and confirme the authoritie and dooings of the first and second, but also made a finall end, and brought the whole countrie into subiECTION. But alas, by reason of their too hastie returning from thense, and of the vnnaturall warres and rebellion of the sonnes against their father, the land could not be brought to a perfect order, nor the things begun could haue his full perfection. Wherefore, ô noble king, despise not the great trauels and labors of your father, nor yet my poore paines herein. Doo not impart your honor and glorie to the vnworthie and vnthankefull: neither for the coueting of an Iland of siluer to hazard the losse of one of gold: the one far passing and exceeding the other in value. For the gold of Arabia and the siluer of Achaia doo both fill a mans cofer alike: but the one more in price and value than the other. Besides this, there is another thing which might persuade you to be mindfull, and haue some regard of the land of Ireland. It hath pleased God and good fortune to send you manie children, both naturall, and also legitimat; and more hereafter you may haue. It were therefore verie good as you may, to appoint and place in those two kingdomes, two of your sonnes to be gouernors and rulers of them: and vnder them to appoint a great number of your men, and endow them liberallie with great liuings and liuelehoods; and especiallie in Ireland, which as yet is rude, vnnurtured, and nothing to the purpose by our men inhabited. But if so be that neither for the increasing of your owne honor, the inriching of your treasure, nor for the aduancing of your children, you will haue respect to your realme of Ireland; yet haue some consideration of your poore veterans and old seruitors, who haue most faithfullie and trustilie serued both you and your father, and by whose seruice that realme of Ireland was first conquered; and is yet kept and reteined; and yet are supplanted by such yoong nouices and yoonkers as are of late gone thither, to inioy and to succeed into the fruits of other mens trauels, fortune better fauouring them, than vertue commending. And the follie of these men is growne to such a pride and arrogancie, that as it is said, they are greatlie to be suspected to aspire and to vsurpe the whole seigniorie and dominion to themselues, which it lieth you vpon to see to be quailed and abated.

And in following these your Irish affaires, you are to haue great care and regard, that when so euer you doo march and take anie iourneie, either for the vanquishing of the enimie, or for the reuenging of anie wrongs and iniuries; that you haue alwaies an eie backward, and leaue all things behind you in such safe and sure order, that no danger thereof doo insue vnto you. For why, the houshold enimies be alwaies working of wiles, and waiting for an aduantage; and doo but looke when time and place may serue for them to rebell: and therefore you are to haue great care and good regard, that you doo leaue all things behind you in safetie, and out of danger: and that you doo not suffer the serpent to lurke and hide himselfe, as it were

were in your bosome : nor to nourish and rake vp the fire as it were in your lap, the same being readie to breake out into great flames : for this shall not onelie be counted a great retchlesnesse, but also a great follie in you, and to your great reproch. It is verie expedient therefore to euerie prince, that in his land he doo not foster and mainteine anie such Hydras and venemous serpents. And for princes of Ilands, it should be good for them, that they in their dominions and realmes haue in no side anie other marches than the seas it selfe. But if it be so, that you will not be persuaded for anie of the foresaid reasons, to haue regard or remorse to your said land, being so oftentimes desolated, and almost vtterlie destroyed ; that it may be reduced to some better order and state, whereby it may be more profitable to your selfe and vnto yours : then I praie you to pardon vs Welshmen, notwithstanding we be of nature somewhat rash ; and giue vs leaue to put you in remembrance touching which your father, for the aduancement of himselfe and of his posteritie, did promise to pope Adrian, when he first procured licence and libertie to inuade and to conquer the realme of Ireland. The first is, that you would set vp the true religion, and reforme the church of God in that realme : and then, as you doo now in England, so also in Ireland, you doo cause to be paied out of euerie house the Peter pence, according to the tenure of the said priuilege by your father obtained, and which remaineth in the treasure of Winchester ; that you maie so deliuer your fathers soule, and satisfie his promise. For why, as Salomon saith : A lieng toong beseemeth not a king, especially when he shall liue to God, and being a creature, wittinglie to offend his creator ; for that is an offense verie heinous and dangerous.

And forsomuch as you are to answer before the high and strict iudge, hauing nothing for your excuse and defense than as before is said, for the so much innocent blood by your father and your selfe alredie shed, and which hereafter maie be shed : you ought to be verie carefull and diligent, that Gods anger maie be appeased, and your fathers promise be performed : that God being thus honored for this conquest, you maie haue a prosperous successe, and all yours in this world : and also after this life inioie that perpetuall felicitie, which surpasseth all ioie and felicitie. And because you haue not kept nor performed these promises, these two defects by Gods iust iudgement are fallen vnto you. The one is, that this conquest could neuer be brought to his full effect and perfection. The other is, that they which were the cheefest and most principall seruitors in this conquest, namelie Robert Fitzstephans, who first entered into the land, and made waie vnto others, Henrie of monte Moris, Reimond, Iohn de Courcie, and Meilerius, neuer had anie lawfull issue of their bodies begotten. And no maruell : for notwithstanding the happie and fortunat successe, of the conquest, the poore cleargie was neuer considered, but were driuen to beg ; and the cathedrall churches which were richlie indued with great liuelehoods, possessions, and territories, were altogether wasted and spoiled. These things a good prince of his honor ought to see to be redressed, and to prouide that the cleargie, who are and ought faithfullie to assist and serue him in all weightie causes of counsell and importance, should be releued, and inioie the honor vnto them belonging, and that small portion which was promised vnto them ; that God in some things maie be appeased and satisfied for these cruell and bloudie conquests. And moreouer, vnder your patience we saie also, that for the perpetuall memorie of this conquest made by Englishmen, and because in processe of time, and course of yeares, there happeneth great change of lords, and manie times the inheritance commeth to such as are furthest remoued in kinred, that therefore there be a yearelie tribute rated and yeilded vnto the king, to be
 paid

paied in gold or such commodities as that land best yeeldeth: and that this be comprised in a publike instrument, that the whole world maie know how the realme and land of Ireland is subiect to the crowne of England. And forsomuch as things doone, being put and registred in writing, and to be read by an interpretor, are not sensible, nor so well vnderstanded of the hearer, as when he maie or dooth read the same in his owne speech and language; it were verie good (in my opinion) that some learned man, and skilfull in the French toong, should translate the same into French.

SYLVESTER GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS,

HIS VATICINALL HISTORIE OF THE

CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

The figures of (1) (2) (3) &c: set before certeine words of the chapters, are to be conferred with the like in the scholies or interpretations following euerie chapter, whereby the authors meaning is opened: this by the waie of a necessarie caueat to the reader in breuitie.

How Dermon Mac Morogh king of Leinster fled out of his countrie vnto Henrie the second king of England for aid and succour.

CHAP. 1.

DERMON (1) Mac Morogh prince of (2) Leinster & gouernour of the fift part or portion of Ireland, did in our time possesse & inioie the east part of the land, which bordereth and lieth towards England: being disseuered from the same by the maine seas. This man from his verie youth, and first entrie into his kingdome, was a great oppressor of his gentlemen, and a cruell tyrant ouer his nobles: which bred vnto him great hatred and malice. Besides this, there befell to him an other mischéepe: for Ororike prince of (3) Meth was gone in a iornie, leauing his wife the daughter of Omolaghlin behind, in a certeine Iland in Meth: there to remaine and tarie vntill his returne. She (I saie) and this Dermon had béene long inamoured and in loue the one with the other: and she watching a time how to haue loue and lust satisfied, taketh the aduantage of hir husbands absence, and yéeldeth hir selfe to be rauished, bicause she would be rauished: for by hir owne procurement and intisings, she became and would needs be a preie vnto the preier. Such is the variable & fickle nature of a woman, by whome all mischiefes in the world (for the most part) doo happen and come, as maie appeare by (4) Marcus Antonius, and by the destruction of (5) Troie. King Ororike being aduertised hereof, was foorthwith maruellouslie troubled & in a great choler, but more griued for shame of the fact than for sorrow or hurt; and therefore is fullie determined to be auenged: and foorthwith assembleth all his people and neighbors, as also procured into his aid and for his helpe Rothorike king of (6) Connagh and then monarch of all Ireland. The people of Leinster considering in what distresse their prince was, and how on euerie side he was beset of his enimies, they also call to mind the old sores and griefes, which they of long time had dissembled: & to be auenged & awrecked thereof, they make league and become friends with their enimies, and vtterlie leaue and forsake their king. Dermon séeing himselfe thus

forsaken and left destitute, and that fortune frowned vpon him (for he had oftentimes incountered with his enimies and euer had the woorst) determined at length, as to his last refuge to flie ouer the seas, and to seeke for some better chance. By this euent and sequele of this man, as also by manie other like examples it appeareth, that it is better for a prince to rule ouer a people, which of a good will and loue doo obeie him, than ouer such as be froward and stubborne. This (6) Nero well felt and (7) Domitianus well knew (8) and Henrie duke of Saxonie and Bauiere well tried. It is more necessarie and expedient for a prince to be rather beloued than feared. In deed it is good to be feared; so that the feare doo procéed rather from a good will than of compulsion. For whatsoever is outwardlie onelie and to the shew loued and receiued, the same of consequence must be feared: but whatsoever is feared, that is not forthwith loued. Wherefore feare must be so tempered with loue, that neither a remisse good will doo wax into a coldnesse, neither feare grounded vpon a rash insolencie be turned and become tyrannie. Loue did enlarge the empire of (9) Augustus, but feare shortened the life of (10) Iulius Cesar. Well, Mac Morogh following fortune, and yet in hope that once againe she will turne hir wheele, hauing wind and wether at will, taketh ship, passeth ouer the seas, and went vnto Henrie the second king of England, and most humblie and earnestlie praieth his helpe and succor. Who being then in the remote places in France and Aquitaine, and busied in great and weightie affaires; yet most courteouslie he receiued him and liberallie rewarded him. And the king hauing at large and orderlie heard the causes of his exile and of his repaire vnto him, he tooke his oth of allegiance and swore him to be his true vassall and subiect: and therevpon granted and gaue him his letters patents in maner and forme as followeth.

Henrie king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou, vnto all his subiects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other nations and people being his subiects sendeth greeting. Whensoever these our letters shall come vnto you, know ye that we haue receiued Dermon prince of Leinster into our protection, grace, and fauour: wherefore whosoever within our iurisdiction will aid and helpe him, our trustie subiect, for the recouerie of his land, let him be assured of our fauour and licence in that behalfe.

Henrie the 2.
king of Englands
stile and letter.

(1) Dermon is in Latine *Dermitius*, and Morogh is in Latine *Murchardes*, and are meere Irish names: and for a difference giuen commonlie to a child at his birth or christening: Mac Morogh is a word compounded of Mac which is a sonne and of Morogh the proper name of a man, and so Mac Morogh is the sonne of Morogh: the Latine name is *Marchardides*, which is to saie *De Murcharde*, or of Morogh: according to the Welsh phrase in which the word ap is vsed in the same sense. And this is common to the Irish & Welsh, for they call not anie man by the name of his familie or nation as is vsed in England: but by the name of difference giuen to his father, as in this example: Dermon being Moroghs sonne is called Dermon Mac Morogh. But this name of Mac Morogh is since turned and become the name of a familie or nation: for by reason that this Mac Morogh was a noble and valiant man aboue all the rest of his nation in his daies: therefore his sequele and posteritie haue euer since and doo yet keepe that name. Some are of the mind that Morogh and Maurice are one name: but the Latine differences importeth the contrarie, and the one is a meere Irish name, and the other a Welsh, and borrowed out of Wales.

(2) Leinster in Latine *Lagenia*, is one of the fve parts or portions of Ireland (for into so manie is the whole land diuided.) It lieth vpon the east seas, and extendeth in length from the further point of the territorie of Dublin, which is at the riuier of the Boine by Drogheda in the north, vnto the riuier of the Surie which flecteth by the citie of Waterford in the south. In it are one and thirtie cantreds

cantreds otherwise named baronies or hundreds. It was sometimes diuided into fiue, but now into seauen counties, that is, Dublin, Kildare, Catherlogh, Kilkennie, Wexford, Leax, now called the queenes countie, and Offalie called the kings countie. There are also in it one archbishop; namelie Dublin, and foure bishopriks; that is, Kildare, Fernes, Leighlin, and Ossorie.

(3) Meth in Latine *Media* is one of the fiue portions of Ireland according to the first diuision. It is the least portion being but of eightéene cantreds, but yet the best and most fertile, and lieth for the most part all within the English pale: and euer since the conquest of king Henrie the second, hath béene subiect and obedient to the English lawes and gouernement: and bicause it lieth as it were in the nauill or bowels of the land, it taketh the name accordinglie, being called *Media*, which is the middle. In it is but one bishop and the suffragan, and vnder the primat or archbishop of Ardmach. His see is at Trim and his house at Arbraghin. There was no prince sole gouernour of this as was of the other portions: bicause it was alwaies allowed & allotted to the monarch, whome they called *Maximum regem*, or *Regem Hibernie*, as a surplus towards his diet.

(4) Marcus Antonius was a famous and a noble Romane, excelling in wisdome, knowledge and learning all the Romane princes in his daies; as also a verie noble and a valiant man in the fields, hauing attained to great victories and atchiued to sundrie conquests. And yet notwithstanding being married to Cleopatra queene of Egypt, he so doted vpon hir, and was so bewitched in loue of hir: that leauing all his woonted manners, he consumed his whole time in hir companie, and in the end was more infamous for his vitious, disordered, and loose life, than before commended for his prowesse and vertue.

(5) Troia called also Ilion, was an ancient and a famous citie in Asia the lesse, and situated in the prouince of Dardania, builded by Tros the sonne of king Ericthonius, who called it after his owne name. It was a citie verie large, strong, and rich, and in those daies thought impregnable; & yet by means that Helena was rauished, the same was in the end vtterlie subuerted and destroied: the historie is this. Priamus the king of Troie had by his wife Hecuba a sonne named Paris or Alexander: he dreamed on a time that Mercurius should bring vnto him the thrée ladies, Venus, Iuno, and Minerua, that he should giue his iudgement which was the fairest and most beautifull of them. Then Venus, to haue the iudgement for hir and in hir behalfe, did promise him that he should haue for the same the fairest woman in all Gréece. Not long after, Paris being in his fathers court in Troie, there were great spéeches made of Helena and of hir passing beautie. She was wife to Menelaus king of Sparta in Gréece. Whervpon Paris calling to memorie his former dreame, and also inflamed with a feruent desire to see so faire a ladie, maketh preparation both of ships and of men to saile into Greece. Howbeit, some write that he was sent by the king his father in an ambassage to king Menelaus: but whether it was so or not, certeine it is he went thither, and was receiued with all courtesie, and had his interteinement in king Menelaus house. Paris hauing viewed and beholden quéene Helena, he was not so much warmed before vpon the onelie report of hir, as now inflamed with hir passing forme and beautie; and taking the aduantage of king Menelaus absence, perforce taketh Helena, spoileth the kings house, and carieth all awaie with him. Menelaus at his returne home, being dismayed at so sudden a change and chance, and gréeued with such an iniurie, sendeth his messenger first to Paris, and then his ambassadours to king Priamus for restitution and amends. But when no intreatie could take place nor requests be heard, the Grecians not minding to beare with such an iniurie, doo all consent to be auenged thereof: and therefore with all their force and power doo prepare to giue warres vnto Troie, and make choise of Agamemnon the kings brother to be their

capteine. The warres were cruell and long, and endured for the space of ten yeares, but in the end Troie was taken, spoiled, and also destroyed.

(6) Nero, whose name at the first was Claudius Domitius, was in his youthfull yeares well disposed to good letters, & giuen to honest exercises. And Claudius the emperor hauing good liking of him, adopted him to be emperor, and married him vnto his daughter. After the death of Claudius, he being emperor, did gouerne well enough the first fife yeares: but thensefoorth he waxed so vicious, and became so horrible in all dissolute wantonnesse, prodigalitie, monstrous lecherie, couetousnesse, and all other most wicked vices: that he seemed to be borne to the destruction of the whole world. - And in the end he was and became so odious to the whole world, that it was decreed by the senat, and sentence giuen, that he should be beaten and whipped to death. Which thing he perceiuing, fled out of Rome, and finding none that would kill him, did runne himselfe thorough with his owne sword, saing; "Most wickedlie haue I liued, and most shamfullie shall I die."

(7) Domitianus, the brother of Titus, and sonne of Vespasian the emperors, was nothing like vnto them, but altogether resembled & was of the nature and disposition of Nero: for at the first entrie into the empire, he did to his commendation sundrie good acts; but in the end he became so wicked a man and so cruell a tyrant, that he generallie was hated of ail men, and abhorred of his owne familie, of whom some of them, to rid the common wealth from so wicked a member, did murther and kill him in his owne chamber.

(8) This Henrie was the sonne of Henrie the third of that name, and emperor of Rome, he was king of the Romans in his fathers time, and emperor next after him. His father died, he being verie yoong, and left him to the gouernement of the empresse his mother; who during his minoritie did rule and gouerne the empire in verie good order: but when he himselfe came to the sole gouernment, great dissensions fell betwene him and his nobles, bicause he contemned, despised, & oppressed them. He gaue himselfe to wantonnesse and pleasure, and little esteemed the execution of iustice; by means whereof he had manie enemies, who sought what they might to depose him both of empire and of his life. The pope also and he were for the most part in continuall debates and strifes, and who was the cheefe cause whie he was so ouerset and hated of his nobles. And being thus ouermatched and in the hatred both of the temporall and ecclesiasticall estates, he for verie sorrow languished and pined awaie, and so died.

(9) Augustus was the sonne of Octauianus a senator in Rome, who married Accia the daughter of Iulius Cesar, and was first named Octauianus Iulius Cesar. His vncke hauing no son, adopted him, made him his heire, and appointed him to be his successor in the empire. After the death of the said Iulius, the state by reason he was so cruellie murdered, was maruelouslie troubled and in great perils. But this Octauianus hauing attained to sit in Iulius Cesars seat, did so prudentlie order and direct his gouernement, that he did not onelie reduce and restore the citie and empire of Rome to a quietnesse; but also increased the same with the conquests of sundrie nations. Such also were his excellent vertues in wisdom, magnanimitie, courtesie, affabilitie, & liberalitie, and such others; that all people were not onelie rauished in loue with him, but also came and resorted of all nations vnto Rome, to visit, see, and heare him. And hauing stablished the empire in quietnesse, enlarged it with manie nations, & increased vnto himselfe the vniuersall loue of all people, the senat gaue him not onelie the name of Augustus, but gaue vnto him also the titles of the highest and greatest honors, and was called "Summus pontifex perpetuus dictator & pater patriæ," and yéelded vnto him the whole power and empire of the sole monarch of the world, now reposing that in him alone,

which

which rested before in the senat and people of Rome. These be the fruites when a prudent magistrat and a wise gouernour ruleth in loue and gouerneth in wisdom.

(10) Iulius Cesar was the sonne of Lucius Iulino a noble Romane, and came and descended of the ancient house of the Iulies, who were of the race of Aeneas: he was as noble a man as euer Rome brought fourth, and excellent in all respects: most valiant and fortunate in the warres, and verie prudent in the ciuill gouernement, verie well learned, and a notable orator: he deserued well of his common wealth, for he enriched the same with the conquests which he made ouer sundrie nations. But his ambitious mind and immoderate desire to reigne alone, and to be the sole monarch of the world, drowned all the good vertues which were in him, and for which all the nations feared him, the citizens of Rome hated him, and the senators enuied him: and in the end a conspiracie was made for the murthering of him, and by the senators executed. For he on a certeine daie, vpon occasion being come into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, although he wanted not sufficient warnings before giuen him, was there wounded in two and thirtie places to death, and so murthered.

The returne of Dermon Mac Morogh from king Henrie through England, and of his abode at Bristow and other places in Wales.

CHAP. 2.

DERMON Mac Morogh, hauing receiued great comfort and courtesie of the king, taketh his leaue, and returneth homeward through England. And albeit he had béene verie honourable and liberallie rewarded of the king: yet he comforted himselfe more with the hope of good successe to come, than with liberalitie receiued. And by his dailie iornieng he came at length vnto the noble towne of (1) Bristow, where bicause ships and botes did dailie repaire and come from out of Ireland, and he verie desirous to heare of the state of his people and countrie, did for a time sojorne and make his abode: and whilest he was there he would oftentimes cause the kings letters to be openlie red, and did then offer great interteiment, and promised liberall wages to all such as would helpe or serue him; but it serued not. At length Gilbert the sonne of Gilbert, earle of Chepstone (2) came to see him and to talke with him: and they so long had conferred together, that it was agréed and concluded betwéene them, that the erle in the next spring then following, should aid and helpe him: and in consideration thereof, the said Dermon should giue him his onelie daughter and heire to wife, together with his whole inheritance, and the succession into his kingdome. These things orderlie concluded, Dermon Mac Mórogh being desirous (as all others are) to see his naturall-countrie, departed and tooke his iourneie towards S. Dauids head or stone (3) in south Wales: for from thence is the shortest cut ouer into Ireland, the same being not a daies sailing, and which in a faire daie a man may ken and discerne. At this same time Rice Fitzgriffith was cheefe ruler vnder the king in those parties; and Dauid the second, then bishop of S. Dauids, had great pitie and compassion vpon his distresse, miserie, and calamitie.

Dermon thus languishing and lieng for passage, comforted himselfe as well as he might, sometime drawing and as it were breathing the aire of his countrie, which he seemed to breath and smell, sometimes viewing and beholding his countrie,

which

which in a faire daie a man may ken and descrie. At this time Robert Fitzstephans vnder Rice had the gouernement, & was constable of Abertelic the cheefe towne in Caretica (4) and by the treacherie and treason of his owne men was apprehended, taken and deliuered vnto Rice, and by him was kept in prison thrée yeares, but now deliuered, vpon condition he should take part and ioine with Griffith against the king. But Robert Fitzstephans, considering with himselfe that on his fathers side (who was a Norman) he was the kings naturall subiect, although by his mother the lādie Nesta, daughter to the great Rice Fitzgriffith, he were coosen germane to the said Fitzgriffith, chose rather to aduenture his life, and to séeke fortune abrode and in forren countries, than to hazard his faith, credit, and fame, to the slander, reproch, and infamie of himselfe, and of his posteritie. At length by the earnest mediation and intercession of Daudid then bishop of S. Dauids, and of Maurice Fitzgerald, which were his halfe brothers by the mothers side, he was set free and at libertie: and then it was agréed and concluded betwéene them and Mac Morogh, that he the said Mac Morogh should giue and grant vnto the said Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, the towne of (5) Wexford, with two (6) cantreds of land adioining, & to their heires in fée for euer: and they in consideration thereof, promised to aid and helpe him to recouer his lands the next spring then following: and to be then with him without all faile if wind and weather so serued. Dermon being wearie of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therfore the more desirous to draw homewards for the recouerie of his owne, and for which he had so long trauelled and sought abroad: he first went to the church of S. Dauids to make his orisons and praiers, and then the wether being faire, and wind good, he aduentureth the seas about the middle of August; and hauing a merrie passage, he shortlie landed in his ingratefull (7) countrie: and with a verie impatient mind, hazarded himselfe among and through the middle of his enimies; and comming safelie to (8) Fernes, he was verie honorable receiued of the cleargie there: who after their abilitie did refresh and succour him: but he for a time dissembling his princelie estate, continued as a priuat man all that winter following among them.

(1) Bristow in the old time was named Odera, afterwards Venta, and now *Bristolium*, and standeth vpon the riuer Hauinum which is nauigable, & flecteth into Seuerne or the Seuerne seas: in it there are two rodes, the one named Kingrode, fíue miles distant from Bristow, in which the ships doo ride. The other is named Hongrode, a place where the ships lie bedded, and this is thrée miles from Bristow. It standeth vpon the borders or confines of the prouince of Glocestershire and Summersetshire: some would haue it to be in the marches and vnder the principallitie, but in the old times it was parcell of the valleie of Bath, which was the metropole of Summersetshire. It is verie old, ancient and honorable, and sometimes named but a towne: but since for desert and other good considerations, honoured with the name and title of a citie, as also is made a seuerall prouince or countie of it selfe, being distinct from all others; hauing a maior and aldermen according to the ancient times, as also two shiriffes according to the latter grants, by whome the same is directed and gouerned. It is the chéefest emporium in that part of England, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants of great wealth, aduentures, and traffikes with all nations: great delings they haue with the Camber people and the Irish nation, the one of them fast bordering vpon them, and the other by reason of the néerensse of the seas, and pleasantnesse of the riuer, dailie resorting by water to and from them.

(2) Chepstone is a market towne in Wales, in that prouince named in old time Venta, being now vnder the principallitie of Wales. In times past it was named Strigulia,

Strigulia, whereof Richard Strangbow being earle he tooke his name, being called *Comes Strigulensis*.

(3) S. Davids head or stone is the promontorie in west Wales, which lieth and reacheth furthest into the seas towards Ireland: and the same being a verie high hill, a man shall the more easilie discern in a faire daie the countrie of Wexford: for that is the neerest part of Ireland vnto that part of Wales. Not farre from this promontorie or point is the cathedrall church of saint Davids, which is the sée of the bishop there: it was and is called Meneuia, and was in times past an archbishoprike. But as it is written in the annales of the said church, that in the time of Richard Carew and two of his predecessors bishops there, they were by the kings commandement made to yeeld, and submit themselues vnto the metropolitane sée of Canturburie.

(4) Aberteife is an old ancient towne standing vpon the mouth of the riuier of Teife, and thereof it taketh his name, that is to saie the mouth of Teife, but now it is called Cardigan. The countrie about it was in times past named Caretica, but now Cardiganshire, so Aberteife is Cardigan towne, and Caretica Cardiganshire.

(5) Wexford in Latine named *Guesfordia*. is next after Dublin the chiefest towne in Leinster, it lieth full vpon the seas, but the hauen is a barred hauen and dangerous: from it is the shortest cut out of Ireland into England, if you doo touch and take land either at saint Davids or at Milford.

(6) A cantred (as Giraldus saith) is a word compounded of the British and of the Irish toongs, and containeth so much ground as wherein are one hundred villages: which in England is termed a hundred. Men of later time to declare the same more plainelie, doo saie that it contained thirtie villages, & euerie village contained eight plough lands. Other saie that a cantred containeth twentie townes, and euerie towne hath eight plough lands arable, besides sufficient pasture in euerie for threé hundred kine, and none to annoie another; and euerie plough land containeth six score acres of land Irish, and euerie Irish acre farre exceedeth the content of the common acre.

(7) The place where Dermon landed is named Glasse caerge, it is a creeke or a baie lieng vpon the open seas, and in the countie of Wexford, sithence there was builded a monasterie which was and is dissolved.

(8) Fernes is the sée and cathedrall church of the bishop, whose diocesse is the countie of Wexford, it lieth néere in the middle of the prouince of Leinster, and was somtimes a church well adorned and mainteined, but now in great ruine and decaie, the bishop & chapiter not remaining there at all. There is also a strong fort of the princes, wherein sometimes was kept a garrison at the princes charges, but now onelie a constable is placed therein, and he hath the sole charge thereof.

*The going ouer and landing of Robert Fitzstephans and of his companie in Ireland,
and of the winning of the towne of Wexford.*

CAP. 3.

IN the meane time Robert Fitzstephans, not vnmindfull nor carelesse of his word and promise, prepareth and prouideth all things in a readinesse, and being accompanied with thirtie gentlemen of seruice of his owne kinsfolks & * certene armed men, and about threé hundert or archers and footmen, which were all of the best chosen and piked men in Wales, they all ship and imbarke themselues in threé sundrie barkes, and sailing towards Ireland, they land about the calends of Maie at the (1) Banne. Then was the old prophesie of Merlin fulfilled, which was, that A. 2) knight

* Threé score
other in racks.

knight biparted should first enter with force in arms & breake the bounds of Ireland. If you will vnderstand the myserie herof, you must haue respect to his parents, for his father was a Norman and an Englishman, his mother the noble ladie Nesta was a Camber or a Britaine, in his companie also was Herueie of Mont Maurice, a man infortunat, vnarmed, and without all furniture: but he traueilling in the behalfe of the earle Richard, to whome he was vncke, was rather a (3) spie than a souldier. On the next daie following Maurice of Prendelgast a (4) lustie and a hardie man, and borne about Milford in west Wales, he with ten gentlemen of seruice, and a good number of archers imbarke themselues in two ships, and arriue also at the Banne. These men thus landed at the Banne, and not standing well assured of their safetie, by reason their comming was blowen abroad through the whole countrie, they with all hast sent messengers to Dermon, aduertising him of their comming. Wherevpon diuerse of that countrie, who dwelling vpon the sea coasts, and who when fortune frowned had and did shrinke awaie from Dermon, now perceiuing that she fauored him againe, returned and fawned vpon him; according to the saieng of the poet in these words:

“As fortune so the faith of man doth stand or fall.”

Mac Morogh, assoone as he heard of their landing and coniming, sent his base son Donold, a valiant gentleman vnto them with fife hundred men: and verie shortlie after he himselfe also followed with great ioie and gladnesse. And then when they had renewed their former couenants and leagues, and had sworne each one to the other, to obserue the same and to kéepe faith: then, though they were people of contrarie dispositions, yet now being good fréends and all of one mind, they ioine their forces together, and with one consent doo march towards the towne of Wexford, which is about twelue miles distant from the Banne. When they of the towne heard therof, they being a fierce and vnrule people, but yet much trusting to their woonted fortune, came foorth about two thousand of them, and were determined to wage and giue battell. But when they saw their aduersaries armie to be better set in order than in times past, and that the horssemen were well armed with armour and shield shining bright: then vpon new chances & changes taking new counsels, they set on fire and burned their suburbs, and retired into the towne.

Fitzstephans minding and preparing to giue the assault, filleth the ditches with armed men, and setteth his archers to marke and watch well the turrets of the wals: which things doone, he with great showtes and force giueth the assault. The townesmen within being readie to stand at defense, cast ouer the wals great peeces of timber & stones, and by that meanes hurting manie, made the rest to giue ouer and retire. Among whom a lustie yoong gentleman named Robert Barrie, being hot and of a lustie courage, and nothing afraid of death, so he might atchiue vnto honour, giueth the first aduenture to scale the wals: but he was stricken with a great stone vpon the headpeece, wherwith he fell headlong downe into the ditch and escaped verie hardlie, for with much adoo did his fellowes draw & pull him out of the place. About sixteene yeares after, all his great teeth with the force and violence of this stroke fell out; and that which is verie strange, new téeth grew vp in their places. Vpon this repulse they all retired and withdrew themselues from the wals, & assembled themselues vpon the sea strands, where foorthwith they set on fire all such ships and vessels as they could there find. Among whome was one merchant ship latelie come out of England laden with wines and corne, which there laie then at anchor, and a companie of these lustie youths hauing gotten botes for the purpose, would haue taken hir: which the mariners perceiuing, suddenlie cut their cabels and hoised vp their sailes, & the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, they recouered the seas. These youths still following them, had almost
lost

lost all and marred the market: for if others their fellowes had not made good shift and rowed a good pace after them they would searselie haue recovered the land againe. Thus fortune, which is onlie constant in inconstancie, seemed to haue forsaken Morogh and Fitzstephans, and to haue left them destitute of all hope and comfort: neuerthelesse, on the next morow hauing heard diuine seruice through the whole campe, they determine with better aduise and circumspection to giue a new assault, & with lustie courages drew to the wals. The townesmen within seeing this, began to distrust themselues, & to consider how most vnnaturallie and vniustlie they had rebelled against their prince & souereigne: whervpon being better aduised, they send messengers to him to intreat for peace. At length by the earnest intercession and mediation of two bishops, and certeine good and peaceable men which were within the towne, peace was granted; and foure of the best & chiefest men within the towne were deliuered and giuen for pledges and hostages, for the true kéeping of the peace and their fidelitie. Mac Morogh, to gratifie his men in these his first successes, and to acquit the first aduenturors, did (according to his former promise and couenant) giue vnto Robert Fitzstephans and Maurice Fitzgerald the towne of Wexford, and the territories therevnto adioining and appertaining, and vnto Herueie of Mont Morice he gaue in fee two cantreds, lieng on the sea side betwéene Wexford and Waterford.

(1) The Banne is a little créeke lieng in the countie of Wexford, neere to Fithier a fisher towne, which is belonging to the bishop of that diocesse, the open seas being on the east and not farre from the hauen mouth of Waterford on the south: and as it should séeme, Fitzstephans and his companie mistooke the place or were driuen in there, the same being verie vnapt for a harborow: but the same being the place of the first receipt of Englishmen, there were certeine monuments made in memorie thereof, and were named the Banna & the Bocne, which were the names (as the common fame is) of the two greatest ships in which the Englishmen there arriued.

(2) A knight biparted. The prophesie was not onelie verified in respect of the parents of Robert Fitzstephans, the one being a Norman Saxon, and the other a Camber: but also in respect of his armes and ensigne which were biparted being of two sundrie changes, namelie partie per pale gules, and ermine a saltier counter-changed. For commonlie all prophesies haue their allusions vnto armes, and by them they are discouered, though at the first not so appearing before the euent thereof.

(3) Gentlemen. The Latine word is *Milites*, which in the now common speeches is termed knights, a name of worship and honour: but the word it selfe importeth and meaneth men expert and skilfull to serue in the wars, whether it be on foot or horssebacke. In times past when men ruled by the sword, then such as were valiant and of good experience grew into credit and estimation; and the people did make choise of such to gouerne, rule, and defend them, and who for their excellent vertues were called *Nobiles*, which in English is gentlemen. And then men being ambitious of honour, did contend who might best excell in feats of prowesse and chiuallrie: some deliting to excell in the seruice on foot: and bicause they vsed chiefly the target and shield, they tooke their name thereof, & were called *Scutiferi*. Some practised chiefly the seruice on horssebacke, and they (according to the manner of their seruice) were named *Equites*: but both the one and the other were in processe of time called *Armigeri*, in English esquiers: and this is taken for a degré somewhat aboue the estate of a onelie gentleman. And for somuch as seruice in the fields did carie awaie with it the greatest honor and credit, and princes willing & desirous to incourage gentlemen to excell that waie and in that

kind of seruice, they deuised a third degree of honour named knighthood. And this, as it excelleth the others before and not to be giuen but for great desert: so to increase the credit and estimation thereof, it was not to be giuen but with great solemnities and ceremonies; and the person so to be honored, was to be adorned with such ornaments as doo speciallie apperteine to the furniture of such seruice, as namelie a sword, a target, a helme, a paire of spurres, and such like: and they which were thus aduanced were named *Milites* or knights, and thus the name of seruice was turned to the name of worship: yea this degree did grow and wax to be of such credit, honor and estimation, that kings and princes were and would be verie circumspect and aduised, before they would dub or promote anie man to this estate. Wherefore considering the estate, nature & worship of a knight, and weieng also the course of this historie, it cannot be intended that all they which went ouer and serued in this conquest, though they were named *Milites*, that therefore they should be compted & taken for knights of worship and high calling: but that they were such as were expert and skilfull to serue in warres according to the nature of the word *Miles*. Wherefore I haue and doo English the word *Miles* in this historie a gentleman of seruice.

(4) A spie, not to watch the dooings of his countrimen, whereby to take them in a trip, but to note, marke and consider the nature, maner, and disposition of the countrie and people: whereby to aduertise the earle how he should prouide and order his dooings against his comming ouer into the land.

(5) Maurice of Prendalgast was doubtlesse a valiant gentleman, and borne and bred in west Wales, in or about the prouince of Penbroke. He is not named nor mentioned in some books of this historie; but I finding in such exemplars as I haue of best credit, doo thinke I should haue doone wrong to haue omitted him. There are yet of his race, posteritie and name, remaining at these daies in the countie of Wexford, and elsewhere.

Of the ouerthrow giuen in Ossorie, and of the submission of the king thereof.

CHAP. 4.

THESE things thus doone and ended as they would themselues, they increase their armie with the townesmen of Wexford, and being then about thrée thousand men, they march towards (1) Ossorie, whereof Donald was then the prince, & who of all the rebels was the most mortall enimie which Mac Morogh had. For on a time he hauing the said Dermons eldest son in his ward and handfast, was in gealousie of him, and mistrusted him with his wife: wherevpon he did not oulie shut him vp in a closer prison; but also to be auenged thereof, and of other supposed iniuries, putteth out both of his (2) eies. First then Dermon and his companie enter into Ossorie, but they durst not march or aduenture anie further than to the midst of the countrie, because the whole countrie else was full of woods, streicts, passes, and bogs, and no waie at all for men to trauell. But when they met and incountered with the Ossorians, they found nor cowards nor dastards, but valiant men, and who stood well to the defense of their countrie, and manfullie resisted their enimies. For they trusted so much to their woonted good fortune and succeesse in such like affaires, that they shroonke not a whit from them, but draue them perforce out of the bogs and woods, and followed them into the champaine countrie.

Robert Fitzstephans being in the plaine and open fields with his horsemen, and seeing that the Ossorians being there he had the aduantage of them, giueth most fiercelie

fiercelie the onset vpon them, and slue a great number of them; and such as straied and were scattered abrode, they either slue them or ouerthrew them: and such as were ouerthrowne, the footmen with their Galloglasses axes did cut off their heads. And thus hauing gotten the victorie, they gathered vp and brought before Dermon Mac Morogh three hundred of their enemies heads, which they laid & put at his féet; who turning euerie of them one by one to know them, did then for ioy hold vp both his hands, and with a lowd voice thanked God most highlie. Among these there was the head of one, whom especiallie and aboue all the rest he mortallie hated. And he taking vp that by the heare and eares, with his teeth most horrible and cruellie bit awaie his nose and lips.

After this, they made a rode through the whole countrie, & marched almost to the vttermost parts, and still as they passed they murdered the people, spoiled, burned, and wasted the whole countrie. And therevpon the prince of Ossorie by the aduise of his friends, maketh sute and intreateth for peace: which obtained (although in verie déed it was but a coloured and a dissembled peace on both sides) they put in their hostages, made fealtie, and were sworne to bee faithfull and true to Mac Morogh, as vnto their lawfull and true lord. In these seruices, as in all other, Robert of Barrie, and Meilerius had the pricke and praise, and shewed themselves of all others the most valiant. Both these yoong gentlemen were nephues to Fitzstephans (4) the one being his brothers sonne, and the other his sisters sonne. They both were of like valiantnesse, but of sundrie dispositions and natures. For Meilerius being ambitious and desirous of honour, referred all his dooings to that end; and whatsoever he attempted, was to aduance his fame and credit, making more account to be reported and haue the name of a valiant man, than to be so in déed. The other being of a certeine naturall disposition both noble and valiant, was neither a gréedie séeke of laud and praise, nor an ambitious crauer of fame and honour; but being alwaies among the best, did rather séeke and trauell to the best, than to be onelie counted the best.

Besides, he was naturallie indued with such a maidenlie shamefastnesse, and no bragger nor boaster, would neither glorifie his dooings, nor yet like well of anie others which would so doo of him. By means whereof it came to passe, that the lesse ambitious and desirous he was of honour, the more the same followed him: for glorie and honour follow alwaies vertue, as the shadow the bodie, shunning them who doo most séeke for hir, & following them who do lest regard hir. And manie men are the more liked of manie, bicause they séeme not to like of anie: and praise, fame, and honour most commonlie, the lesse it is estéemed, the more sooner it is had & gotten. It fortunéd on a time that the armie thus being in Ossorie, they did on a night incampe themselues about an old castell. These two gentlemen as they were euer woont, laie together, and suddenlie there was a great noise, as it were of an infinit number of men, which séemed to breake in and rush in among them, with great force and a rage, destroieng all that euer was, and making a great noise with clashing of their harnesse, and striking of their bils together, and therewithall such a noise and a showt, as though heauen and earth would haue come together.

These kind of phantasmes and illusions doo oftentimes happen in Ireland, especiallie when there be anie hostings. With this noise the more part of the armie was so afraid and dismaid, that for the most part they all fled, some into the woods, and some into the bogs, euerie one séekeing a place where to hide and succour himselfe. But these two onelie tarieng behind, raught to their weapons, and foorthwith full boldlie ran to Fitzstephans tents, and called againe together all such as were thus scattered, and encouraged them to take their weapons, and to stand to defense. Robert of Barrie in all his hurlie burlye, standing alone by himselfe musing, except

a man or two of his owne men about him, did aboue all others not without anie great admiration of manie, and to the great gréepe of such as enuied him, best acquit himselfe. For among other good gifts which were in him, this was speciallie reported of him; that no feare, or force, no sudden mishap or misaduenture whatsoever, could at anie time make him afraid or discomforted, and to flie awaie. For howsoever things fell out and happened, he was alwaies at hand, and in a dines with his weapons to fight. And such a one as is alwaies readie to abide whatsoever shall happen, and to preuent what mischeefs maie insue, is by all mens iudgements counted the best and valiantest man. This man was he, who in this Irish warres was the first who either was striken or hurt. As concerning the fore-said phantasme, this one thing is much noted of it; that in the morning following, when all things were pacified and quieted, the grasse and weeds which the night before stood there vpright and of a great height, did now in the morrow lie downe flat vpon the ground, as though the same had bin troden with great multitude of people, and yet was it most certeine that none had béene there at all.

(1) There be two Ossories, the one named the vpper Ossorie, which is of the ancient inheritance of the Macguilfathrikes, and who are the barons therof; and this lieth in the diocesse of Leighling: the other lieth on the north of Ormond, and is vnder the iurisdiction of the earle of Ormond, who is also the earle thereof, being named earle of Ormond and Ossorie. It is a diocesse of it selfe, and the bishop thereof is named the bishop of Ossorie, whose sée and house is at Kilkennie. It is parcell of the prouince of Leinster and vnder the obeisance then of Dermon Mac Morogh.

(2) This was a courteous kind of punishing, for cōmonlie such is the reuenging nature of the méere Irishman, that albeit he can or doo laie neuer so manie plagues and punishments vpon his enimie: yet is he neuer satisfied, vnlesse he haue also his life, yea and manie not therewith contented, but will vtter their wicked nature euen vpon the dead carcase, as dooth appeare in this chapter of the same Mac Morogh, who finding one of his enemies heads, was not satisfied, vntill in most cruell maner he did with his téeth bite awaie his nose and his lips.

(3) There are in Ireland thrée sorts or degrés of soldiers: the first is the horsseman, who commonlie is a gentleman borne, and he is armed with such armor as the seruice of that countrie requireth: the second degree is the Kernaugh, & he also is a gentleman or a fréeholder borne, but not of that abilitie to mainteine a horsse with his furniture, and therefore he is a light souldier on foot; his armor is both light and slender, being a skull, a left gantlet or a target, a sword and skeine, and thrée or foure darts: the third degree is the Galloglasse, who was first brought in to this land by the Englishmen, and thereof taketh his name. For Galloglas is to saie, an English yeoman or seruant; his armor is a skull, a iacke, an habergeon or shirt of male, a sword and a sparre, otherwise named a Galloglasse ax or halbert, & this man is counted the best souldier on foot, and the strength of the battell. These in all hostings haue attending vpon them a number of boies and kernes, and who doo spoile and kill all such as be ouerthrowne and hurt in the fields.

*The conspiracie of Rothorike monarch of Ireland, and of the residue of the princes
against Mac Morogh and Fitzstephans.*

CHAP. 5.

IN the meane time the wheele of fortune is turned vpside downe, and they which before seemed to stand aloft, are now afraid of sliding: and they which were on high, in perill now to fall. For assoone as it was noised through the whole land of the good successe of Dermon, and of the comming in of strangers into the land, and whereof they were much afraid: Rothorike prince of (1) Conagh, and (2) monarch of the whole land, coniecturing how of small things great doo grow; and considering that by the comming in of strangers, the whole land was in some perill; sendeth abroad his messengers, and summoneth a parlement of the whole land: who being assembled, and the matter at full debated, they doo with one voice and consent conclude and determine to make open warres, and to giue the battell vnto Mac Morogh. And forthwith euerie man hauing made readie both men and armor to his vttermost power, doo ioine all their forces and strengths together, and with maine and strength doo inuade the countrie of Okensile in Leinster.

Dermon Mac Morogh in this distresse was somewhat disquieted, and in a great perplexitie; partlie bicause some of his (but glosing) fréends distrusting the sequele, did shrink from him, & hid themselues: some of them most traitorouslie, contrarie to their oth and promise, were fled to his enimies: and so in this his distresse he had verie few fréends, sauing onlie Robert Fitzstephans and the Englishmen with him. He therefore with such companie as he had, went vnto a certeine place not farre from Fernes, which was compassed and inuironed round about with great thicke woods, high stikle hilles, and with bogs and waters; a place so strong of it selfe, as it was in a maner inaccessible, and not to be entred into. And as soone as they were entred into the same, they forthwith by the aduise of Fitzstephans (3) did fell downe trées, plashed the wood, cast great trenches and ditches round about, and made it so strict, narrow, crooked, and strong, that there was no passage nor entrie for the enimie: and yet by their art and industrie it was made much more strong.

(1) Conagh, in Latine Conacia, is one of the fíue portions of the land, according to the ancient diuision. In it are thirtie cantreds or baronies; and before and vntill the conquest they were under the gouernment of the sept of the O Connors, the eldest man of which sept by the Irish law was ouer the prince: but at the conquest it was giuen to certeine noble men of England, & by certeine descents it came to sir Walter de Burgo, who was lord of that whole prouince and earle of Wolster. From these Burghs descend the Burghs now being in Conagh, they being of a base line, and first were put onlie in trust to kéepe that countrie to the vse of their lords, who then dwelled and remained in England. This countrie lieth betwéene Vlster in the north, Mounster in the south, and the seas in the west. The cheefest and onelie merchant towne or emporium thereof is Gallowaie.

(2) There was alwaies one principall gouernor among the Irish, whom they named a monarch; and he was commonlie either of the Mac Carthies in Mounster, or of the Moroghs in Leinster, or of the O Connors in Connagh, as this Rothorike was. He was elected & chosen by the common consent of all the nobilitie of the land: & being once chosen, all they did homage and fealtie vnto him. The prouince of Meth, which was the least of the fíue seuerall portions, was reserued alwaies vnto him for his diet. For though the Omolaghins did dwell in Meth, and were
great

great inheritors or possessioners there, yet they were not counted for princes as the other were. This monarch did gouerne the whole land vniuersallie, & all the princes were directed by him: in him it laie whether it should be peace or warre; and what he commanded was alwaies doone.

(3) The maner of the Irishrie is to kéepe them selues from force of the enimies, or in the bogs, or in the woods: the one of his nature is so strong as no horsseman is to aduenture into the same; the other with industrie they make strong, by felling of trées & plashing of the woods; and by these means the horssemen (in whom is all the strength of their warres) can haue no passage nor entrie to the enimie, but must either retire, or go on foot, or séeke some other waie. If they will and must néeds passe that waie, they must of necessitie go on foot, and then they are too weake, and easilie to be ouercome by the Kernes, whose seruice is onelie on foot: therefore they doo chéefelie kéepe themselues in such places, as where they can take the aduantage of others, and not others of them.

The description of Dermon Mac Morogh, and of the message of Rothorike O Connor sent vnto him for peace.

CAP. 6.

DERMON Mac Morogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie, a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation: and by reason of his continuall halowing and crieng his voice was hoarse: he rather chose and desired to be feared than to be loued: a great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great aduancer of the poore and weake. To his owne people he was rough and greeuous, and hatefull vnto strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him. Rothorike minding to attempt anie waie whatsoever, rather than to aduenture and wage the battell, sendeth first his messengers with great presents vnto Fitzstephans, to persuade and intreat him: that for so much as he made no chalenge nor title to the land, that he would quietlie, and in peace returne home againe into his owne countrie, but it auailed not. Then they went vnto Mac Morogh himselfe, & persuaded him to take part with Rothorike, and to ioine both their forces and armies in one, and then with might and maine to giue the onset vpon the strangers, and so vtterlie to destroye them. And in this dooing he should haue Rothorike to his good friend, and all Leinster in rest and quietnesse: manie reasons also they alledged concerning their countrie and nation; but all was to no purpose.

The speeches and oration which Rothorike O Connor made vnto his soldiors.

CHAP. 7.

ROTHORIKE O Connor, seeing that by these his deuises and practises he could doo no good at all, and thinking that forsomuch as he could not auaille with words, he with force and armes, as his last remedie and helpe, prepareth his armor, and maketh for the battell: and assembling his people together, maketh vnto them these speeches. "Ye right noble and valiant defenders of your countrie and libertie, let vs consider with what people, and for what causes we are now to fight and wage the battell. That enimie of his owne countrie, that tyrant ouer his owne people, and

and an open enimie vnto all men, and who sometimes was an exiled man: see how he being inuironed with the force of strangers, is now returned, & mindeth the vtter destruction of vs all, and of this his nation. He enuieng the safetie of his countrie and countymen, hath procured and brought in a strange nation vpon vs, that by the helpe of a hatefull people he might satisfie and more effectuallye accomplish his malice, which otherwise by no means he could haue brought to passe. He then being an enimie, hath brought in that enimie which hath béene euer hateful both vnto him, and vnto vs; and who are most gréedie to haue the souereigntie & dominion ouer vs all, protesting and openlie affirming, that by a certeine fatall destinie they are to be rulers ouer this land: yea, & so far hath he shed out his venome, and almost euerie man is so inuenomed therewith, that now no fauor nor mercie is so be shewed. O cruell beast, yea more cruell than euer was beast! for to satisfie his insatiable malice, and to be auenged with the bloudshedding of his owne people, he spareth neither himselfe, nor his countrie, nor sex. This is he who is a most cruell tyrant ouer his owne people: this is he who with the force and helpe of strangers vseth all force and crueltie against all men. He deserueth well therefore to be hated of all, which séeketh to be an enimie vnto all. Looke therefore (yee worthie citizens) well to your selues; I saie looke and consider well how by these meanes, I meane by ciuill discord, all realmes & nations haue for the most part béene ouerthrowen & vanquished. (1) Iulius Cesar minding to inuade Britaine had the repulse twice, & was driuen out by the Britons. But when Androgeus fell at variance with the king, he then to be reuenged, sent againe for Iulius, who thervpon returned and conquered the land. (2) The same Iulius also conquered all the west parts of the world, but when he waxed & became ambitious, & would be a sole monarch, & haue the whole gouernement in himselfe, then discord was raised, & debate was rife, & by that meanes all Italie was filled with murders and slaughters. (3) The Britons being at discord with their king, procured Gurmundus, who then was a terror to all the ocean Iles, that he with the Saxons should pursue and make wars vpon their king, who so did: but in the end to their owne confusion and destruction. Likewise not long after (4) Isembertus the French king, being an enimie to his owne people, and at discord with them, he procured the said Gurmund to aid and helpe him to subdue his people, who so did: but thereof he had but bad successe. Wherefore let vs with one mind like to these Frenchmen stand stoutlie to the defense of our countrie, and couragiouslye giue the onset vpon our enimies. And whiles these strangers be but few in number, let vs lustilie issue out vpon them: for fire whiles it is but in sparkles is soone couered, but when it is in great flames, it is the harder to be quenched. It is good therefore to méet with things at the beginning, and to preuent sicknesse at the first growing: for diseases by long continuance hauing taken déepe root, are hardlie to be cured. We therefore, who are to defend our countrie and libertie, and to leaue to our posteritie an immortall fame: let vs valiantlie, and with a good courage aduenture and giue the onset, that the ouerthrow of a few may be a terror vnto manie; and that by this example all other forren nations may be afraid to aduenture the like attempt."

(1) Iulius Cesar hauing receiued two repulses, retired & tooke shipping, being in an vtter dispaire & not minding to returne anie more. Whervpon Cassibelan then king of the land called & assembled all his nobles to London, where for ioue he kept a great and a solemne feast, and at the same were vsed all such games and pastimes, as in those daies were most accustomed. And at a wrestling game then it chanced two yong gentlemen, the one being nephue to the king, and the other cousine to the erle of London (Kent) to fall at variance, & in the end the kings
nephue

nephue was slaine. The king much grieved therewith sent for the earle, whose name was Androgeus: and because he would not come vnto him he made wars vpon him. The earle considering in what distresse he was, and how farre vnable to incounter the power and withstand the displeasure of the king, sendeth his messenger with his letters vnto Iulius Cesar, and besought him most earnestlie to returne with his armie, and he would aid and helpe him against the king with all the power he had. Iulius Cesar glad of these tidings returneth with all speed, and in the end hath the victorie: and thus by meanes of debate and diuision the relme, which otherwise was thought to be impregnable, was subuerted and made tributarie.

(2) Iulius Cesar hauing happie and fortunate successe in all his affaires, grew into such a liking of himselfe, that he would needs be the sole monarch and emperor ouer the whole world, taking foule euill that according to the ancient gouernement of the Romans anie one should be ioined with him: and ambitiouslie seeking the same, he became dreadfull to the people, lothsome to his friends, and in the displeasure of the senat: who maligning at his aspiring and mistrusting the sequele thereof, conspired his death, and in the end he comming into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, was murthered and slaine.

(3) At this time Careticus was king and ruled ouer Britaine, now named England, who was so vitious a man in all respects, that he became hatefull both to God and man: and his subiects not abiding his tyrannie, nor brooking his wickednesse, fell at diuision with him. Wherevpon Gurmundus then king of Ireland was procured (some saie by the Britons and some saie by the Saxons) who being entered into the land, and seeking by all the meanes they could to be the sole lords of the land, to inuade the land, which he did, and by the helpe of the Saxons droue the king out of his realme into Wales. And the Saxons hauing thus their wils droue also all the Britons out, who from thensefoorth hauing lost the land of Britaine, did inhabit themselves in Wales, Cornewall, and elsewhere, where they might haue refuge and succour. And thus though they were reuenged of their king, yet they themselves in the end felt the smart thereof: for they were all destroyed or banished: such are the fruits of dissention and debate.

(4) This Isembertus was not king of France, but as (Gaufred saith) was nephue to the king: and the land being then in great troubles, this Isembert made title vnto it, and seeking by all the meanes and waies he could how to compasse the same, procured Gurmundus to helpe and aid him, promising him great rewards. Wherevpon Gurmundus passed ouer into France, where he had but an euill successe: for there was he slaine, Isembert ouerthrowne and the French nation preuailed. And herevpon Rothorike taketh an occasion to incourage his people to stand to their tackle, and valiantlie to withstand Mac Morogh, who as Isembert had procured in Gurmundus; so had he flocked in Englishmen to ouerrun his countrie.

The oration and speeches of Mac Morogh to his souldiors and people.

CAP. 8.

MAC Morogh beheld his men, & perceiuing them to be somewhat dismaied and out of heart, framed his speech to recomfort them, and thus saith vnto them. "Ye men of Leinster, truth and kindred in all aduentures hath hitherto ioined us in one fellowship: wherefore let vs now plucke vp our hearts and like men stand to our defense. For why, that wicked and ambitious man Rothorike, the author of all wickednesse & mischief, who desirous to haue the sole souereignetic and dominion dooth

dooth now determine (which God forbid) either to driue vs cleane out of our countrie, or vtterlie to destroie vs: and marke you now how he lifteth vp his head and looketh aloft. He is so proud and glorieth so much in his great multitude, that by ambition and pride he measureth & valueth his force and strength: but yet (for all that) manie times a small number being valiant and well appointed are better and haue preuailed against great troops, being but sluggards and vnarmed. If he make chalenge and pretend title to Leinster, bicause the same sometimes hath beene tributarie to some one king of Conagh, then by the same reason (1) we also maie demand and chalenge all Conagh: for both thereof and of all Ireland our ancestors haue béene the sole gouernors & monarchs. But to the purpose and to speake plainelie, he séeketh not to rule and to reigne as a monarch, but to vsurpe and destroie as a tyrant, to driue vs out of our countrie, to succéed into euerie mans right & inheritance; and so alone to rule the rost, and to be master ouer all.

“Manie there are which doo brag of their great multitudes, and put their trust therein: but let them be well assured that we Leinster men though we be but few in number; yet we neuer were nor yet are affraid to incounter euen with the best & proudest. For why, victorie is not gotten, neither dooth it stand alwaies in the great multitude of people, but in vertue and valiantnesse, in strength and courage. We on our sides against pride, haue humilitie: against wrongs, equitie: against arrogancie, modestie: and against intemperance, discretion & moderation: and these vertues are to fight for vs. Men doo not alwaie atteine vnto victorie by great troops and multitudes of people, but by vertues. The lawes of all nations doo grant and allow to resist and withstand force and iniurie with force and strength: it is a fauourable cause to fight for our countrie, and to defend our patrimonie. And forsomuch as they contend for the gaine, but we to eschew the losse; let vs be of a good courage: we stand vpon a good ground, and our seat is naturallie verie strong of it selfe, as also by our industrie made more strong: but by reason of the streictnesse thereof, the greater the companie is therin, the more comberous and troublesome it will be: and yet to win the victorie, a small companie being valiant, courageous, and of a good agréement shall serue and be sufficient.”

(1) There be (as is said) fíue portions of Ireland, and euerie of them (except Meth which was reserued to the monarch for the time being for his diet) had their particular princes, & none of these did hold anie one of the other: but of some one of them choise was made by the whole estates of the land to be the monarch; and he for the time being did take and receiue homage and fealtie of all the others, not in respect that he was a particular prince, but bicause he was the monarch. And this Mac Morogh allegeth for him selfe, denieng that he held anie of his lands of the king of Connagh otherwise than in respect that he was the monarch.

The oration of Robert Fitzstephans made vnto his companions and souldiors.

CHAP. 9.

WHEN Dermon Mac Morogh had ended his speech, Robert Fitzstephans calleth his companie together, & thus he speaketh vnto them. “Ye lustie yoong men and my companions in warres, which haue abiden with me in manie perils; & yet still of noble minds & valiant courages: if we would now consider with our selues, what we are, vnder what capteine, and wherefore we doo aduenture and attempt these great enterprises, no doubt we shall excell in our woonted valiantnesse, and good

fortune shall be on our side. We first came and descended from the (1) Treims, and since are of the French blond and race: of the one we haue these our noble and valiant minds, and of the other the vse and experience in feats of armes: wherefore being thus descended of noble progenie by two manner of waies and in two respects; as we be now well armed and appointed, so let vs also be of valiant minds and lustie courages: and then no doubt this rascall and naked people shall neuer be able to resist nor withstand vs.

“Besdies you see and know how that at home, partlie by the subtile and craftie dealings of our owne cousines and kinsmen, and partlie by the secret malice and deuises of our familiars and acquaintances, we are béereft & spoiled both of our countrie and patrimonie. And now we are come hither, not as gréedie érauers for large stipends, nor yet as couetous prollers for gaine and lucre: but onlie in respect and consideration to haue and inioie the lands & townes to vs, and to our heires after vs, offered and promised. We are not come hither like pirats or théeués to rob and spoile, but as faithfull friends, to recouer and to restore this noble and liberall gentleman to that his patrimonie, whereof he is spoiled and dispossessed. He it is that hath allured and flocked vs hither; he it is that loueth our nation: and he it is who purposeth to plant and settle vs and our heires in this Ile. And peraduenture by these meanes the whole land, which is now diuided into fíue prouinces or portions, maie be deduced and brought into one, and the same in time be wholie vnto vs and our heires: if that by our valiantnesse and prowesse the victorie be gotten, and Mac Morogh by our seruice, meanes, and industrie be restored, and then the whole dominion to vs and to our heires for euer to be reserued.

“O how great were then our honor & glorie! yea so great, that with the perils of our bodies, losse of our liues, and the dangers of death, it is to be wished for, sought, & aduentured. For why should we be affraid? and what is death I praie you? Is it anie other than a short delaie or distance of time, & as it were a short sléepe betwéene this transitorie life and the life eternall to come? What is death (I saie) but a short passage from vaine and transitorie things to perpetuall and euer-lasting ioies? And certeine it is we must all once die: for it is that ineuitable destinie, which is common to all men, and can be eschewed of no man: for be we idle, and doo nothing worthie of perpetuall fame and memorie; or be we well occupied, whereof insueth praise and honor: yet die shall we. Then the matter being so, let them be affraid of death, who when they die, all things die with them: but let not them shrink nor be dismaied, whose vertue and fame shall neuer die but liue for euer. Wherefore ye worthie men, who are enoblished for your valiantnes and famous for your vertues, let vs with bold minds and good courages giue the onset vpon our enemies, that in vs our noble race & progenie be not stained, but that either by a glorious victorie, or a famous death, we doo atchiue to perpetuall fame and honor.”

How Rothorike intreateth for peace and obtineth the same.

CHAP. 10.

ROTHORIKE, when he had well considered with himselfe how the euent of wars are doubtfull and vncerteine, & that as the wiseman saith; “A man of wisdom and vnderstanding is to trie all manner of waies rather than the warres:” and also being somewhat timorous to aduenture the battell with strangers, sendeth his messengers by all the waies they best might, to intreat for peace: who at length
through

through their industrie, and by the mediation of good men, and by Gods goodnesse who prospered the same, obtained the same, and which was concluded in this order. That Derman Mac Morogh should haue and enioy all Leinster in peace and quietnesse, to him and to his heires, acknowledging Rothorike to be the chéeke king and monarch of all Ireland, and yéeiding vnto him that seruice and dutie as vnto him therein apperteined. And for the performance hereof, he deliuered his sonne Cunthurus in pledge and for an hostage. To whome Rothorike then promised, vpon condition, that the peace and certeine other points obserued, he would giue his daughter vnto him in mariage. These things being openlie published, each partie swore the one to the other, for the performance and kéeping of the same. And yet whatsoeuer the vtter shew, it was secretlie agréed betwéene them, that Derman Mac Morogh, when and assoone as he had quietlie settled Leinster in good order, he should returne and send home all the English people, as also in the meane time should not procure anie more to come ouer.

Of the comming of Maurice Fitzgerald into Ireland: of the yeelding xp of Dublin to Derman Mac Morogh; and of the warres betwéene the two princes of Conagh and of Limereke.

CHAP. 11.

THESE things thus doone & performed, and fortune seeming with a more favorable countenance to smile vpon them, behold Maurice Fitzgerald, of whom we spake before, who was the halfe brother by the mothers side to Robert Fitzstephans, arriued at Wexford in two ships, hauing in his companie (which he brought) ten gentlemen of seruice, thirtie horssemen, and of archérs and footmen about one hundred. A man he was both honest and wise, and for his truth and valiantnesse verie noble and famous. He was a man of his word, and constant of mind, and therewithall adorned with a certeine kind of womanlie shamefastnesse. Mac Morogh being verie glad of this new repaire, as also much animated and incouraged therewith, beginneth to thinke vpon old sores, and to call to remembrance the gréat iniuries and wrongs which the citizens of Dublin had in times past doone both vnto his father and to himselfe; and minding to be reuenged thereof, bendeth his force, and marcheth with his whole armie to besiege the citie, but left Fitzstephans behind, who was then building a hold or castell vpon a certeine rockie hill called the (1) Caricke, about two miles from Wexford, which place although it were verie strong of it selfe, yet by industrie and labour it was made much stronger. Morice Fitzgerald, with all the force and companie of the Englishmen, accompanied and attended Mac Morogh, who was his guide, and conducted him vnto Dublin. Assoone as they were entred within the borders and confines of the territorie of Dublin, they forthwith burned, spoiled, and wasted the same, and the whole countrie thereto adioining. The citizens of Dublin séeing and considering the same, began to quail, and their hearts faunted, and doo seeke and intreat for peace; and hauing obtained the same, did sweare fealtie, and gaue in hostages for the true and firme kéeping of the same. In this meane time there tell a great enimitie and quarrell betwéene Rothorike of Connagh and Donald prince of Limereke. And assoone as Rothorike was with all his force entered into the countrie of Limereke, Derman Mac Morogh sent forthwith Robert Fitzstephans with all his power, to aid and helpe the said Donald: for he was Dermans sonne in law, by whose means he gat the victorie, and Rothorike with shame was driuen to retire out of the countrie, and to returne to his owne home: and left the chieferie which he demanded.

In these and all other like seruices, Robert Barrie and Meilerius carried the best praise and commendations. At this time was scene a woman who had a great beard, and a man vpon hir backe, as a horsse; of whom I haue alreadie spoken in my topographie.

(1) The said Caricke (as is written) is distant from the towne of Wexford about two English miles, and standeth vpon a high rocke, and is inuironed on two sides with the river which floweth to Wexford towne, and it is verie deepe and nauigable: the other two sides are vpon the maine land, which is a verie fertile soile, and in height almost equall with the castell. It was at the first made but of rods and turties, according to the maner in those daies; but since builded with stone, and was the strongest fort then in those parts of the land: but being a place not altogether sufficient for a prince, and yet it was thought too good and strong for a subject, it was pulled downe, defaced and rased, and so dooth still remaine.

Dermon Mac Morogh sendeth for the earle Richard, who forthwith maketh great preparation for his comming.

CHAP. 12.

MAC Morogh, being by meanes of his good successe well quieted and satisfied, bethinketh himselfe now of greater matters, and deuiseeth how and by what means he might recouer his old and ancient rights; as also purchase all Connagh to his subiection. And herein he vsed a secret conference with Fitzstephans and Fitzgerald, vnto whome he vttereth and discouereth all his whole mind and intent: who forthwith gaue his answer that his deuise was verie easilie to be compassed, if he could get a greater supplie and aid of Englishmen. Wherevpon he made most earnest requests vnto them, both for the procuring of their kinsmen and countrie-men, as also for the furthering to effect his purpose and deuise. And that he might the better persuade them herevnto, he offereth to either one of them his daughter and heire in mariage with the inheritance of his kingdome: but they both being alreadie married, refused the offer. And at length after much talke they thus concluded, that he should with all speed send his messengers with his letters vnto the earle Richard, of whom we spake before, and vnto whome he the said Mac Morogh at his being at or about Bristow, had promised his daughter to wife, which letters were as followeth. “ Dermon Mac Morogh prince of Leinster, to Richard earle of Chepstone, and sonne of Gilbert the earle sendeth gréeting. If you doo well consider and marke the time as we doo which are in distresse, then we doo not complaine without cause nor out of time: for we haue alreadie seene the (1) storkes and swallows, as also the summer birds are come, and with the westerlie winds are gone againe; we haue long looked and wished for your comming, and albeit the winds haue béene at east and easterlie, yet hitherto you are not come vnto vs: wherefore now linger no longer, but hasten your selfe hither with speed, that it may thereby appeare not want of good will, nor forgetfulnesse of promise, but the iniurie of time hath béene hitherto the cause of your long staie. All Leinster is alreadie wholie yéelded vnto vs: and if you will speedilie come away with some strong companie and force, we doubt not but that the other foure portions will be recouered and adioined to this the first portion. Your comming therefore the more speedie it is, the more gratefull; the more hastie, the more ioifull; and the sooner, the better welcome: and then our mislike of your long lingering shall be recompensed

Mac Moroghs
letter to earle
Richard.

pensed by your soone comming, for fréndship & good will is recovered and nourished by mutual offices, and by benefits it groweth to a more assurednesse." When earle Richard had read these letters, he taketh aduise with his fréends, and taking some comfort and stomach of the good successe of Fitzstephans, whereof he was at the first both fearefull and doubtfull, fullie determineth to bend his whole force and power to follow this seruice and hostings. This earle was a man of a verie noble parentage, and descended of verie honorable ancestors; but yet more famous in name, than rich in purse; more noble in blood, than endowed with wit; and greater in hope of succession, than rich in possessions. Well, he thought long yer he could wend himselfe ouer into Ireland, and therefore to compasse the same to good effect, maketh his repaire to king Henrie the second, and most humbly praieeth and beséecheth him that he will either restore him to such possessions, as by inheritance did apperteyne vnto him; or else to grant him the libertie to trie and seeke fortune in some other forren countrie and nation.

(1) The storke and the swallow are named *Aues semestres*, or the halfe yeares birds: for they come at the spring, and depart againe awaie at the autumne or fall of the leafe, for in the winter they are not séene. And by this Mac Morogh alludeth and meaneth that he hath awaited that whole halfe yeare for the earles comming: whose promise was, that in the spring of the yeare past he would haue come.

Of the arriuall of Reimond le grosse into Ireland, and of the fight which he had against the Waterford men at Dundorogh.

CHAP. 13.

THE king hauing heard the earles requests, bethought himselfe a while thereof: but in the end he alowed not of the one, nor granted the other, but fed him still with good speeches, and nourished him with faire words, commending his noble mind, that he would aduenture so honorable an enterprise. And in words the king seemed to giue him leaue to follow his deuise, but to saie the truth, it was rather in game than in earnest, for the king minded nothing lesse. But the earle taking the aduantage of the kings words, and accepting the same for a sufficient leaue and licence, returneth home. And the same being the winter season & verie vnfit to trauell into forren nations in martiall affaires, dooth now make preparation of all things fit to serue when time should require. And assoone as the winter was past, he sendeth ouer before him into Ireland, a gentleman of his owne houshold and familie named Reimond le grosse: who had with him ten gentlemen of seruice, and three score and ten archers well appointed, and taking shipping about the kalends of Maie, then landed at the rocke of (1) Dundonolfe, which lieth south from Wexford, and about foure miles east from Waterford: and there they cast a trench, and builded a little castell or hold, with turffes and wattell. This Reimond was nephue to Robert Fitzstephans and to Maurice Fitzgerald, being the sonne vnto their elder brother named William, and was verie valiant, of gréat courage, and well expert in the warres and in all martiall affaires. The citizens of Waterford, and Omolaghlin Ofelin, being aduertised of this their arriuall, and nothing liking the neighborhood of such strangers, take counsell together what were best to be doone: and finding it most necessarie and néedfull to withstand at the beginning, they doo conclude and determine to giue the onset vpon them; and being about
thré

thré thousand men, they take botes, and rowe downe the riuer of the Sure (which fléeteth fast by the wals of Waterford on the east, and diuideth Leinster from Mounster) and so came to the place where Reimond and his companie were, where they landed and set their men in order for the assaults, and marched boldlie to the ditches of Reimonds fortresse or castell: but then it appeered how valiantnes can neuer be hid, lustie courage be daunted, nor yet prowesse or worthines be blemished. For Reimond and his companie, although they were but féw in number, and too weake to incounter with so great a companie as their aduersaries were: yet being of couragious minds & lustie stomachs, went out to méet with their enimies; but when they saw that their small number was not sufficient nor able in the plaines to abide and indure the force of so great a multitude, they retired to their fort. The enimies thinking then to discomfit and cleane to ouerthrow them, followed and pursued them so shortlie, that the Englishmen were no sooner in at the gates, but the Irishmen were also at their heeles, and some of them within the gate. Which thing when Reimond saw, and considering also with himselfe what a distresse and perill he and all his were in, suddenlie turneth backe his face vpon his enimies; and the first of them which entred, he ranne him thorough with his sword (or as some saie claue his head asunder) and then with a lowd voice cried out to his companie to be of a good comfort. Who forthwith as they turned and stood most manfullie to their defense: so their enimies also being dismaied and afraid at the death of that one man, they all fled and ranne awaie: and then they which in this doubtfull chance of fight, were thought should be vanquished and cleane ouerthrowne, suddenlie became to be the victors and conquerors. And these sharpelie then pursued their enimies, who were scattered abroad in the plaines and out of arraie; that in a verie short time and space they slue aboue fíue hundred persons: and being wearie with killing, they cast a great number of those whome they had taken prisoners headlong from the rocks into the sea, and so drowned them. In this fight and seruice a gentleman named William Ferand did most valiantlie acquit himselfe. For albeit he were but of a weake bodie, yet was he of a verie stout stomach & courage: he was diseased and sicke of the leprosie, and therefore desirous rather to die valiantlie, than to liue in miserie: and for that cause would and did aduenture himselfe in places where most perill and danger was and séemed to be; thinking it good with a glorious death to preuent the gréeffe and lothsomnesse of a gréeuous disease.

Thus fell the pride of Waterford, thus decaied their strength and force, and thus began the ruine and ouerthrow of that citie, which as it bred a great hope and consolation to the Englishmen; so was it the cause of a great desperation and terror to the enimies. It was a strange matter and neuer heard of before in those parties, that so great a slaughter should be made by so small a number: neuerthesse by euill counsell and too much crueltie, the Englishmen abused their good successe and fortune. For hauing gotten the victorie, they saued seuentie of the best citizens, whom they kept prisoners; and for the ransome or redemption of these, they might haue had either the citie of Waterford yeelded & surrendred vnto them, or such a masse of monie as they would themselues. But Herueie of Mount Moris (who came ouer with three gentlemen of seruice, and ioined with his countrymen and Reimonds) being both of contrarie minds, strided the one with the other, what were best to be doone héerein.

(1) Dundonolfe is a rocke standing in the countie of Waterford vpon the sea side, lieng east from the citie of Waterford about eight English miles, and is from the towne of Wexford about twelue miles, lieng southwards from the same: it is now
a strong

a strong castell, and appertaining to the ancient house of the Powers of Kilmaithen, & called by the name of Dandorogh.

(2) The citie of Waterford or Guaterford, named sometimes (as Ptolomeus writeth) Manapia, is a faire, ancient, and honorable citie, standing vpon the south side of the riuer of Sure, which flecteth fast by the walles thereof, and was first builded by one named Sitaratus, one of the thrée princes which came out of the east parts to inhabit that land. It was at the first but a small pile, lieng in forme of a long triangle, but since & of late times enlarged by the citizens & inhabitants of the same. It is the chéefest emporium in a manner of all that land, and standeth chéeflie vpon the trade of merchandize, they themselues being not onelie great traouellers into forren nations, but also great resort and dailie concourses of strangers are to it. Concerning the gouernement, order, state and seruice of this citie, and of sundrie other things incident to the same, are at large described in the later historie of this land.

The oration of Reimond for the deliuerie of the prisoners taken.

CHAP. 14.

REIMOND being verie desirous that the captiues taken might be deliuered, laboreth by all the waies he could how to compasse the same, & in presence of Herueie maketh these spéeches, and vseth these persuasions to all his companie. “Yée my noble and valiant companions and souldiers, for increase of whose honour, vertue and fortune séeme to contend; let vs now consider what is best to be doone with these our prisoners and captiues. For my part I doo not thinke it good, nor yet allow that anie fauour or courtesie should be at all shewed to the enemie. But vnderstand you, these are no enemies now, but men; no rebels, but such as be vanquished and cleane ouerthrowen, and in standing in defense of their countrie, by euill fortune and a worse destinie they are subdued. Their aduentures were honest and their attempts commendable, and therefore they are not to be reputed for théeues, factious persons, traitors, nor yet murtherers. They are now brought to that distresse and case, that rather mercie for examples sake is to be shewed, than crueltie to the increasing of their miserie is to be ministred. Suerlie our ancestors in times past (although in déed it be verie hard to be doone) were woont in times of good successe and prosperitie, to temperat their loose minds and vnruilie affections with some one incommoditie or other. Wherefore let mercie and pitie, which in a man is most commendable, worke so in vs, that we who haue ouercome others, may also now subdue our owne minds, and conquer our owne affections: for modestie, moderation, and discretion are woont to staie hastie motions, and to stop rash deuises. O how commendable and honorable is it to a noble man, that in his greatest triumph and glorie, he counteth it for a sufficient reuenge, that he can reuenge and be wreaked?

“Iulius Cesar, whose conquests were such, his victories so great, and his triumphs so manie, that the whole world was noised therewith; he had not so manie fréends who reioised for the same, but he had manie more enemies who maligned and enuied at him, not onelie in slanderous words and euill reports; but manie also secretlie conspired, deuised, and practised his death and destruction: and yet he was so full of pitie, mercie, and compassion, that he neuer commanded nor willed anie to be put to death for the same, sauing onelie one Domitius, whome he had of meere clemencie for his lewdnesse before pardoned, for his wickednesse released, and for
his

his trecherie acquitted. And thus as his pitie did much increase, so did it nothing hinder his victories. O how beastlie then and impious: what crueltie, wherein victorie is not ioined with pitie? For it is the part of a right noble and a valiant man, to count them enimies which doo wage the battell, contend and fight for the victorie; but such as be conquered, taken prisoners, and kept in bonds and captiuitie, to take and repute them for men, that hereby fortitude and force may diminish the battell and end the quarrell, as also humanitie may increase loue & make peace. It is therefore a great commendation and more praiseworthy to a noble man in mercie to be bountious, than in victorie to be cruell; for the one lieth onelie in the course of fortune, but the other in vertue: and as it had béene a great increase of our victorie, and an augmentation of honour, if our enimies had béene slaine in the field and ouerthrowen in the battell: so they being now taken and saued, and as it were men returned from rebels to the common societie and fellowship of men; if we should now kill them, it will be to our great shame, dishonor, and reproch for euer. And for so much as by the killing and destroyeng of them we shall be neuer the néerer to haue the countrie, nor neuer sooner to be the lords of the land; and yet the ransoming of them verie good for the maintenance of the souldiers; the good fame of vs, and the aduancement of our honour: we must néeds thinke it better to ransom them than to kill them. For as it is requisit and meet, that a souldier in the field fighting in armes, should then thirst for the bloud of his enimies, trie the force of his sword, and valiantlie stand to his tackle for victorie: so when the fight is ended, the wars are ceased, & the armor laid downe, and all fiercenes of hostilitie set apart; then in a noble man must humanitie take place, pitie must be shewed, and courtesie must be extended."

The oration or speech which Herueie made.

CHAP. 15.

WHEN Reimond had ended his speech, & the whole companie being in a muttering, and as it were men well pleased and verie well allowing his mind and opinion: then Herueie stood vp and spake to them all in this maner. "Reimond hath verie exquisetlie discoursed with vs of pitie and mercie, and in set speeches vttering his eloquence, hath shewed his mind and declared his opinion; persuading and inducing vs to beléeue, that a strange land were to be conquered sooner by mercie and fond pitie than by sword and fire. But I praie you, can there be a worse waie than so to thinke? Did Iulius Cesar or Alexander of Macedonie by such means or in such order conquer the whole world? Did the nations from out of all places run to submit themselues vnder their yoke and empire, in respect of their pitie & mercie, & not rather compelled so to doo for feare & perforce? For people, whiles they are yet proud and rebellious, they are (all pitie and mercie set apart) by all manner of waies and means to be subdued: but when they are once brought into subiection and bondage, and redie to serue and obeie, then they are with all courtesie to be intreated and dealt withall: so that the state of the gouernment may be in safetie and out of danger. Herein and in this point must pitie be vsed, but in the other seueritie or rather crueltie is more necessarie: here clemencie is to be shewed, but in the other rigour without fauour is to be exhibited and vsed. Reimond persuadeth that mercie is to be extended, as vpon a people already subdued and subiected; or as though the enimies were so few and of so small a number, as against whome no valiant seruice nor chiuallie can be exploited,

exploited, and yet they redie to ioine with vs: whereby our force may be increased, and our power augmented. But alas! Doo not we see how that the whole nation and people of Ireland are wholie bent, and not without cause altogether conspired against vs?

"Sucerie me thinketh Reimond is contrarie vnto himselfe; for why, his coming hither was not to dispute of pitie, nor to reason of mercie; but to conquer the nation and to subdue the people. O what an example of impious pitie were it then, to neglect our owne safetie, and to haue remorse and compassion vpon others distresses? Moreouer, we haue here in the fields, and in armour more enimies than friends, we are in the middle of perils and dangers, our enimies being round about vs in euerie place: and shall we thinke this to be nothing, but that we must be also in the like distresse and danger among our selues. Round about vs our enimies are infinit, and within our selues some there be which practise our destruction. And if it should happen that our captiues and prisoners should escape and breake loose out of their bonds, which are but verie weake and slender, no doubt they will forthwith take our owne armours and weapons against vs. Well well, the mouse is in the cupbord, the fire is in the lap, and the serpent is in the bosome; the enimie is at hand readie to oppresse his aduersarie, and the gest is in place with small courtesie to requit his host. And I praie you dooth not Reimond execute that in his facts and dooings, which he denieth in his words? Are not his speéches contrarie to his deeds? Let him answer me to this. If our enimies when they come in good araie and well appointed to giue the onset, and to wage the battell against vs, if they should happen to haue the victorie and the ouerhand ouer vs, would they deale in pitie & mercie? Would they grant vs our liues? Would they put vs to ransome? Tush what néed manie words when the déeds are apparant? Our victorie is to be so vsed, that the destruction of these few may be a terror to manie; wherby all others and this wild and rebellious nation may take an example, and beware how they meddle and incounter with vs. Of two things we are to make choise of one; for either we must valiantlie and couragiouslie stand to performe what we haue taken in hand; and all fond pitie set aside, boldlie and stoutlie to ouerthrow and vanquish this rebellious and stubborne people: or (if we shall after the mind and opinion of Reimond altogether be pitifull and full of mercie) we must hoise vp our sailes and retorne home, leauing both the countrie and our patrimonie to this miserable and wretched people." Herueies opinion was best liked, and the whole companie allowed his iudgement, wherevpon the captiues (as men condemned) were brought to the rockes, and after their lims were broken, they were cast headlong into the seas; and so drowned.

The comming ouer of Richard Strongbow earle of Chepstow into Ireland, and of the taking of the citie of Waterford.

CHAP. 16.

IN this meane time Richard the earle, hauing provided and made all things in readinesse fit for so great an enterprise, tooke his iournie, and came through Wales to S. Davids: and still as he went he tooke vp all the best chosen and piked men that he could get. And hauing all things in place and in a readinesse méet and necessarie for such a voyage, he went to Milford hauen, and hauing a good wind tooke shipping and came to Waterford, in the kalends of September on the vigill

Prophecies of
Celdon and
Merlin fulfilled.

of saint Bartholomew, and had with him about two hundred gentlemen of good service, and a thousand others. Then was fulfilled Celdons prophesie, which was; that "A little firebrand shall go before a great fire; and as the sparkels inkindle the small wood, so shall the same set the great wood a fire." Likewise was fulfilled the saing of Merlin; "A great forerunner of a greater follower shall come, and he shall tread downe the heads of Desmond and Leinster, and the waies before opened & made readie he shall inlarge." Reimond being aduertised of the earles arriuall, went the next morrow vnto him with great ioy, hauing with him in his companie fortie gentlemen of service. And on the morrow vpon saint Bartholomews daie, being tuesdaie, they displaid their banners, and in good arraie they marched to the wals of the citie, being fullie bent and determined to giue the assault: the citizens & such others as had escaped at Dundorogh manfullie defending themselves, and giuing them two repulses. Reimond who by the consent and assent of the whole armie was chosen and made generall of the field, and tribune of the host, hauing espied a little house of timber standing halfe vpon posts without the wals, called his men together, and encouraged them to giue a new assault at that (1) place. And hauing hewed downe the posts wherevpon the house stood, the same fell downe together with a peece of the towne wall; and then a waie being thus opened, they entred into the citie, and killed the people in the streets without pitie or mercie, leauing them lieng in great heaps; and thus with bloodie hands they obtained a bloodie victorie. In the tower called (2) Reinolds tower they tooke two murtherers prisoners, whom they vnarmed and killed; also they tooke there Reinold, and Machlathilen Ophelan prince of the Decies: but these were saued by meanes of the comming and suite of Mac Morogh, who was also come thither with Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephans. And when they had set the citie and all other their things in good order, Mac Morogh gaue his daughter Eua, whom he had then brought thither with him, to be married to the earle according to the first pact and couenant; and then the mariage solemnized and all things set in order, they displaid their baners & marched towards Dublin.

(1) In the verie place of the assault is now builded a strong fort and blockehouse, which is verie well furnished and appointed with ordinance and shot. It is in the verie east angle or point of the walles of the citie: and within on the south side the walles dooth it appeere how the same was burned by the Englishmen at this their entrie.

(2) The Reinolds tower is a little tower in the wall of the old citie, and is next or verie neere adioining to a late monasterie or friers there: it is a verie slender thing, and not worthie of any report; sauing that the author dooth alledge it as a fort in those daies vsed for a defense.

The besieging and taking of the citie of Dublin.

CHAP. 17.

DERMON being aduertised, and hauing perfect aduertisement that they of Dublin had procured & flocked all or the most part of the land to come to aid, helpe and to defend them; and that they had laied all the waies, passages and streicts about the citie; whereby no man could passe that waie, he left all those waies; and passing through the mounteines of Glundoloch, he brought his whole armie safe to (1) Dublin. And such was his mortall hatred towards the Dublinians, that

that he could not forget the iniuries doon to himselfe, and the shamefull reproch doone to his father. For his father being on a time at Dublin, and there sitting at the doore of a certein ancient man of the citie, they did not onelie there murder him; but for a further satisfieng of their malice, they cast him and buried him with a dog: and therefore aboue all others he most mortallie hated them. The citizens much mistrusting themselues, they send messengers to intreate for peace; and in the end by the mediation and meanes of Laurence then the archbishop of Dublin, a parlée and a treatie was obtained: but whiles the old and ancient men were talking of peace, the yonger sort were busie in weapons. For Reimond and Miles of Cogan, two lustie yong gentlemen, but more desirous to fight vnder Mars in the fields than to sit in counsell vnder Iupiter; and more willing to purchase honor in the warres, than gaine in peace. They with a companie of lustie yong gentlemen suddenlie ran to the walles, & giuing the assalt, brake in, entred the citie, and obtained the victorie, making no small slaughter of their enimies: but yet the greater number of them, with Hasculphus their captein, escaped awaie with such riches & iewels as they had, and recouered themselues vnto certeine ships which laie there, & so sailed to the north Ilands. At this time there happened two strange miracles in the same citie, the one was of a crosse or a rood which the citizens minding to haue caried with them, was not nor would be remooued; the other was of a péece of monie, which was offered to the same rood twise, & euer it returned backe againe, as you may see more therof in our topographie. When the earle had spent a few daies in the citie, about setting and settling the same in good order, he left the same to the charge and gouernance of Miles Cogan: but he himselfe by the persuation of Mac Morogh (who sought by all the waies he could, how to be reuenged vpon Ororike king of Meth) inuaded the borders of Meth, and wasted, spoiled, and destroyed the same. All Meth being in the end wasted by the sword and fire; Rothorike king of Connagh thought with himself what might hereof befall vnto him, bicause his neighbors house being set on fire, his was next to the like perill: he sent his messengers vnto Dermon Mac Morogh with this message. "Contrarie to the order of the peace, thou hast procured, called, and flocked into this land a great multitude and number of strangers, and as long as thou didst staie and kéepe thy selfe within thy owne countrie of Leinster, we bare therwith, and were contented. But forsomuch as now not caring for thy oth, nor regarding the safetie of thy hostages, thou hast so fondlie & lewdlie passed thy bounds: I am to require thee, that thou doo retire and withdraw these excurses of strangers; or else without faile I will cut off thy sonnes head, & send it thee." Mac Morogh when he heard this message, full stoutlie answered, and said he would not giue ouer that which he had begun, nor desist from his enterprise, vntill he subdued all Connagh his ancient inheritance, as also he had recouered the monarchie of all Ireland. Rothorike being aduertised of this answer, was somewhat warmed and offended therwith, & forthwith in his rage commanded Mac Moroghs sonne, who was his pledge, to be beheaded.

(1) Dublin is the oldest and ancientest citie in all Ireland, and was builded by one Amelaus, the eldest of three brethren named Ostimen or Easterlings: which came first out of Norwaie, or (as some write) out of Normandie, and did inhabit the land. It was first named Aghalia, that is, the towne of hurdels; for it standeth somewhat low and in a marish ground: and bicause when the same was first builded, the laborers were woont and did go vpon hurdels, it tooke the name thereof. It was also called Doolin, which is to saie blacke water, for of that name is a certeine brooke, fleeting not farre out of the towne, but now is called Dublin or Diuelin; it standeth vpon the riuer named Aneliphus or the Liffey, and it is a port towne,

being the chéefest citie and emporium of all that land: It is walled with stone round about, & at the east part therof is a verie old castle, builded first by Henrie Londers archbishop of Dublin, about the yéere 1212, which is now the quéenes castell, & wherin the lord deputie of that land most commonly lieth, as also wherin the courts for the common law at the vsuall terms are kept: The citie it selfe stands most on trade of merchandize, & is by that means of good wealth. The inhabitants are méere Englishmen, but of Ireland birth. The gouernment thereof is vnder a maior and two shiriffes. And as concerning the order, gouernement, state, policies, and good seruices of the same, I shall more at large declare in my particular historie of this land.

The councell or synod kept at Armagh.

CHAP. 18.

THESE things thus ended & compleated, there was a synod or councell of all the clergie called and assembled at Armagh: there to intreat and examine what should be the causes and reasons, why & wherefore the realme was thus plagued by the resort and repaire of strangers in among them. At length it was fullie agreed, and euerie mans opinion was, that it was Gods iust plague for the sinnes of the people, and especiallie bicause they vsed to buie Englishmen of merchants and pirats, and (contrarie to all equitie or reason) did make bondslaues of them: and God now to auenge and acquit this their iniquitie, plagued them with the like, and hath set these Englishmen & strangers to reduce them now into the like slauerie and bondage. For the Englishmen, when their realme was at rest and peace, and their land in quiet estate, and they not in anie distresse, want, or penurie, their children and kinsmen were sold and made bondslaues in Ireland. And therefore it was most like, that God for the sin of the people would & did laie the like plague vpon the Irish people. It was therefore decreed by the said councell, and concluded by that synod, that all the Englishmen within that land, wheresoeuer they were, in bondage or captiuitie, should be manumitted, set frée and at libertie.

The proclamation of king Henrie the second against the earle, and of the sending of Reimond to the king.

CHAP. 19.

WHEN tidings was caried abrode of the good successe which the Englishmen had in Ireland, & the news the further it went, the more it increased; and the king being aduertised that the earle had not onlie recouered Leinster, but had also conquered sundrie other territories, wherevnto he had no title by the right of his wife, did set foorth his proclamation, forbidding and inhibiting that from thensefoorth no ship from out of any place, vnder his dominion; should passe or traflike into Ireland: and that all maner of his subiects which were within that realme, should returne from thense into England before Easter then next following, vpon paine of forfeiture of all their lands, as also to be banished men for euer. The earle when he saw him selfe in this distres, being in perill to lose his friends; and in hazard to want his necessaries, taketh aduise and counsell what were best to

to be doone. At length it was agreed and concluded, that Reimond should be sent ouer to the king then being in Aquitaine, with letters to this effect. "My right honourable lord, I came into this land with your leaue and fauour (as I remember) for the aiding and helping of your seruant Dermon Mac Morogh. And whatsoeuer I haue gotten and purchased, either by him or by anie others, as I confesse and acknowledge the same from and by meanes of your gracious goodnesse: so shall the same still rest and remaine at your deuotion and commandement."

The departure of Reimond to the king, and the death of Dermon Mac Morogh.

CHAP. 20.

REIMOND (according to the order taken, and commandement giuen to him) made his repaire with all diligence to the king, & hauing deliuered his letters did await for his answer. But the king being in some dislike with the earle, and not fauourable allowing his successe, differed the time, and lingered to giue anie answer. About this time (1) Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie was murthered or slaine; and the yeare following about the kalends of Maie, Dermon Mac Morogh, being of a good age, and well stricken in yéeres died, and was buried at Fernes.

(1) The Romish or popish church make much a doo about this man, affirming him to be a man of much vertue and holinesse, and that he was martyred for the defending of the liberties of holie church, and for this cause the pope canonized him to be a saint. But who so list to peruse and examine the course of the English histories, shall find that he was a froward and obstinat traitor against his master & souereigne king and prince: as amongst other writers it appeareth in the booke of the Acts and Monuments of Iohn Fox. And forsomuch as the course of this chapter tendeth wholie in extolling of him, I haue omitted the same, and leaue to trouble the reader therewith.

The ouerthrow giuen to Hasculphus and the Easterlings or Norwaiemen at Dublin.

CHAP. 21.

AT this time about the feast of Pentecost or Whitsuntide, Hasculphus, who was sometime the chiefe ruler of Dublin, sought by all the waies he could how he might be reuenged for the reproch and shame which he had receiued when the citie of Dublin was taken, and he then driuen to flie to his ship, and to saue himselfe. This man had beene in Norwaie, and in the north Ilands to seeke for some helpe and aid; and hauing obtiued the same he came with threescore ships well appointed, and full fraughted with lustie men of warre vnto the coasts of (1) Dublin, minding to assaile the citie, and hoping to recouer the same. And without anie delaiengs he landed and vnshipped his men, who were guided and conducted vnder a capteine named John Wood or John Mad, for so the word Wood meaneth. They were all mightie men of warre, and well appointed after the Danish maner, being harnessed with good brigandines, iacks, and shirts of male; their shields, bucklers, and targets were round, and coloured red, and bound about with iron: and as they were in armor, so in minis also they were as iron strong and mightie.

These

These men being set in battell arae, and in good order, doo march onwards towards the east gate of the citie of Dublin, there minding to giue th' assault, and with force to make entrie. Miles Cogan then warden of the citie, a man verie valiant and lustie, although his men and people were verie few, and as it were but a handfull in respect of the others: yet boldlie giueth the aduenture and onset vpon his enimies: but when he saw his owne small number not to be able to resist nor withstand so great force, and they still pressing & inforcing vpon him, he was driuen to retire backe with all his companie, and with the losse of manie of his men, and of them one being verie well armed, yet was his thigh cut off cleane at a stroke with a Galloglasse axe. But Richard Cogan brother vnto Miles, vnderstanding how hardlie the matter passed and had sped with his brother, suddenlie and secretlie with a few men issueth out at the south posterne or gate of the citie, and stealing vpon the backs of his enimies, maketh a great shout, and therewith sharpelie giueth the onset vpon them. At which sudden chance they were so dismayed, that albeit some fighting before, and some behind, the case was doubtfull, & the euent vncerteine: yet at length they fled and ran awaie, and the most part of them were slaine, and namelie John Wood, whom with others John of Ridensford tooke and killed. Hasculphus fleeing to his ships was so sharpelie pursued, that vpon the sands he was taken, but saued; and for the greater honour of the victorie was caried backe aliue into the citie as a captiue, where he was sometime the chiefe ruler and gouernour: and there hée was kept till he should compound for his ransome. And then he being brought and presented to Miles Cogan, in the open sight and audience of all the people, and fretting much for this euill fortune and ouerthrow, suddenlie and in great rage brake out into these speeches, saieng: "We are come hither now but a small companie, and a few of vs, and these are but the beginings of our aduentures; but if God send me life, you shall see greater matters insue and follow". Miles Cogan when he heard these words (for in the toong standeth both life and death, the lord abhorreth the proud heart, and verie badlie dooth he ease his greefe which augmenteth his sorrow) commanded him to be beheaded. And so the life to him before courteouslie granted, he by his fondnesse did foolishlie lose it.

(1) The port or hauen of Dublin is a barred hauen, and no great ships doo come to the towne it selfe but at a spring or high water, and therefore they doo lie in a certeine rode without the barre, which is about foure or fiue miles from the citie, and the same is called Ringwood; and from thence to Holie hed in Wales is counted the shortest cut betwéene England and Ireland.

Rothorike prince of Connagh and Gotred king of Man do besiege the citie of Dublin.

CHAP. 22.

AFTER this, the Irishmen perceiuing that by reason of the kings late proclamation, the earles men and vittels did wast, decaie, and consume for want of their woonted supplies from out of England: all their princes assembled themselues, and doo agree with all their power and force to besiege the citie of Dublin, being procured therevnto by Laurence then archbishop there; who for the zeale and loue of his countrie, did verie earnestlie trauell herein: and ioining with Rothorike king of Connagh, they sent their letters to Gotred king of the Ile of Man, and to all others the princes of the Ilands, making earnest requests, vsing their persuasions, and promising liberall rewards, if they would come to helpe and aid them to besiege Dublin;

Dublin; they on the water, and the other at land: who were easilie to be persuaded thervnto, and forthwith yéelded to these requests, not onelie for the desire of gaines offered: but especiallie, because they doubted, and were afraid of the Englishmen, who hauing dailie good successe they feared least they in time would giue the onset on them, and make a conquest ouer their possessions. And therefore they foorthwith made themselues readie, and prepared their ships accordinglie. And as soone as the next good wind serued, they came in thirtie ships of warre, verie well appointed, and arriued into the hauen of Aneliffe, or port of Dublin: whose comming was verie thankfull and gratefull. For whie? Whose helps are best liked when men in their affaires haue those to ioine with them which be or feare to be in the like perils and dangers? But the earle and his companie, who had béene shut vp now two moneths within the citie, and whose vittels failed, and were almost consumed, by reason that vpon the kings commandement a restraint was made (and therefore none could be brought vnto them out of England) were in a great dumpe and perplexitie, and in a maner were at their wits end, and wist not what to doo. And in this their case see the course and nature of fortune, who when she frowneth, sendeth not one euill alone, but heapeth mischéeffe vpon mischéeffe, and trouble vpon trouble. For behold Donald Mac Dermon came from out of the borders of Kencile, & brought news that the men of Wexford & of Kencile to the number of thrée thousand persons had beseéged Robert Fitzstephans and his few men in his castell of the Karecke, and unlesse they did helpe and rescue him within thrée daies it would be too late; for they should and would else be taken. At this time there was with the earle within the citie Maurice Fitzgerald, and his cosine Reimond, who was latelie returned from the court; and these were not onelie now troubled in respect of their owne cause, but for the distres of others, and speciallie Maurice Fitzgerald, who tenderlie tooke and was greéued with the distressed state of his brother Robert Fitzstephans, and of his wife and children, that they being in the middle of their enimies, should be in so weake a hold not able to kéepe out such a companie: and so rising vp maketh this spéech to the earle, and to such as were about him, as followeth.

The oration of Maurice Fitzgerald.

CHAP. 23.

“YE worthie men, we came not hither, nor were we called into this countrie to be idle, nor to liue deliciouslie: but to trie fortune, and to séeke aduentures. We stood somtimes vpon the top of the wheele, and the game was on our side; but now the wheele is turned, & we cast downe: and yet no doubt she will turne againe, and we shall be on the top. For such is the mutabilitie of fortune, & such is the uncerteine state & course of this world, that prosperitie and aduersitie doo interchangeable, and by course the one follow the other. After daie commeth the night; and when the night is passed, the daie returneth againe. The sun riseth, and when he hath spred his beames all the daie time, then he commeth to his fall: and as soone as the night is past, he is againe come and returned to his rising againe. We who before this haue made great triumphs, & haue had fortune at will, are now shut vp on euerie side by our enimies. We be destitute of vittels, and can haue no reléeffe neither by land nor yet by sea: our fréends cannot helpe vs, and our enimies readie to deuoure vs. Likewise Fitzstephans, whose valiantnesse and noble enterprise hath made waie vnto vs into this lland, he now is also
shut

shut vp in a weake hold and feeble place, too weake and slender to hold and kéepe out so great a force. Whie then doo we tarie? And wherefore doo we so linger? Is there anie hope of reléeve from home? No no, the matter is otherwise, and we in woorse case. For as we be odious and hatefull to the Irishmen, euen so we now are reputed: for Irishmen are become hatefull to our owne nation and countrie, and so are we odious both to the one and to the other. Wherefore forsomuch as fortune fauoreth the forward, and helpeth the bold; let vs not longer delaie the matter, nor like sluggards lie still: but whiles we are yet lustie, and our vittels not all spent, let vs giue the onset vpon our enimies: for though we be but few in number in respect of them, yet if we will be of valiant minds and lustie courages, as we were wont to be, we may happilie haue the victorie and conquest of these naked wretches and vnarmed people". These spéeches he vséd as the sicke man is wont to doo, who in hope of recouerie of his health, dooth manie times beare out a good countenance, and dissemble his inward greefe and heauinesse. When he had fullie ended his talke and spoken his mind, Reimond, who was also in the like anguish and heauinesse spake thus.

The oration of Reimond.

CHAP. 24.

"YE renowned, and worthie, & noble men, whose fame for valiantnesse and chiuallrie is carried and spread beyond and through the ocean seas: we are now to looke well vnto our selues, and to haue good regard to our honor and credit. You haue heard how grauelie my vncle Maurice hath declared, how pithilie he hath aduised, and how prudentlie he hath counselled vs what we shall doo in this our distresse and present necessitie. Wherefore we are well to consider thereof, & to determine and resolute our selues what we will doo. The time is short, the perils imminent, and the dangers great, and therefore no delaies are now to be vsed. It is no time now to sit in long counsels, nor to spend much time in speeches; but in present perils we must vse present remedies. Ye see the enimies both at sea and land round about vs, and no waie is there to escape; but we must either giue the aduenture vpon them like men, or die here like beasts: for our vittels faile vs, and our prouision waxeth scant & short, and we know not how to renew the same. And how little comfort we are to looke for out of England, and what small helpe we shall haue from the king, I haue alreadie at large declared vnto you. I know his excellencie dispraiseth not our actiuities, but yet he fauoreth not our successes: he discommendeth not our valiantnesse, but yet enuieth at our glorie: in words he reporteth well of our seruices, but he yet secretlie hindereth the same: he feareth that which we meane not, and doubteth of that which we thinke not. To trust therefore vnto them, who care not for vs; to looke for helpe from them, who mind not anie; and to wait for reléeve where none is meant; it were but a meere follie, and a lost labor on our parts, and in the end like to returne to our owne shame, reproch, & confusion. Wherefore being out of all hope of anie further helpe or supplie; and out of all doubt of anie further comfort or reléeve: let vs as becommeth noble, lustie, and valiant men, trie the course of fortune, and prooue the force of the enimie. Let it appeere vnto them as it is knowen vnto vs, of what race we came, and from whom we descended. Camber (as it is well knowen) the first particular king of Cambria our natiue countrie, was our ancestor, and he the sonne of that noble Brutus, the first and sole monarch of all England, whose
ancestor

ancestor was Tros the founder of the most famous citie of Troie, and he descended from Dardanus the sonne of Jupiter, from whom is deriued vnto vs not onlie the stemme of ancient nobilitie, but also a certeine naturall inclination of valiant minds, & courageous stomachs, bent to follow all exploits in prowesse and chiuallrie, and wherein all our ancestors haue béene verie skilfull and expert. And shall we now like sluggards degenerate from so noble a race, and like a sort of cowards be afraid of these naked and vnarmed rascalls, in whome is no valor of knowledge nor experience in armes? Shall such a rabble of sauages pinne vs vp within the walles of this little Dublin, and make vs afraid of them; when in times past all the princes of Gréece kept warres for ten ycares & od moneths continuallie against our ancestors in the famous citie of Troie, and could not preuaile against them, vntill they vsed treasons and practised treacheries, which bred vnto them a more infamous victorie than a glorious triumph? Shall the honor of our ancestors be withered by our sluggishnesse, and the glorie of their prowesse be buried in our cowardnesse? Shall we be afraid of a few, and vnarmed, when they withstood infinit multitudes of the most worthiest and valiantest personages then in all the world? Let it neuer be said, that the blood of the Troians shall be stained in our pusillanimitie, and receiue reproch in our follie.

“And what though our enemies be neuer so manie, and we in respect of them but a handfull; shall we therefore be afraied; as though victorie stood in multitude, and conquest in great numbers? No no, kings be not so saued nor princes doo so conquer: for a few men well disposed and a small number well incouraged, are sufficient to incounter with a greater number, being wretches and sluggards. For fortune though she be purtraied to be blind, as one void of right iudgement; and to stand vpon a rolling stone, as being alwaies fléeting and moouable: yet for the most part she helpeth such as be of bold minds and of valiant stomachs. If time did serue as matter is full and plentious, I could hereof recite manie yea infinite examples. (1) Thomiris the Scithian queene, did not she with a few hundreds incounter with the great monarch Cyrus, hauing manie thousands, and tooke him and slue him. Alexander with a few Macedonians, did not he ouercome Darius the great monarch of the Persians, and take him, his wife, and daughters prisoners, & made a conquest of all Persia? (2) Leonides the Spartan, did not he with six hundred men breake into the campos of the mightie Xerxes, and there slaie fíue thousand of them? Let vs come a little néerer euen to our selues, who haue had in our owne persons, and in this land the like successes, namelie you my right honourable earle at Waterford, and my vncle Fitzstephans at Wexford; and I my selfe at Dundorogh: small were our companies, and little was our force in respect of theirs, and yet we few thorough our valiantnesse ouercame and conquered them being manie.

“What shall I trouble you with the recitall of examples, sith time shall sooner faile than matter want: and shall we then giue ouer and be white liuered? Shall we like cowards couer our progenie, our nation, and our selues also, with perpetuall shame and infamie? God forbid. My mind then and opinion is, that we doo issue out vpon them, as secretlie and as suddenlie as we maie, and boldlie giue the onset vpon them. And forsomuch as Rothorike of Connagh is the generall of the field, in whom lieth the chiefe force, and on whom all the rest doo depend, it shall be best to begin with him, and then if we can giue the ouerthrow vnto him, all the residue will flie, and we shall obtaine a glorious victorie: but if we shall fall into their hands and be killed, yet shall we leaue an honourable report and an immortall fame to all our posteritie.” When Reimond had ended his spéeches and finished his oration, euerie one so well liked thereof, as with one consent they gaue ouer, and yéelded to his resolution and opinion.

St. Iren. de quat. lib. 1. (1) Cyrus the sonne of Cambises the first monarch of Persia, after that he had subdued all Asia, he minding to doo the like in Scithia did invade the same: Thomiris being then queene thereof. And on a certaine time hauing pitched his tents in a faire and pleasant soile, suddenlie as though he had beene afraid of his enemies he fled, and left his tents full of wines and vittels. Which when the queene heard, she sent hir onlie sonne a young gentleman with the third part of hir host and armie to follow and pursue Cyrus: who when he came to the forsaken tents, and finding there such abundance & plentie of wine and vittels, wherevnto the Scithians had not before beene accustomed, they fell so hungierlie to their vittels, and drauke so liberallie of the wines, that they were ouerladen and ouercommed with surfetting. Which when Cyrus heard of, he suddenlie and secretlie in the night came vpon them, and finding them all asleepe, killed them all. Thomiris hearing of this, was not so much grieved with sorrow for the death of hir sonne, as inflamed with the desire to be reuenged. And she likewise faining hir selfe to flie, Cyrus by pursuing of hir was brought into certaine narrow streicts, where she taking the aduantage of him, tooke him, killed him, and slue all his companie, to the number of two thousand: insomuch that there was not one left to returne with message to declare the same.

(2) Leonides was king of Sparta or Lacedemonia, who being aduertised that the mightie monarch Xerxes minding to continue the warres with his father Darius had appointed and begun against all Gréece, & that he had made preparation therefore five yeares together, dooth also prepare himselfe to withstand the same. And notwithstanding that Xerxes had in his armie thrée hundred thousand of his owne subiects, and two hundred thousand of strangers: yet Leonides hauing gotten Xerxes within the streicts of Thermipolis, and he hauing but foure thousand soldiers gaue the onset vpon the monarch, and fought the battels thrée daies togethir with him, and at length gaue him the ouerthrow:

How Rothorike of Connagh, and all his whole armie was discomfited.

CHAP. 25.

IMMEDIATLIE vpon the foresaid persuasions, euerie man with all speed had made him selfe readie and got on his armor, thinking it too long yer they did bicker with the enimie: and being all assembled and in good arraie, they diuided them into thrée wings or wards, though in number they were verie few. In the first was Reimond with twentie gentlemen and his few soldiers. In the second Miles Cogan with thirtie gentlemen and his other few soldiers. And in the third was the earle and Maurice Fitzgerald with fortie gentlemen and all their soldiers. And in euerie ward were some of all the citizens, sauing such as were appointed for the gard and safetie of the citie. Thus all things being set in an order, they suddenlie in the morning about nine of the clocke issued out, but not without some contention and controuersie: for they striued among themselues, who should haue the fore ward, and giue the onset vpon the enemies, who were in number about thirtie thousand: neuerthelesse they in the end agréed and appointed in order how all things should be doone: and forthwith issued out and gaue the onset vpon their enemies, who then were out of arraie and order, being vnwares of their comming. Reimond among the first being the first was foremost, & gaue the first aduventure, and striking two of his enemies through with his lance or staffe slue them both. Meilerius also and Girald and Alexander the two sonnes of Maurice, although they were in the rereward; yet they wereso hot vpon the spurre, and followed in such lustie manner,

maner, that they were as forward as the foremost, and right valiantlie did ouerthrow and kill manie of the enimies.

The like valiant minds were in all the whole residue, who now striued & served all for the best game: and so lustilie they acquitted themselves, that the enimies being afraid, were faine to take their heeles and to run awaie. But they still followed and pursued them euen vntill night, still murthuring & spoiling them. Rotherike the king himselfe trusted so much in the great troops and multitudes of his people; that he thought nothing lesse, than that so small a number as were within, would issue out and giue the onset vpon so manie as were without. And therfore taking his pleasure and pastance, he was then a bathing: but when he heard how the game went, and how his men were discomfited & the most part fled or flieng awaie, he neither tarried for his chamberleine to apparell him, nor for his page to help him: but with all the hast and post hast he could, he turneth a faire paire of heeles and runneth awaie: and albeit he were verie sharpelie pursued, yet (though hardlie) he escaped. At night all the companie being returned, they recouered themselves into the citie againe: not onelie with the honor of the field, but also with great booties and preies of vittels, armor, and other trash. Immediatlie also were dispersed the other camps, namelie the archbishops, Machlaghlin, Machelewn, Gillemeholcke and Okencelos, who had all the force of Leinster, sauing a few of Kencile and Wexford: and these were incamped on the south side. Likewise Ororike of Meth, Okarrell of Vriell, Mac Shaghline and Ocadise which were incamped on the north side raised their camps and shifted for themselves. On the morrow, all things being set in good order, and good watch appointed for the safe keeping and custodie of the citie, they march towards Wexford, and take the higher waie by Odrone.

The guilefull and treacherous taking of Robert Fitzstephans at the Karecke.

CAP. 26.

AFTER this good successe, fortune who cannot continue firme in one staie, dooth now change hir course, and interlineth aduersitie with prosperitie. For whie, there is neither faith firme, nor felicitie permanent vpon the earth. For the Wexford men and they of Kencile, forgetting their promise, and nothing regarding their faith which they had before made and assured vnto Robert Fitzstephans, doo now assemble themselves to the number of thrée thousand, and doo march toward the Karecke, there to besiege the same, where Robert Fitzstephans was then: who mistrusting & fearing nothing, had but fiew gentlemen and a few archers about him. The enimies giue the assalt, & not preuailing at the first, doo renew the same againe and againe: but when they saw that all their labours were lost, bicause that Fitzstephans and his companie though they were but a few in number, yet they were verie nimble and verie readie to defend themselves, and especiallie one William Nott, who in this seruice did verie well and worthilie acquit himselfe; they now doo seeke to practise their old subtilties and gullies. They leauing therefore to vse force and violence, doo now vnder colour of peace come toward the Karecke and bring with them the bishop of Kildare, the bishop of Wexford, & certeine other religious persons, who brought with them a massebooke, *Corpus Domini*, and certeine relikes: and after a few speeches of persuasion had with Fitzstephans, they to compasse their matter, tooke their corporall othes, and swore vpon a booke, that the citie of Dublin was taken: and that the earle, Maurice, Reimond, and all the Englishmen were taken and killed; that Rotherike of Connagh, with all the whole power and armie of Connagh & Leinster, was comming

towards Wexford for the apprehension of him: but for his sake, and for the good will which they bare vnto him, because they had alwaie found him a courteous and a liberall prince, they were come vnto him to conueie him awaie in safetie, and all his ouer into Wales, before the comming of that great multitude, which were his extreame and mortall enimies. Fitzstephans giuing credit to this their swearing and auowries, did forthwith yeeld himselfe, his people, & all that he had vnto them and their custodie: but they forthwith most traitorouslie, of them that thus yeelded into their hands some they killed, some they beat, some they wounded, and some they cast into prison. But assoone as newes was brought that Dublin was false, and that the earle was marching towards them; these traitors set the towne on fire, and they themselues with bag and baggage and with their prisoners gat them into the Iland Begorie, which they call the holie Iland, and which lieth in the middle of the hauen there.

The description of Robert Fitzstephans.

CHAP. 27.

O NOBLE man, the onelic patterne of vertue, and the example of true industrie and labours: who hauing tried the variablenesse of fortune, had tasted more aduersitie than prosperitie! O worthie man, who both in Ireland and in Wales had traced the whole compasse of fortunes wheele, and had endured whatsoeuer good fortune or euill could giue! O Fitzstephans, the verie second an other (1) Marius, for if you doo consider his prosperitie, no man was more fortunate than he: and on the contrarie, if you marke his aduersitie, no man was or could be more miserable. He was of a large and full bodie, his countenance verie comelie: and in stature he was somewhat more meane: he was bountifull, liberall, and pleasant, but yet sometimes somewhat aboue modestie giuen to wine and women. The earle (as is aforesaid) marched with his armie towards Wexford, fast by Odrone, which was a place full of streicts, passes, and bogs, and verie hardlie to be passed through: but yet the whole power, force, and strength of all Leinster came thither, and met him and gaue him the battell, betwéene whom there was a great fight, and manie of the enimies slaine. But the earle with the losse of one onelic yoongman recouered himselfe in safetie to the plaines, and there amongst others, Meilerius shewed himselfe to be a right valiant man.

(1) This Marius was named Caius Marius, his father was borne in Arpinum, & from thence came to Rome, and there dwelt, being a poore artificer and handicrafts man, but much relieued by Metellus a noble Roman, in whose house, and vnder whom, both the father and the sonne were seruants: but being giuen altogether to martiall affaires, he became a verie valiant man, and did as good seruice to the citie of Rome as anie before or after him. Affrica he conquered, and in his first triumph Iugurtha and his two sonnes were bound in chaines, and caried captiues to Rome before his chariot. The Cambrians, Germans, and Tigurians wanting habitations, and thinking to settle themselues in Italie, trauelled thitherwards for the same purpose; but being denied by the Romans, they made most cruell warres vpon them, and slue of them at one time fourescore thousand souldiers, and thréscoré thousand of others, wherewith the state of Rome and of all Italie was so broken, and ouerthrowne, that the Romans much bewailed themselues, & did thinke verelie that they should be vtterlie destroied. In this distresse

distresse Marius tooke the matter in hand, and meeting first with the Germans, gaue them the battell, slue their king Teutobochas, and two hundred thousand men, beside fourescore thousand which were taken. After that he met with the Cambrians, and slue their king Belus, and an hundred and fortie thousand with him, as also tooke fortie thousand prisoners. For which victorie he triumphed the second time in Rome, and was named then the third founder of Rome. Againe in the ciuill wars which grew by the means of Drusus, all Italie was then in armes, and the Romans in euerie place had the worse side (for all Italie began to forsake them) and in this distresse Marius hauing gotten but a small power in respect of the enimies, giueth the onset vpon the Marsians, and at two times he slue foure-téene thousand of them: which so quailed the Italians, and encouraged the Romans, that the Romans recouered themselves and had the maistrie. As in the warres so otherwise was Marius very fortunate: for being but of a base stocke, yet he married Julia, a noble woman of the familie of the Julies, and aunt vnto Iulius Cesar: he passed thorough the most part of the offices in Rome: he was first *Legatus à senatu*, then *Prefectus equitum*: after that *Tribunus plebis*, *Prætor*, *Aedilis*, and seuen times was he consull. And as fortune seemed to fauour and countenance him aboue all other in Rome; so did she also checke him with great reproches, & burdened him with great miseries. For his pride was so excessiue, and his ambition so intollerable, that the best and most part of the Romans deadlie hated and enuied him: and therefore when he laboured to be *Aedilis*, *Prætor*, & *Tribune*, he was reiected; he was accused for ambition, and proclaimed a traitor and an enimie to the common-wealth: he was inforced to forsake Rome and flie into Affrike. Also being at the seas, the mariners cast him on land among his enimies, and draue him to shift for himselfe. When he was pursued by his enimies, he was faine to hide himselfe in a bog, and couered himselfe with dirt & mire because he would not be knowne. Neuerthelesse he was taken and deliuered to a slaue to be killed. Manie other stormes of aduersitie and miserie did he abide and indure, and therefore it was said of him, that in miserie no man was more miserable, and in felicitie none more fortunate and happie than he.

The description of the earle Strangbow.

CHAP. 28.

THE earle was somewhat ruddie and of sanguine complexion and freckle faced, his eies greie, his face feminine, his voice small, and his necke little, but somewhat of a high stature: he was verie liberall, courteous and gentle: what he could not compasse and bring to passe in déed, he would win by good words and gentle speeches. In time of peace he was more readie to yéeld and obeie, than to rule and beare swaie. Out of the campe he was more like to a souldior companion than a capteine or ruler: but in the campe and in the warres he caried with him the state and countenance of a valiant capteine. Of himselfe he would not aduenture anie thing, but being aduised and set on, he refused no attempts: for of himselfe he would not rashlie aduenture, or presumptuouslie take anie thing in hand. In the fight and battell he was a most assured token and signe to the whole companie, either to stand valiantlie to the fight, or for policie to retire. In all chances of warre he was still one and the same maner of man, being neither dismaid with aduersitie, nor puffed vp with prosperitie.

The

The earle leaving Wexford upon the newes that Fitzstephans was in hold, went to Waterford, and from thence sailed into England, & was reconciled to the king.

CHAP. 29.

AS the earle was marching towards Guefford, and was come to the borders therof, certeine messengers met him, and shewed to him the mischance happened vnto Robert Fitzstephans, and of the setting on fire the towne of Wexford: adding moreouer, that the traitors were fullie determined if they trauelled anie further towards them, they would cut off all the heads of Fitzstephans and his companie, and send them vnto him. Wherevpon with heauie cheare & sorrowfull hearts they change their minds, and turne towards Waterford. Where when they were come, they found Heruie now latelie returned from the king with a message and letters from him vnto the earle, perswading and requiring him to come ouer into England vnto him. Wherevpon the earle prepared and made himselfe readie, and as soone as wind and weather serued he tooke shipping, and caried Heruie along with him. And being landed he rode towards the king, and met him at a towne called Newham néere vnto Glocester, where he was in readines with a great armie to saile ouer into Irland. Where after sundrie & manie altercations passed betweene them, at length by means of Heruie the kings displeasure was appeased, and it was agreed that the erle should sweare allegiance to the king, and yéeld and surrender vnto him the citie of Dublin, with the cantreds thervnto adioining, as also all such towns and forts as were bordering vpon the sea side. And as for the residue he should haue and reteine to him and his heirs, holding the same of the king & of his heirs. These things thus concluded, the king with his armie marched along by Seuerne side, & the sea coasts of (1) Westwales, vnto the towne (2) of Penbroke, where he taried vntill he had assembled all his armie in (3) Milford hauen there to be shipped.

(1) Westwales in Latine is named *Demetia*, and is that which is now called Penbrokeshire. It reacheth from the seas on the north vnto the seas on the south. In the west part thereof is the bishops see of Meneue named saint Davids: and on the east side it bordereth vpon Southwales named Deinenbart. In this part were the Flemmings placed first.

(2) Penbroke is the chieftest towne of all *Demetia*, and lieth on the east side of Milford hauen, wherein was sometimes a verie strong castell builded (as some write) by a noble man named Arnulph Montgomer.

(3) Milford is a famous and a goodlie harborough lieng in *Demetia*, or Westwales. The Welshmen name it the mouth of two swords. It hath two branches or arnes, the one flowing hard to Hauerford west, and the other thorough the countrie named Rossia.

Ororike prince of Meth besieging Dublin, is driuen off by Miles Cogan, and hath the worst side.

CHAP. 30.

IN the meane time Ororike, the one eied king of Meth, watching the absence of the earle as also of Reimond, the one being in England, and the other at Waterford,

Waterford, he mustered a great number of soldiers, and vpon a sudden about the kalends of September, laicth siege to the citie of Dublin: within the which there were then but few men, but yet they were valiant and verie men indeed. And as the flame can not be suppressed, but that it will breake out: euen so vertue and valiantnesse can not be shut vp, but that it will (when time and occasion serueth) shew it selfe. For Miles Cogan and all his companie vpon a sudden issue out vpon the enimies, and vnwares taking them napping, made a great slaughter of them: among whom there was the sonne of Ororike, a lustie yoong gentleman, and he slaine also. And at this time the king of England, lieng at Penbroke in Wales, he fell out with the noblemen and gentlemen of the countrie: bicause they had suffered the earle Richard to take his passage among them from thense into Ireland. And remoouing such as had anie charge or kéeping of any forts there, he placed others therein: but at length his heat being cooled, & his displeasure quailed, they were reconciled againe to his good fauour and grace.

Whilest the king laie there, he had great pleasure in hawking, and as he was walking abroad with a goshawke of Norwaie vpon his fist, he had espied a falcon sitting vpon a rocke; and as he went about the rocke to view and behold him, his goshawke hauing also espied the falcon, bated vnto him, and therewith the king let him flie. The falcon séeing hir selfe thus béeset, taketh also wing: and albeit hir flight was but slow at the first; yet at length she maketh wing and mounteth vp of a great height: and taking the aduantage of the goshawke hir aduersarie, commeth downe with all hir might, and striking hir she claue hir backe asunder, and fell downe dead at the kings foot: wherat the king and all they that were then present had great maruell. And the king hauing good liking, and being in loue with the falcon, did yearelie at the bréeding and disclosing time send thither for them: for in all his land there was not a better and a more hardie hawke.

The comming of king Henrie into Ireland.

CHAP. 31.

THESE things thus doone, and all prepared in a readinesse fit for such a noble enterprise, and for which the king had staied a long time in Wales, he went to saint Dauids church, where when he had made his praiers and doone his deuotion, the wind and the wether well seruing, he tooke shipping and arriued vnto Waterford in the kalends of Nouember, being saint Luks daie: hauing in his retinue five hundred gentlemen of seruice, and of bowmen and horssemen a great number. This was in the seuentéenth yeare of his reigne, the one & fortith of his age, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred seauentie & two, Alexander the third then pope, Frederike then emperor, and Lewes then French king. And now was fulfilled the prophesie of Merlin, that "A fire globe shall come out of the east, and shall deuour and consume all Ireland round about:" and likewise the prophesie of saint Molin, that "Out of the east shall come a mightie hurling wind, & rush thorough to the west, and shall run thorough and ouerthrow the force and strength of Ireland."

Prophecies of
Merlin and
Molin fulfilled.

The

The citizens of Wexford present unto the king Robert Fitzstephans, and sundrie princes of Ireland come and submit themselves to the king.

CHAP. 32.

THE king being thus landed at Waterford, and there resting himself; the citizens of Wexford, vnder colour and pretense of great humblenesse and dutie, and in hope of some thanks, they brought Robert Fitzstephans bound as a captiue and a prisoner, and presented him to the king as one who deserued small fauor or courtesie, that he had without his consent & leaue entered into Ireland, & giuen thereby an occasion to others to offend and to doo euill. The king not liking of him, fell out with him, and charged him verie déepelie and sharplie for his rash and hastie aduentures, and that he would take vpon him to make a conquest of Ireland without his assent and leaue: and forthwith commanded him to be handlocked and fettered, with an other prisoner, and to be safelie kept in Renold tower. Then Dermon Mac Arth prince of (1) Corke came to the king of his owne free will, submitted himselfe, became tributarie, and tooke his oth to be true and faithfull to the king of England. After this the king remooued his armie and marched toward (2) Lisemore, and after that he had tarried about two daies, he went to (3) Cashill, and thither came vnto him at the riuer of (4) Sure, Donold prince of (5) Limerike: where when he had obtained peace, he became tributarie and swore fealtie. The king then set (of his men) rulers and kéeperes ouer the cities of Corke and Limerike.

Then also came in Donold prince of Ossorie, and Macleighlin O Felin prince of the Decies, and all the best & chieftest men in all Mounster, & did submit themselves, became tributaries and swore fealtie. Whome when the king had verie liberallic rewarded, he sent them home againe: and he himselfe returned backe againe to Waterford through (6) Tibrach. When he came to Waterford, Fitzstephans was brought before him, & when he had well beheld him, and considered with himselfe the valiantnesse of the man, the good seruice he had doone, & the perils & dangers he had beene in: he began to be moued with some pitie and compassion vpon him, and at the intercession & by the mediation of certeine noblemen, he heartilie forgaue him, and released him from out of bonds, and restored him wholie to his former state and libertie, sauing that he reserued to himselfe the towne of Wexford, with the territories and lands therevnto adioining: & not long after some of those traitors, who thus had betraied him, were themselves taken and put to death.

(1) Corke, in Latine named *Corcagium*, is an ancient citie in the prouince of Mounster, and builded (as it should appeare) by the Easterlings or Norwaies. It standeth now in a marish or a bog, and vnto it floweth an arme of the seas, in the which are manie goodlie receptacles or harboroughs for ships, & much frequented as well for the goodlie commodities of fishings therein, as also for the trade of merchandize, by the which the citie is chieflie mainteined: for the inhabitants are not onlie merchants & great trauellers themselves; but also great store of strange merchants doo dailie resort & traffike with them. It is walled round about, and well fortified for a sufficient defense against the Irishrie. In it is the bishops see of that diocesse, being called by the name of the bishop of Corke. The citie is gouerned by a maior and two bailies, who vsing the gouernement according to the lawes of England, doo keepe and mainteine the same in verie good order.

They

They are verie much troubled with the enimie, and therefore they doo continuallie, as men lieng in a garison, keepe watch and ward both daie and night. The prince of that countrie did most commonlie kéepe & staie himselfe in all troubles within that citie, vntill the time the same was conquered by the Englishmen, who euer since haue inhabited in the same.

(2) Lisemore in times past was as faire a towne as it is ancient, and standeth vpon a goodlie riuer, which floweth ynto Youghall, and so into the maine seas. It was sometimes a bishoprike, but of late vnited to the bishoprike of Waterford, and so it lieth in the countie and diocesse of Waterford, but the soile it selfe was within the countie of Corke.

(3) Cashill is an old ruinous towne, but walled, and standeth vpon the riuer Sure. In it is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, bearing the name therof, who is one of the foure archbishopriks of that land, and vnder him are the bishops of Waterford, Corke, and seuen others.

(4) The Sure is a goodlie and a notable riuer, and one of the chieftest in that land. It hath his head or spring in a certeine hill called Blandina, but in Irish Sloghblome, for the pleasantnesse thereof. Manie good townes are seated and builded vpon the same, & it is nauigable more than the one halfe. It fléeteth from the spring or head fast by the towne of Thorleis, whereof the earle of Ormond is baron: from thense to the holie crosse and so to Clomnell, & from thense to Carig Mac Griffith, where is an ancient house of the earles, sometime named the earles of the Carig, but now earles of Ormond; and from thense fléeting by Tibrach, it commeth to Waterford; and fléeting by the wals thereof, it runneth into the seas.

(5) Limerike is one of the first cities builded by the Norwaies or Easterlings, named sometimes Ostomen: the founder whereof was the yoongest of thrée brethren whose name was Yuorus. It standeth vpon the famous and noble riuer of Shenin, which goeth round about it, the same being as it were an Iland. The seat of it is such, as none can be more faire or more statelie. It lieth in the maine land within the prouince of Mounster, called the north Mounster, and is from the maine seas aboue fortie miles, and yet at the wals euen the greatest ship at the seas maie be discharged and vladen, and yéerelie so there are: for the citie it selfe is chieflie inhabited by merchants. It is gouerned by a maior and bailiffes after and according to the English lawes and orders. It was in times past vnder a particular prince of it self, but euer since the conquest it hath béene inhabited by the Englishmen, who doo so still continue therein.

(6) Tibrach is an old towne, which in times past was rich and verie well inhabited, it lieth vpon the north side of the Sure, and about two miles from Carig Mac Griffith. In it is a great stone standing, which is the bound betwéene the counties of Kilkennie and Ormond.

Rothorike O Connor the monarch and all the princes in Vlster submit and yeeld themselves vnto the king, as he passeth towards Dublin.

CHAP. 33.

THESE things thus doon at Waterford, the king left Robert Fitzbarnard there with his houshold, and marched himselfe to Dublin through the countrie of Ossorie: and staieng somewhat by the waie in his iourneie, there came and resorted vnto him out of euerie place there the great men & princes, as namelie Machelan

Ophelan prince of Ossorie, Mache Talewie, Othwelie Gillemholoch, Ochadese, O Carell of Uriell & Ororike of Meth: all which yeelded & submitted themselves to the king in their owne persons, & became his vassals, & swore fealtie. But Rothorike the monarch came no néerer than to the riuer side of the (1) Shenin, which diuideth Connagh from Meth, & there Hugh de Lacie and William Fitzald lye by the kings commandement met him, who desiring peace submitted himselfe, swore allegiance, became tributarie, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the kéeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland sauing Vlster brought in subiection, and euerie particular prince in his proper person did yéeld and submit himselfe, sauing onelie Rothorike, the then monarch of all Ireland; and yet by him and in his submission all the residue of the whole land became the kings subiects, and submitted themselves. For indéed there was no one nor other within that land, who was of anie name or countenance, but that he did present himselfe before the kings maiestic, and yéelded vnto him subiection and due obedience.

Prophecies of
Merlin and
Molin fulfilled.

And then was fulfilled the old and vulgar prophesie of S. Molin; "Before him all the princes shall fall downe, and vnder a dissembled submission shall obtaine fauor and grace." Likewise the prophesie of Merlin; "All the birds of that Iland shall flee to his light, and the greater birds shall be taken & brought into captiuitie, and their wings shall be burned." Also the old prophesie of Merlin Ambrose; "Five portions shall be brought into one, & the sixt shall breake and ouerthrow the walles of Ireland." That which Ambrose nameth heere the sixt, Celidonius nameth the fift, as appeareth in his booke of prophesies. Now when the feast of Christ-masse did approach and draw neere, manie and the most part of the princes of that land resorted and made repaire vnto Dublin, to see the kings court: and when they saw the great abundance of vittels, and the noble seruices, as also the eating of cranes, which they much lothed, being not before accustomed therevnto, they much woondered and maruelled thereat: but in the end they being by the kings commandement set downe, did also there eat and drinke among them. At this time there were certeine soldiars, being bowmen, seassed at Finglas, and they hewed and cut downe the trees which grew about the churchyard, which had beene there planted of old time by certeine good and holie men: and all these soldiars suddenlie fell sicke of the pestilence and died all: as is more at large declared in our topographie.

(1) The Shenin is the cheefest and most famous riuer in that land, and dooth in a manner inuiron and inclose all Connagh, & diuideth it from the prouinces of Mounster and Meth: his head and spring is in the hill named Therne, which bordereth vpon O Connor Slegos countrie, not farre from the riuer of the Banne in Vlster, and in length is supposed to be about a hundred and twentie English miles. It is increased with sundrie brooks, and diuerse riuers run into the same; the chéefest whereof is that which riseth and commeth out of the logh or lake Foile. In it are manie loghs or lakes of great quantitie or bignesse, which are maruelouslie replenished and stored with abundance of fish: the chéefest of which are the logh Rie, and the logh Derigid. It is nauigable aboue thrée score miles, and vpon it standeth the most famous citie of Limerike. There is onlie one bridge ouer it, builded of late yeares at Alone, by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie knight, then lord deputie of the realme.

The councell or synod kept at Cashill.

CHAP. 34.

THE realme beeing now in good peace and quietnesse, and the king now hauing a care and a zeale to set forth Gods honor and true religion, summoned a synod of all the clergie vnto Cashill, where inquirie and examination was made of the wicked and loose life of the people of the land and nation: which was registred in writing, and sealed vnder the seale of the bishop of Lisemore, who being then the popes legat was president of that councell. And then & there were made and decreed sundrie good and godlie constitutions, which are yet extant; as namelie, for contracting of marriage, for paiment of tithes, for the reuerend and cleane kéeping of the churches; and that the vniuersall church of Ireland should be reduced in all things to the order and forme of the church of England. Which constitutions were forthwith published throughout the realme, and doo here follow.

Constitutions made at the councell of Cashill.

CHAP. 35.

IN the yere of Christs incarnation 1172, & in the first yéere that the most noble king of England conquered Ireland, Christianus bishop of Lisemore, and legat of the apostolike see, Donat archbishop of Cashill, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus archbishop of Thomond with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, abbats, archdeacons, priors, deanes, & manie other prelats of the church of Ireland, by the commandement of the king did assemble themselues and kept a synod at Cashill: and there debating manie things concerning the wealth, estate, and reformation of the church, did prouide remedies for the same. At this councell were also for and in the behalfe of the king, whom he had sent thither, Rafe abbat of Buldewais, Rafe archdeacon of (1) Landaffe, Nicholas the chapleine, and diuerse other good clearks. Sundrie good statutes and wholesome laws were there deuised, which were after subscribed and confirmed by the king himselfe, and vnder his authoritie, which were these that follow. First, it is decreed that all good faithfull and christian people, throughout Ireland, should forbear and shun to marrie with their néere kinsfolke and cousins, & marrie with such as lawfullie they should doo. Secondarilie, that children shall be catechised without the church doore, and baptised in the font appointed in the churches for the same. Thirdlie, that euerie christián bodie doo faithfullie and trulie paie yerelie the tiths of his cattels, corne, and all other his increase and profits to the church or parish where he is a parishioner. Fourthlie, that all the church lands and possessions, throughout all Ireland, shall be free from all secular exactions and impositions: and especiallie that no lords, earles, nor noble men, nor their children, nor familie, shall extort or take anie coine and liuerie, cosheries, nor cuddies, nor anie other like custome from thenseforth, in or vpon anie of the church lands and territories. And likewise that they nor no other person doo henseforth exact out of the said church lands, old, wicked, and detestable customes of coine and liuerie, which they were woont to extort vpon such townes and villages of the churches: as were

Ecclesiasticall
constitutions for
Ireland

neere and next bordering vpon them. Fiftlie, that when earike or composition is made among the laie people for anie murther, that no person of the cleargie, though he be kin to anie of the parties, shall contribute anie thing therevnto: but as they be guiltlesse from the murther, so shall they be frée from paiment of monie, for anie such earike or release for the same. Sixtlie, that all and euerie good christian being sicke & weake, shall before the préest and his neighbors make his last will and testament; and his debts and seruants wages being paid, all his moouables to be diuided (if he haue anie children) into thrée parts: whereof one part to be to the children, another to his wife, and the third part to be for the performance of his will. And if so be that he haue no children, then the goods to be diuided into two parts, whereof the one-moitie to his wife, and the other to the performance of his will and testament. And if he haue no wife, but onelie children, then the goods to be likewise diuided into two parts, wherof the one to himselfe, and the other to his children. Seuenthlie, that euerie christian being dead, and dieng in the catholike faith, shall be reuerendlie brought to the church, and to be buried as apperteineth. Finallie, that all the diuine seruice in the church of Ireland shall be kept, vsed, & obserued in the like order and maner as it is in the church of England. For it is méet and right, that as by Gods prouidence and appointment Ireland is now become subiect, and vnder the king of England: so the same should take from thense the order, rule, and maner how to reforme themselues, and to liue in better order. For whatsoeuer good thing is befallen to the church & realme of Ireland, either concerning religion, or peaceable gouernement, they owe the same to the king of England, and are to be thankfull vnto him for the same: for before his comming into the land of Ireland, manie and all sorts of wickednesses in times past flowed and reigned amongst them: all which now by his authoritie and goodnesse are abolished. The primat of Armagh, by reason of his weaknesse and great age, was not present at the synod: but afterwards he came to Dublin, and gaue his full consent to the same. This holie man (as the common saieng was) had a white cow, and being fed onelie by hir milke, she was alwaies carried with him wheresoeuer he went and trauelled from home.

The tempestuous and stormie winter.

CHAP. 36.

THE seas, which a long time had beene calme, began now to swell, and to be full of continuall storms and tempests, which were so raging, and so great, that in all that winter there ariued scarselie anie one ship or barke from anie place into that land: neither was there anie news heard from out of anie countrie during that winter. Whervpon men began to be afraid, and thinke verelie that God in his anger would punish them, and be reuenged for their wicked & sinfull life, and therefore had sent this plague vpon them. At this time in Southwales by reason of the extreme and continuall tempests, the sea sides and shores, which had manie yeares beene couered with great sand ridges, were now washed and carried awaie with the seas, and then there appeared the former fast and firme earth, and therein a great number of trees standing which did in times past grow there: and by reason they had béene so long couered, & as it were buried vnder the sands, they stood as trunked and polled trées, and were as bläcke as is the Ebenie. A maruelous alteration, that the place sometimes couered with seas, and a waie for ships to passe, is now become a soile of ground and drie land. But some suppose that this was

so at the first, and that those trées were there growing before or shortlie after the floud of Noah. The king remained at Wexford, still longing to heare news from beyond the seas: and thus lieng solitarie he practised by all the means and sleights he could, how he might flocke and procure vnto him Reimond, Miles Cogan, William Makerell; & other of the best gentlemen; that he being assured of them to be firme of his side, he might be the stronger, and the earle the weaker.

The conspiracie made against the king by his sonnes, and the ambassage of the legat from the pope vnto him.

CHAP. 37.

AFTER Midlent the wind being easterlie, there came and arriued into Ireland certeine ships, as well from out of England, as also from out of Aquitaine in France, which brought him verie ill & bad newes. For there were come into Normandie from pope Alexander the third two cardinals in an ambassage, the one of them being named Albertus; and the other Theodinus, to make inquirie of the death of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie. They were thought and taken to be iust and good men, and therefore were chosen of trust and of purpose for this matter: but yet for all that they were Romans, and who were fullie determined to haue interdicted, not onelie England, but also all the whole dominions subiect vnto the king, if he himselfe had not the sooner come and met with them. Besides this, there was woorse newes told him, and a woorse mishap befell vnto him (for commonlie good lucke commeth alone, but ill haps come by heapes and by huddels) which was, that his eldest sonne whom he loued so déerlie, and whom he had crowned king, as also his two yoonger sonnes, with the consent and helpe of sundrie noble men, as well in England as beyond the seas, had confederated themselves, and conspired against the king in his absence. Which newes and secret conspiracie when he heard and vnderstood, he was in a maruellous perplexitie, and for verie anguish and greefe of mind did sweat. First it gréeued him that he should be suspected and infamed of the crime whereof he was giltlesse. Also he feared of the great troubles which would grow and insue hereby to his kingdome, & all other his dominions. Yea, and it gréeued him verie much, that he being minded and determined the next summer then following to settle Ireland in some good staie, and to fortifie the same with holds and castels, he should now be compelled and driuen to leaue the same vndoone. Wherefore sending some before him into England, as well to aduertise his comming homewards, as also of the safetie he had taken for Ireland, he bethought himselfe, as also tooke good aduise and counsell, what was best to be doone in these his weightie causes.

The King returneth homewards through Westwales, and of the speaking stone at saint Davids.

CHAP. 38.

THE king being minded and determined to returne into England, set his realme of Ireland in good order, and left Hugh de Lacie (vnto whom he had giuen in fee the countrie of Meth) with twentie gentlemen, & Fitzstephans & Maurice Fitzgerald with twentie other gentlemen, to be wardens and conestables of Dublin. Likewise he left Humfreie de Bohune; Robert Fitzbarnard, and Hugh de Gundeuille, with twentie gentlemen, to kéepe and gouerne Waterford. Also he left William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Hastings, and Philip de Bruse, to be gouernors and rulers of Wexford: they hauing also twentie gentlemen of seruice appointed vnto them. And on the mondaie in the Easter weeke, earlie in the morning at the sunne rising, he tooke shipping without the barre of Wexford; and the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, he had a verie good passage, and arriued about the noone-tide of the same daie vnto the baie of saint Davids: where he being set on land, he went on foot with a staffe in his hand in pilgrimage, and in great deuotion vnto the church of saint Davids; whom the cleargie in procession met at the gate called the white gate, and with great honour receiued him. And as they were going verie orderlie and solemnlie in procession, there came vnto him a Welsh or a Camber woman; and falling downe at his feet, she made a great complaint against the bishop of that place: which being by an interpretor declared vnto the king, albeit he vnderstood it well, yet he gaue hir no answer.

A prophesie of Merlin.

A speaking stone.

She thinking that hir sute was not regarded, did wring hir fists, and cried out with a lowd voice; "Reuenge vs this day O Lechlanar, Reuenge vs I say, our kindred, and our nation, from this man." And being willed by the people of that countrie, who vnderstood hir speach, to hold hir peace, as also did thrust hir out of the companie; she cried the more, trusting and alluding to a certeine blind prophesie of Merlin, which was; that "The king of England the conqueror of Ireland, should be wounded in Ireland by a man with a red hand, and in his returning homewards through Southwales should die vpon Lechlanar." This (1) Lechlanar was the name of a certeine great stone which laie ouer a brooke, which fleteth or runneth on the north side of the churchyard, and was a bridge ouer the same: and by reason of the often and continuall going of the people ouer it, it was verie smooth and slipperie. In length it was of ten foot, in breadth six foot, and in thickness one foot. And this word Lechlanar, in the Camber or Welsh toong, is to saie, The speaking stone. For it was an old blind saieng among the people in that countrie, that on a time there was a dead corps caried ouer that stone to be buried, and the said stone spake, and foorthwith brake and claued asunder in the middle, and which cliff so remaineth vnto this daie. And thereto the people of that countrie, of a verie vaine and barbarous superstition, haue not since, nor yet will carie anie more dead bodies ouer the same.

The king being come to this stone, and hearing of this prophesie, paused and staied a little while; and then vpon a sudden, verie hastilie he went ouer it: which doone, he looked backe vpon the stone, and spake somewhat sharpelie, saieng: "Who is he that will beleue that lieng Merlin anie more?" A man of that place standing thereby, and seeing what had happened, he to excuse Merlin, said with a lowd voice; "Thou art not he that shall conquer Ireland, neither dooth Merlin

meane

meane it of thée." The king then went into the cathedrall church which was dedicated to saint Andrew and to saint David: and hauing made his praiers, and heard diuine seruice, he went to supper, and rode after to Hauerford west to bed, which is about twelue miles from thence.

(1) The writer hereof (of verie purpose) in the yeare 1575, went to the foresaid place to see the said stone, but there was no such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie, is now an arched bridge, vnder which flecteth the brooke aforesaid, which brooke dooth not diuide the churchyard from the church, but the churchyard & church from the bishops and prebendaries houses, which houses in times past were verie faire and good hospitalitie kept therein. But as the most part of houses are fallen down, and altogether ruinous, so the hospitalitie is also therewith decaied. And for the veritie of the foresaid stone, there is no certeintie affirmed, but a report is remaining amongst the common people of such a stone to haue béene there in times past.

The submission of king Henrie to the pope, and his reconciliation, as also the agreement betweene him and the French king.

CHAP. 39.

THE king then tooke his iornie from Hauerford homewards along by the sea side, euen the same waie as before he came thither; and foorthwith in all hast he taketh shipping, and sailed into Normandie: and immediatlie vnderstanding where the popes legats were, he repaired vnto them, and presented himselfe in most humble maner before them. Where & before whome after sundrie altercations passed to and fro betweene them, he purged himselfe by his oth, that he was gilltesse of the death of the archbishop Thomas: neuertheles he was contented to doo the penance inioined him. For although he did not kill, nor yet know, nor consent to the murthering of him, yet he denied not but that the same was doone for his (1) sake. The ambassadors & legats hauing thus ended with the king, with much honour returned backe, and homewards to Rome. And then the king trauelled and went to the marches of France, there to talke and haue conference with Lewes the French king, betweene whome then was discord and debate. But after sundrie speeches past betweene them, at length by the meanes and intercession of sundrie good men, and especiallie of Philip earle of Flanders (who was but then returned from Compostella, where he had bene in pilgrimage vnto saint Iames) the same was ended; and the displeasure which he had conceiued about and for the death of the archbishop of Canturburie was clerelie released. And by these means, the great malice and secret conspiracies of his sonnes and their confederats was for this time suppressed and quailed, and so continued vntill the yeare following.

(1) They which doo write and intreat of the life and death of this archbishop, doo affirme that the king after the death of this man, did send his ambassadors to pope Alexander at Rome, to purge himselfe of this fact: And notwithstanding that he tooke a corporall oth, that he neither did it nor caused it to be doone, nor yet gaue anie consent, or was priue thereof, nor yet was gilltie in anie respect, sauing that he confessed he did not so well fauour the bishop as he had doone in times past: yet could not his ambassadors be admitted to the presence and sight of the pope, vntill he had yéelded himselfe to his arbitrement and iudgement:

ment: which was that he should doo certeine penance, as also to performe certeine imunctions which were as followeth. That the king at his proper costs and charges should keepe and susteine two hundred souldiers for one whole yeare, to defend the holie land against the Turke. That he should permit, and that it should be lawfull to all his subiects as often as them listed to appeale to the see of Rome. That none should be accounted thensefoorth to be lawfull king of England, vntill such time as he were confirmed by the Romian bishop. That he should restore to the church of Canturburie all such goods and possessions as were taken and detained from the same since the death of the archbishop. That he should suffer all such people as were fled or banished out of the realme for his sake, to returne home without delaie or let, and to inioy and haue againe all such goods and lands whatsoever they had before. Other things this Romish antichrist did demand, and which the king was compelled to grant vnto before he could be released: whereby it dooth appeare how much they doo varie from the calling of Christs apostles; and how that (contrarie to the rule of the gospell) their onelie indeuour was to make and haue princes and kingdoms subiect to their becke and tyrannie.

Imunctions by
the pope to the
king of England.

The vision which appeared vnto the king at his being at Cardiffe.

CHAP. 40.

BUT before we doo proceed anie further, it were not amisse to declare what happened and befell vnto the king in his returning through Wales, after his coming from Ireland. In his iourneie he came to the towne of Cardiffe on the saturdaye in the Easter weeke, and lodged there all that night. On the morrow being sundaie, and commonlie called little Easter daie or Low sundaie, he went somewhat earlie to the chapell of saint Perian, and there heard diuine seruice, but he staid there in his secret praier behind all his companie, somewhat longer than he was wont to doo: at length he came out, and leaping to his horsse, there stood before him one hauing before him a stake, or a post pitched in the ground. He was of colour somewhat yellowish, his head rounded and a leane face, of stature somewhat high, and aged about fortie yeares; his apparell was white, being close & downe to the ground, he was girded about the middle, and bare footed. This man spake to the king in Dutch, saieing; "God saue thee O king," and then said thus vnto him: "Christ and his mother Marie, Iohn baptist, and Peter the apostle doo salute thee: and doo strictlie charge and command thee, that thou doo forbid, that hencefoorth throughout all thy kingdome and domions, there be no faires nor markets kept in anie place vpon the sundaies: and that vpon those daies no maner or person doo anie bodilie worke, but onelie to serue God, sauing such as be appointed to dresse the meat. If thou wilt thus doo, all that thou shalt take in hand shall prosper; and thy selfe shalt haue a happie life." The king then spake in French to the gentleman, who held his horsse by the bridle, and whose name was Philip Mertros, a man borne in those parts, and who told me this tale: "Aske him whether he dreame or not." Which when he had so doone, the man looking vpon the king said: "Whether I dreame or not, marke well and remember what daie this is: for if thou doo not this, and speedilie amend thy wicked life, thou shalt before the yeare come about heare such euill news of those things which thou louest best, and thou shalt be so much vnquieted therewith, that thou shalt not find anie ease or end vntill thy dieng daie." With this word the king put spur to the horsse and rode awaie towards the towne gate, which was at hand: but thinking vpon the words

words areigned his horſſe and ſaid ; “ Call me yonder fellow againe.” Wherevpon the foresaid gentleman as alſo one William, which two were onelie then attending vpon him, firſt called and then ſought him in the chappell, and finding him not there, ſought him throughout the court, the towne, and in all the Ins, but could not find him. The king being verie ſad and ſorie that he had not throughlie talked with the man, went abroad himſelfe to ſecke him, but finding him not, called for his horſſes and rode from thence by Rempinbridge to Newberie. And as this man had before threatned and ſaid, it ſo came to paſſe before the yeare was ended : for his eldeſt ſonne Henrie, and his two yoonger ſonnes Richard earle of Aquitaine, and Geffreie erle of Britaine, in the Lent following forſooke and ſhroonke from him, and went to Lewes the French-king. Whereof grew and inſued vnto him ſuch vexation and vnquietneſſe, as he had neuer the like before, and which by one means and other neuer left him vntill his dieng daie. And ſuerlie it was thought the ſame by Gods iuſt iudgement ſo befell vnto him : for as he had béene and was a diſobedient ſonne to his ſpirituall father, ſo his carnall ſonnes ſhould be diſobedient and rebellious againſt their carnall father. Manie ſuch forewarnings the king had by Gods mercie and goodneſſe ſent vnto him before his death, to the end he ſhould repent and be conuerted, and not be condemned : which would to God that euerie prince and other man did not frowardlie and obſtinatlie condemne, but rather with an humble and a penitent heart they would (as they ought to doo) receiue and imbrace the ſame ! And therefore I haue and mind to write more at large in my booke, concerning the inſtruction and inſtitution of a chriſtian prince.

The treason and killing of Ororike prince of Meth.

CHAP. 41.

IN the meane time Ireland was in good reſt and peace, vnder ſuch as vnto whom the charge thereof was committed. And now on a time it happened, that the one eied Ororike of Meth, being at Dublin, complained vnto Hugh de Lacie of certeine iniuries doone vnto him, praieng redreſſe : wherevpon the daie and a place of (1) parlée was betweene them appointed for the ſame. The night next before the daie of this parlée, a yoong gentleman named Griffith, the nephue of Robert Fitzſtephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, being the ſonne to their eldeſt brother named William, dreamed in his ſleepe that he ſaw a great heard of wild hogs to ruſh and run vpon Hugh de Lacie and his vnclé Maurice ; and that one of them being more horrible and greater than the reſt, had with his tuſks rent and killed them : if he had not with all his force and ſtrength reſcued them, and killed the bore. On the morrow according to appointment, they came to the place appointed for the parlée, which was a certeine hill called Ororikes hill : but before they came to the verie hill it ſelfe, they ſent meſſengers the one to the other, requiring aſſurance and ſafetie : and hauing ſworne on each part to kéepe faith and truth, they came to the place appointed and there met, but yet a ſmall companie on either ſide. For it was agréed vpon on both parties, & by couénant excepted, that on each part they ſhould bring but a few and the like number, and they to be all vnarmed ; the ſwords on one ſide and the ſpars on the other ſide, and for all the reſidue of the people and companie to ſtand aloofe and a farre off. But Griffith, who came to the ſaid parlée with his vnclé Maurice, was verie penſife and much troubled, concerning the viſion which he ſaw in his ſleepe ; and doubting of the worſt, made choiſe of ſeuē of the beſt gentlemen of his kindred, whome he knew to be

Griffiths dreame.

valiant, and in whome he had a speciall trust and confidence. These he draweth to the one side of the hill, but as néere to the place of parlée as he could, where euerie of them hauing his sword, spar and shield; lept and mounted vp to their horses, and ranging the fields they made sundrie carrees and lustie turnaments, vnder the pretense and colour of plesantnes and pastime; but in verie déed to be in a readinesse if need should so require.

Hugh de Lacie and Ororike this meane while were talking and discoursing of manie things, but concluded not of anie thing; neither did Ororike meane anie such thing. For hauing a traitorous mind, and watching his time when he might best powre out his venem, fained himselfe to go out and abroad to make water, and vnder that colour beckened vnto his men, with whome he had concluded and agreed before, that with all hast they should come awaie vnto him; and they foorthwith in all hast so did, and he also then with a pale, grim, and murtherous countenance, hauing his ax or spar vpon his shoulder, returned backe againe. Maurice Fitzgerald, which was before warned by his cousine Griffith and aduertised of his dreame, gaue good eie and watched the matter verie narowlie; and therefore all the parlée time, he had his sword readie drawne about him: and espieng the traitor to be fullie bent and about to strike Hugh de Lacie, he cried out vnto him, willing him to looke vnto himselfe, and to be at defense with himselfe; wherewith the traitor most violentlie strake vnto him, thinking verelie to haue murthered and dispatched him. But the interpretor of the parlée stepping in betwéene, saued Hugh de Lacie; but he himselfe was wounded to death, and his arme cleane cut off.

Then Maurice Fitzgerald with a lowd voice cried out to his companie, who with all hast came awaie; and then began a hot and a sharpe bickering of the English swords against the Irish spars. In which skirmishing Hugh de Lacie was twice felled to the ground, and had suerlie béene killed, if Maurice had not valiantlie rescued him. Likewise the Irishmen who were manie in number, they hauing espied the becking of the traitor, they came running in all hast out of the vallies with their weapons, thinking verelie to haue made a cleane dispatch and a full end of Hugh de Lacie and of Maurice Fitzgerald. But Griffith and his companions, still watching for that which indéed did happen, were at the first call of Maurice in a readinesse, and being on horsebacke they came awaie with all speed: which thing when the traitor saw, he gan to distrust, and thought to shift himselfe awaie and so to escape. But as he was leaping to his horse, Griffith was come, and with his staffe or lance strake downe and ran through both horse and man: who being thus stricken downe and killed, as also three other of his men, who brought him his horse and were in this bickering, they cut off his head from the bodie, and sent it ouer into England to the king. The residue of the Irishmen fled foorthwith and ranne awaie, but being hardlie pursued euen to the verie woods, there was a great discomfiture and slaughter made of them. Rafe the sonne of Fitzstephans, being a lustie and a valiant yoong gentleman, did well acquite himselfe, and deserued great commendation for his good seruice.

(1) The maner of the Irishrie was euer, and yet is, that when so euer there is anie controuersie amongst them, they will oftentimes appoint places where to meet and assemble themselues for conference; which commonlie is vpon some hill distant and farre from anie house, and this assemblie is called among them a parlée or a parlement. And albeit the pretense héereof is of some quietnesse and redresse: yet experience teacheth that there is not a woorse thing to be vsed among them. For lightlie and most commonlie there are most treacheries and treasons, most murthers and robberies, and all wickednesse imagined, deuised, and afterwards put in practise

practise among them : and for the most part there is no parlée among them, whereof insueth not some mischéeffe.

(2) This hill lieth in the prouince of Meth, about twentie miles from Dublin, and is now called the Taragh : some thinke this to be the middle part or nauill of that prouince ; it is a verie pleasant and a fertile soile, and also for the most part champion.

Sundrie examples concerning visions.

CHAP. 42.

FOR so much as there be sundrie opinions and iudgments concerning visions, it shall not be much amisse, or impertinent to our matter, to recite a few examples & true reports of the same. Valerius Maximus in his first booke and seauenth chapter writeth, that two men of Arcadia, iournieng together in companie towards a towne named Megara, when they came thither, the one of them lodged himselfe with his fréend, but the other at a common Inne. He who laie in his fréends house being in bed and asléepe, dreamed that his companion came vnto him, and requested him to helpe him, bicause his hoast did oppresse him ; wherewith he awooke, but verie shortlie he fell asléepe againe, and dreamed that his said companion came againe vnto him being verie sore wounded, and praied him that although he would not at the first time come and helpe him, yet that he would now reuenge his death, declaring that his host had taken his head and corps, and put it into a cart to be caried to the dunghill, and there to be buried. This man being awaked, and much troubled with this dreame, arose and sought for his fellow, and finding his dreame to be true, caused the hoast to be taken and apprehended, who for that his fact was executed and put to death. Aterius Rufus a gentleman of Rome likewise, being on a time at Siracusa, he dreamed that he was killed by a maister of fense, which came so to passe : for on the morrow after he was present at the plaie or game of swordplaiers or maisters of defense, whereas a (1) netcaster was brought in to fight with a swordplaier. Wherevpon Aterius vttering his dreame to him that sat next by him, would haue gone and departed awaie ; but being persuaded to the contrarie, did staie to his owne destruction. For the netcaster hauing ouerthrowne the swordplaier, and thinking to haue pearsed him through with his sword, missed him and stroke Aterius, who sat in place next therevnto, and so was he slaine. Also Simonides the poet, being on a time set on land vpon the sea shore, he saw there a dead man lieng vnburied. The night following he dreamed that the said dead man did aduise and admonish him, that he should not take ship the daie following : but his felowes minding not to lose anie time, and the weather seeming then to be faire, they went all aboard, and hoised vp their sailes ; which Simonides refused to doo, and tarried at land. It was not long after but that the weather waxed to be fowle, and the seas to be high, and in the end both the ship and men to be all lost : but Simonides crediting his dreame, was saued. Moreouer Calphurnia, the wife vnto Iulius Cesar, the night before hir husband was slaine, dreamed that she saw him greatlie wounded to lie in hir lap : wherewith she being afraid did awake, and told Iulius hir dreame, requesting him that he would forbear to repaire to the senat house that daie : but he giuing small credit to a womans dreame, followed his mind and was slaine by the senators. But to leaue these examples fetched from out of other nations, let vs come neere home to our selues. A brother of mine named Walter Barrie, a lustic yoong gentleman, making him-

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dreames.

selfe readie on a time to serue in a certeine hosting against his enimie; the night before he should take his iournie, he dreamed that my mother who was dead on long before, did come vnto him, and aduise & warne him, that if he loued his life he should in anie wise refraine and forbear that iournie. She in déed was not his naturall mother, but his mother in law, and yet loued him in hir lifè time as intirelie as hir owne child. When he had told this his dreame to his father and mine, for indéed we were both brothers by one father, though we had not one mother: he also gaue him the like aduise and counsell, but he of his presumptuous mind, not regarding the same, followed his owne mind, and the same daie was killed by his-enimie.

(2) As dreames sometimes are good forewarnings to men to eschew euils which are towards, yet they are not alwaies to be so receiued, as prognostications infallible. For sometimes the same fall out to the contrarie, as dooth appeere by Augustus the emperor; who hauing warres against Brutus and Cassius, and he by reason of his sicknesse carried in a litter, his physician Arterius dreamed that the goddesse Minerua did appeere vnto him, willing him to aduise and counsell the emperor, that he should not by reason of his sicknesse come into the field, nor be present in the battell, which he did. But the emperor notwithstanding entered into the field, being carried in his litter, and tooke maruellous great pains. And albeit Brutus taking the emperors tents, seemed to haue the victorie; yet was he for all that vanquished, and the emperor had the conquest. Likewise in west Wales, of late yeares, it happened a certeine rich man dwelling on the north side of a certeine mountaine, he dreamed thrée nights together, that there was a chaine of gold hidden in the head stone, which couered and laie vpon a certeine well or founteine, named saint Bernaces well, and that he should go and fetch it. This man at length, somewhat beléeuing the dreame, and minding to trie the same, went to the place, and did put his hand into the hole or place: but his hand was no sooner in, but that it was bitten, stoong, and enuenomed with an adder. Wherefore a man may see hereby what credit is to be giuen to dreams, and I for my part doo so credit of them as I doo of rumors. But concerning such visions as God dooth send by his angels to his prophets and holie men, we must otherwise thinke of them; bicause the effect of them is most vndoubted, certeine, and assured.

(1) The Romans had diuerse games, plaies, and exercises amongst themselues, and had for the same certeine amphitheatres and theaters made of purpose, wherein the people might sit to view and behold the same. Of these plaies or games some were of cruell beasts the one fighting with the other, some of men fighting with beasts, and some of men fighting the one with the other, and these plaies were called *Ludi gladiatorij*, games of sword plaieng or fighting: for as in combates in England, so they being vnharressed, did fight with their swords or weapons in the open sight of the people, indeuouring ech one to kill the other, which were spectacles of crueltie to harden the peoples hearts against killing in the warres. Of these some were called *Mirmillones*, which were such as chalenged the fight; some were called *Gladiatores*, and these were such as we doo name masters of defenses, bicause they vsed onelie or cheeflie the sword; and some were called *Retiarij*, and these besides their weapons did vse a certeine kind of net, which in fighting they were woont to take and intrap their enimies, and such a one was this man, who fighting with a chalenger, did by chance misse him and kill Aterius.

(2) In the old and first ages, men were much giuen to dreames and visions: and oftentimes great forewarnings and prognostications were giuen thereby, as dooth appeare in the holie scriptures, as also in prophane histories. For Ioseph the son
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of Iacob, king Pharao, king Nabuchodonozor, Mardocheus, Daniell, Iudas Machabeus, Hercules, Pyrrhus, Cicero, Cassius, Parmensis, & manie others dreamed dreames, and the same came to passe. But yet these being but particular examples, and which it pleased God for some secret cause to vse: they are not to be drawne for presidents and exan ples to be dailie or in these daies vsed; but rather we must haue a respect and a regard to Gods speciall commandement, who by the mouths of his prophets hath vtterlie forbidden vs to listen to anie dreamer, or to giue credit vnto his words. "Thou shalt not (saith he) hearken to the words of a dreamer of dreames, for dreames haue deceiued manie a man, and they haue failed them who haue put their trust in them: for whie, they are full of deceipts and guiles, and inuented either for the maintenance of superstition and error, or for the increasing of some filthie lucre and gaine." Phauorinus therefore inueighing against the Chaldeans, who were a people which were woont to relie much vpon dreames, willeth and aduiseth that no dreamer or interpreter of dreames should be sought or dealt withall. "For (saith he) if they tell thee of anie good thing, and in the end doo deceiue thee, thou shalt be in miserie to hope in vaine for the same. If they tell thee of some misfortune, and yet doo lie, yet shalt thou be in miserie, bicause thou shalt be still in feare least it may happen. And likewise if they shew thee of euill haps, and the same doo so follow, thou shalt be in miserie and vnquieted, that thy fortune and destinie is so euill. But if they tell thee of good things, and it be long yer the same doo happen, thou shalt be much vnquieted to looke so long for it; and alwaies in feare least thine expectation shall be frustrated: wherefore in no wise doo thou seeke anie such persons, nor giue anie credit vnto them."

The description of Maurice Fitzgerald.

CHAP. 43.

THIS Maurice was a man of much nobilitie and worship, but somewhat shamefast and yet verie well coloured, and of a good countenance, of stature he was indifferent, being seemelie and well compact at all points, in bodie and mind he was of a like composition, being not too great in the one, nor proud in the other; of nature he was verie courteous and gentle, and desired rather so to be in déed, than to be thought or reputed so to be: he kept such a measure and a moderation in all his dooings, that in his daies he was a patterne of all sobrietie and good behauour; a man of few words, and his sentences more full of wit and reason than of words and speeches; he had more stomach than talke, more reason than speech, and more wisdom than eloquence. And when so euer anie matter was to be debated, as he would take good leasure, and be aduised before he would speake; so when he spake he did it verie wiselie and prudentlie. In martiall affaires also he was verie bold, stout, and valiant, and yet not hastie to run headlong in anie aduventure. And as he would be well aduised before he gaue the attempt and aduventure, so when the same was once taken in hand, he would stoutlie pursue and follow the same. Hewas sober, modest, and chaste, constant, trustie, and faithfull: a man not altogether without fault, and yet not spotted with anie notorious crime and fault.

The first dissention betweene the king and his sonnes.

CHAP. 44.

IN the moneth of Aprill then next folowing, the yoong king sonne to king Henrie the elder, being no longer able to conceale or suppress the wickednesse he had deuised against his father: he (I saie) and his two brethren the earls of Aquitaine and of Britaine suddenlie stole awaie into France, vnto Lewes the French king his father in law: for he had married his daughter, that hauing his aid he might ouer-run his owne father, and shorten his old yeares. And for his further helpe he had procured vnto him and on his side manie noble men both French and English, who openlie, but manie more, who secretlie did ioine with him to aid him. The elder king the father was verie much troubled and vnquieted for and about these and manie other sudden troubles, which on euerie side did grow vpon him; but yet he bare it out with a good face and countenance, dissembling that outwardlie which he conceiued inwardlie. And to stand firme and assured, he got and procured by all the meanes he could all such aid and helpe as was to be gotten and had. He sent into Ireland for his garrison, which he had left there; and being at Rone he committed the charge and gouernment of all Ireland vnto the earle Richard; but ioined Reimond in commission with him, bicause the earle without him would not doo anie thing, nor take the charge vpon him. And then the king of his liberalitie gaue also vnto him the towne of Wexford with the castell of Guikulo.

Of the victories of king Henrie the second.

CHAP. 45.

THE king hauing indured more than ciuill wars two whole years together aswell in England as in Aquitaine, in great troubles, much wachings, & painfull trauels, yet at length most valiantlie he preuailed against his enimies; & surelie it was more of Gods goodnes, than by mans power, and (as it is to be thought) for the reuenge of the disobedience & wrongs doone by the sons against the father. But forso-much as a mans owne houshold are commonlie the worst enimies; and of all enimies, the houshold & familiar enimie is most dangerous: there was no one thing which more troubled and gréeued the king, than the gentlemen of his priue chamber, and in whose hands in a manner laie his life or death, would euerie night secretlie and with treacherous minds run and resort to his sonnes, and in the morning when they should doo him seruice, they were not to be found. And albeit these warres in the beginning were verie doubtfull, and the king himselfe in great despaire: yet his hard beginning had a good ending, and he in the end had the victorie to his great honor and glorie. And God, who at the first seemed to be angrie with him, and in his anger to powre vpon him his wrath and indignation: yet now vpon his amendement and conuersion, he was become mercifull vnto him, and well pleased. And at the castell of Sandwich, whereof Reinulfe Glandeuill was then gouernor, who was a wise man, and alwaies most faithfull and trustie to the king, there was a generall peace proclaimed, and all England in rest and quietnesse.

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In this warre the king had taken prisoners the king of Scots, the earles of Chester and of Leicester, besides so manie gentlemen and good seruitors both English and French, that he had scarce anie prisons for so manie prisoners, nor so manie fetters for so manie captiues. But forsomuch as in vaine dooth a man triumph of the conquests vpon others, who cannot also triumph of the conquering of himselfe; and although the king had indured and abiden manie storms, great vnquietnesse, and much trouble; and at length hauing ouercommmed both them and his enimies, he might the sooner haue been wreaked and auenged of them: yet setting apart those affections euen in the middle of his triumphs vpon others, he also triumphed ouer himselfe; vsing such kinds of courtesies & clemencies as before had not beene heard. For suppressing his malice and reuenging mind, he gaue honor to his aduersaries, & life to his enimies. And the warres thus after two yeares ended, and all the great stormes ouercommmed, he granted peace to all men, and forgaue ech man his offense and trespassse. And in the end also his sonnes repenting their follies, came and submitted themselues, with all humblenesse yélding themselves to his will and pleasure.

The description of king Henrie the second.

CHAP. 46.

IT were not now amisse, but verie requisit that we should (for a perpetuall remembrance of the king) describe and set foorth as well the nature and conditions of his inward man as of his outward; that men which shall be desirous hereafter to learne and read his most noble acts in chiuallrie, may also as it were before their eies conceiue his verie nature and liuelie portraiture: for he being so noble an ornament to this time and our historie; we might not well, neither dooth this historie permit vs to omit and passe him ouer in silence. Wherein we are to craue pardon that we may plainelie declare and tell the truth: for in all histories the perfect and full truth is to be alwaies opened, and without it the same wanteth both authoritie and credit: for art must follow nature. And the painter therfore, whose profession and art is to make his protraiture as liuelie as may be, if he swarue from the same, then both he and his worke lacke and want their commendation. And albeit no man be borne without his fault, yet is he most to be borne withall who is least spotted: & him must we account and thinke to be wise, who knowledgeth the same: for whie, in all worldlie matters there is no certeintie; and vnder heauen is no perfect felicitie, but euill things are mixt with good things, and vices ioined with vertues. And therefore, as things spoken in commendation either of a mans good disposition, or of his worthie dooings, doo delight and like well the hearer: euen so let him not be offended, if things not to be well liked be also recited and written. And yet the philosophers are of the opinion, that we ought to reuerence so the higher powers in all maner of offices and dueties, as that we should not prouoke nor mooue them with anie sharpe spéeches or disordered languages. For (as Terence saith) faire words and soothing speeches bréed fréendship, but plaine telling of truth makes enimies. Wherefore it is a dangerous thing to speake euill against him, though the occasion be neuer so iust, as who can foorthwith auenge the same. And it is a matter more dangerous, and he aduentureth himselfe verie far, which will contend in manie words against him, who in one or few words can wreake the same. It were suerlie a verie happie thing, and that which I confesse passeth
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my realm if a man intreating of princes causes might tell the truth in euerie thing, and yet not offend them in anie thing. But to the purpose.

Henric the second, knig of England, was of a verie good colour, but somewhat red: his head great and round, his eies were fierie, red, and grim, and his face verie high coloured; his voice or speech was shaking, quiuering, or trembling; his necke short, his breast brode and big, strong armed, his bodie was grosse, and his bellie somewhat big, which came vnto him rather by nature than by anie grosse feeding or surfetting. For his diet was very temperat, and to saie the truth, thought to be more spare than comelie, or for the state of a prince: and yet to abate his grossenesse and to remedie this fault of nature, he did as it were punish his bodie with continuall exercise, and did as it were kéepe a continuall warre with himselfe. For in the times of his warres, which were for the most part continuall to him, he had little or no rest at all; and in time of peace he would not grant vnto himselfe anie peace at all, nor take anie rest; for then did he giue himselfe wholie vnto hunting, and to follow the same he would verie erlie euerie morning be on horsebacke, and then into the woods, sometimes into the forrests, and sometimes into the hilles and fields, and so would he spend the whole daie vntill night. In the euening when he came home, he would neuer or verie seklome sit either before or after supper: for though he were neuer so wearie, yet still would he be walking and going. And forsomuch as it is verie profitable for euerie man in his life time, that he doo not take too much of anie one thing; for the medicine it selfe which is appointed for a mans helpe & remedie, is not absolutelie perfect and good to be alwaies vsed: euen so it befell and happened to this prince; for partlie by his excessive trauels, and partlie by diuerse bruses in his bodie, his legs and féet were swollen and sore. And though he had no disease at all, yet age it selfe was a breaking sufficient vnto him. He was of a resonable stature, which happened to none of his sons; for his two eldest sons were somewhat higher, & his two yoonger sons were somewhat lower and lesse than was he. If he were in a good mood, and not angrie, then would he be verie pleasant and eloquent: he was also (which was a thing verie rare in those daies) verie well learned: he was also verie affable, gentle, and courteous; and besides so pitifull, that when he had ouercome his enimie, yet would he be ouercome with pitie towards him.

In warres he was most valiant, and in peace he was as prouident and circumspect. And in the wars mistrusting and doubting of the end and euent therof, he would (as Terence writeth) trie all the waies and meanes he could deuise rather than wage the battell. If he lost anie of his men in the fight, he would maruellouslie lament his death, and séeme to pitie him more being dead than he did regard or account of him being aliue, more bewailing the dead than fauouring the liuing. In times of distresse no man more courteous, and when all things were safe no man more hard or cruell. Against the stubborne & vnruelie no man more sharpe, nor yet to the humble no man more gentle; hard toward his owne men and houshold, but liberall to strangers, bountifull abroad, but sparing at home: whom he once hated, he would neuer or verie hardlie loue; and whom he once loued, he would not lightlie be out with him, or forsake him: he had great pleasure and delight in hawking and hunting. Would God he had béene as well bent and disposed vnto good deuotion!

It was said that after the displeasure growne betwéene the king and his sonnes, by the meanes and thorough the intising of the queene their moother, he neuer accounted to kéepe his word and promise, but without anie regard or care was a common breaker thereof. And true it is, that of a certeine naturall disposition he was light and inconstant of his word: and if the matter were brought to a narrow streict or pinch, he would not sticke rather to couer his word, than to denie his deed.

déed. And for this cause he in all his dooings was verie prouident and circumspect, and a verie ypright and a seure minister of iustice, although he did therein greeue and make his friends to smart. His answers for the most part were peruerse and froward. Iustice which is God himselfe is fréelie and without rewards to be ministred. And albeit for profit and lucre all things are set to sale, and doo bring great gaines as well to the clergie as to the laitie: yet they are no better to a mans heires or executors, than were the riches of (2) Gehezi the seruant to Elizeus, whose gréedie takings turned himselfe to vtter ruine and destruction.

He was a great peacemaker, and a carefull keeper thereof himselfe: a liberall almes giuer, and a speciall benefactor to the holie land, he loued humilitie, abhorred pride, and much oppressed his nobilitie. The hungrie he refreshed, but the rich he regarded not. The humble he would exalt, but the mightie he disdained. He vsurped much vpon the holie church, and of a certeine kind of zeale, but not according to knowledge; he did intermingle and conioine the prophane with holie things; for why, he would be all in all himselfe. He was the child of the holie church, and by hir aduanced to the scepter of his kingdome, and yet he either dissembled or vtterlie forgat the same: for he was slacke alwaies in comming to the church vnto the diuine seruice, and at the time thereof he would be busied and occupied rather in counsels and in conference about the affaires of his commonwealth, than in deuotion and praier. The liuelihoods belonging to anie spirituall promotion, he would in time of vacation confiscat to his owne treasure, and assume that to himselfe which was due vnto Christ. When anie new troubles or wars did grow or come vpon him, then would he lash & powre all that euer he had in store or treasure; and liberallie bestow that vpon a roister or a soldier, which ought to haue beene giuen vnto the priest. He had a verie prudent & forecasting wit, and therby foreseeing what things might or were like to insue, he would accordinglie order & dispose either for the performance, or for the preuenting thereof: notwithstanding manie times the euent happened to the contrarie, and he disappointed of his expectation: and commonlie there happened no ill vnto him, but he would foretell therof to his friends and familiars.

He was a maruellous naturall father to his children, and loued them tenderlie in their childhood and yoong yeares: but they being growne to some age and ripenesse, he was as a father in law, and could scarselie brooke anie of them. And notwithstanding they were verie handsome, comelie, and noble gentlemen: yet whether it were that he would not haue them prosper too fast, or whether they had euill deserued of him, he hated them; & it was full much against his will, that they should be his successors, or heires to anie part of his inheritance. And such is the prosperitie of man, that as it can not be perpetuall, no more can it be perfect and assured: for why, such was the secret malice of fortune against this king, that where he should haue receiued much comfort, there had he most sorrow: where quietnesse & safetie, there vnquietnesse and perill: where peace, there enimitie: where courtesie, there ingratitude: where rest, there trouble. And whether this happened by the meanes of the (3) marriages, or for the punishment of the fathers sinnes: certeine it is, there was no good agréement, neither betweene the father & the sonnes, nor yet among the sonnes themselues.

But at length, when all his enimies and the disturbers of the common peace were suppressed; and his brethren, his sonnes, and all others his aduersaries as well at home as abroad were reconciled: then all things happened and befell vnto him (though it were long first) after and according to his owne will and mind. And would to God he had likewise reconciled himselfe vnto God, and by amendment of his life had in the end also procured his fauour and mercie! Besides this, which I had almost forgotten, he was of such a (4) memorie, that if he had once séene

and knowne a man, he would not forget him: neither yet whatsoeuer he had heard, would he be vnmindfull thereof. And hereof was it, that he had so readie a memorie of histories which he had read, as a knowledge and a maner of an experience in all things. To conclude, if he had béene chosen of God, and béene obsequious and carefull to liue in his feare and after his laws, he had excelled all the princes of the world: for in the gifts of nature no one man was to be compared vnto him. Thus much brieflie, and yet not much besides the matter, I haue thought good to deliuer, that hauing in few words made my entrie; other writers maie haue the better occasion more at large to discourse and intreat of this so worthie an historie. And therefore leauing the same to others, let vs returne to our Ireland, from whence we digressed.

(1) The words are *Oculis glaucis*: which some doo English to be greie eies, like the colour of the skie, with specks in it: but some doo English it a bright red, as is the colour of a lions eie, which is commonlie a signe or an argument of a man which will be soone warmed & angrie: & so it is to be taken in this place: for the words, which follow, be: *Ad iram toruis*, which is to saie, grim looking eies disposed to anger: which eies were answerable to the complexion and disposition of this king.

(2) This historie is written in the fift chapter of the second booke of the kings, & in effect is this. When the prophet Elisha or Elizeus had healed Naaman the Syrian of his leprosie, he would haue rewarded the prophet, & haue giuen great and rich gifts: but he refused the same and would none thereof, wherefore Naaman departed awaie. But Gehezi the seruant of the prophet, being touched with a greedie and a couetous mind, and angrie that his master had refused such rich presents, secretlie he ran after the Syrian; and ouertaking him, did aske of him in his masters name a talent of siluer, & certeine garments: which he receiued doubled, and returned therewith. But he was no sooner come home, but that his couetousnesse was rewarded, and he plagued with the leprosie of Naaman, which cloue vnto him as white as the snow.

(3) The king married Eleanor the daughter and heire to the erle of Poitiers (who before was married to Lewes the eight and king of France, but diuorsed from him for néerenesse of blood) and after that he had continued with hir sundrie yeares, and receiued by hir six sonnes and thrée daughters, he fell in loue with a yoong wench named Rosamund, and then waxed wearie of his wife. And she to be awreaked, did not onelie in continuance of time find the means to find out this Rosamund, who was kept secret in a house builded like a labyrinth of purpose for hir safe kéeping at Woodstocke, where when the quéen had found hir, Rosamund liued not long after: but also for a further reuenge, she by means of hir sonnes who were noble & valiant gentlemen, caused warres to be sturred and raised against the king to his great vnquietnesse: and this is one of the mariages of which this author meaneth. The other was of his son named Henrie, whome he did not onelie make and crowne king in his life time, but also for a confirmation of a peace to be had betwéene him and Lewes the eight then French king, he married his said sonne to the ladie Margaret daughter to the said French king. By reason whereof his said sonne being once come to yéeres of age, and thinking it too long yer he could haue the sole gouernment, as also being by the quéene his mother intised, and taking hir part, he fled to the French king his father in law; and by his aid, as also of sundrie other noble men both English and French, who ioined with him, made warres vpon his said father: which bred vnto him no little trouble and vnquietnesse.

(4) There is not a more commendable & more necessarie vertue in a king, than

is the gift of a quicke and good memorie: for by it knowledge dooth increase and experienceis perfected. And therefore saith Cicero, that memorie is the treasure of all good things, and most necessarie to the life of man: wherein the more the gouernor excelleth, the more prouident is his gouernment. For why, as Plutarch writeth, the remembrance of things past are speciall presidents and examples of things to come. Diuers and sundrie men haue béene famous, and much commended for their excellencie in this vertue. Mithridates king of Pontus in Asia had vnder his dominion two and twentie nations, and he was of such singular memorie, that he did not onelie vnderstand their seuerall languages, but also spake them perfectlie: and in iudgements would heare each man to speake in his owne language, and answer them in the same. Cyrus king of Persia, the sonne of Cambises, so excelled in memorie, that hauing an excéeding great multitude of men in his host, he would call euerie man by his proper name and surname. Cineas an ambassador from king Pyrrhus to the Romanes, was not in Rome aboue one whole daie, before he could salute euerie of the senators, and euerie noble man of Rome by his particular name. Likewise Iulius Cesar and Adrianus the emperors of Rome were of such excellent memories, that euerie of them at one instant could both read and write, as also speake and heare. The like also is said of the famous and most excellentlie learned man Erasmus Roterodamus, who hauing alwaies or for the most part sundrie and diuers clearks writing at one time and instant, of sundrie matters, would walke vp and downe among them, and indite to euerie one what he should write. And this thing is so necessarie in all princes, that in the old ages they were euer woont to haue about them such men as were of a speciall memorie; to put them in mind of all such things as to them should be méet and requisite, and these were called Nomenclatores. Whether this king had any such attending vpon him or not, it is certeine that he himselfe was of an excellent good memorie.

Thus far the first booke of the Conquest of Ireland.

SYLVESTER GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS,

HIS SECOND BOOKE OF THE VATICINALL HISTORIE OF THE

CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

The Proheme of the author.

WE haue thus farre continued our historie, in as perfect and full order as we could, hauing omitted nothing worthie the memorie, as farre as the matter seemed to require: but being occupied and busied with the generall and necessarie causes in religion, although we had not sufficient leasure and time to follow and prosecute this our enterprise and matter begun, yet did not we thinke it meet to giue the same ouer, and to leaue it halfe vndoone. We haue therefore, and yet doo continue the historie but breefelie, not in anie high or eloquent stile; but in a common phrase and plaine speéches, giuing rather thereby an occasion to our posteritie for them to set foorth this historie, than to doo it our selues. For indeed our leasure is verie small, and such as it is, it is turned to troubles and vnquietnesse, our loue and zeale into hatred, our ioy into sorrow, and our rest to molestations.

For now flourish not the honest exercises of studies, but the busie policies of warres: now the good studies of the mind are contemned, and the lusts of the bodie imbraced: now we haue no leasure to serue the Muses, but to be hammering with weapons: quiet minds are not now at leasure, but glistering weapons and armors are in euerie mans hands. Wherefore let not the reader looke now at our hands for anie good order, eloquence, or pleasantnesse in this our writing: for place must be giuen of necessitie vnto time. And as the same is now verie troublesome, so can the same bring foorth but troublesome matters. In these troubled times, and wanting conuenient leasure and quietnesse, I haue trauelled with the more paines to absolue and end this my worke: not after the maner of a student, but as a traueller; whose nature and condition is, that when he dooth set foorth on his iournie verie slacklie and slowlie, then dooth he make the more hast, and trauell the more speedilie. How soeuer it shall please God to deale with vs in the seruices now in hand, I haue as diligentlie as I can compiled this my historie as also my topographie, leauing the same as a monument of our will, to remaine to our countrie and posteritie for euer.

THE
SECOND BOOKE
OF THE
CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

The earle is sent backe againe into Ireland, and is made generall of the land, and Reimond is ioined in commission with him.

CHAP. I.

ERLE Richard, being now returned into Ireland, the people there being aduertised of the great troubles which were beyond the seas, they being a people constant onlie in inconstancie, firme in wauering and faithfull in vntruths; these (I say) and all the princes of that land, the earle at his comming found to be reuolted and to become rebels. For the recouerie and suppressing of whom, the earle then wholie bestirred himselfe; and at length hauing spent and consumed all his treasure, which he had brought ouer with him, his soldiours who were vnder the guiding of Herueie being then constable, lacked their wages and were vnpaid: and by reason of the emulation betwéene Herueie and Reimond, the seruice and exploits to be doon against the Irishrie was verie slacke and slender; and by that meanes they wanted such preies and spoiles of neat and cattell as they were woont to haue for their vittels. The souldiours in this distresse, wanting both monie for their wages and vittels for their food, assembled themselues and went vnto the earle, vnto whome with one voice they exclaimed and said; that vnlesse he would make and appoint Reimond to be their capteine againe, they would without all doubt forsake him, and would either returne home againe, or (that which is worse) would go and serue vnder the enimies.

In this distresse was Reimond appointed the capteine, & forthwith hauing mustered his souldiours, he made a rode or iourneie into Ophalia vpon the rebels there, where he tooke great preies, and were well recouered as well in horsse as in armor. From thense they marched to Lismore, where when they had spoiled both the towne and countrie, they returned with great booties, taking the waie vnto Waterford by the sea side: and being come to the sea shores, where they found thirteene botes latelie come from Waterford, as also others of other places; all these they laded with their preies, minding to haue passed by water vnto Waterford. But tarieng there for a wind, the men of Corke, who had heard of their dooings, and being but sixtéene miles from them, doo prepare two and thirtie barks of their owne towne, and doo well man and furnish them, being wholie determined to set vpon Reimond, and if they can to giue him the ouerthrow; which they did: betwéene whom was a cruell fight, the one part giuing a fierce
onset

onset with stones and spaths, & the other defending themselves with bowes and weapons. In the end the men of Corke were overcome, and their captaine named Gilbert Mac Turger was there slaine by a lustie yoong gentlemen named Philip Welsh. And then Adam Herford, who was the generall or admerall of that nauie, being well increased and laden with great preies, sailed with great triumph to the citie of Waterford.

But Reimond himselfe was not present at this fight vpon the water, and yet hearing thereof, he came in all hast and marched towards them, taking his waie by the sea side, hauing in his companie twentie gentlemen, and threescore horssemen. And by the waie in his iourneie he met with Dermond Mac Artie prince of Desmond, who was comming with a great band of men to helpe and rescue the men of Corke where they fought together: but in the end Mac Artie had the worse side, and was ouerthrowne; and then Reimond hauing preied and taken about foure thousand head of neat, he marched and came to Waterford. About this time also as they marched homewards, certeine Irishmen in those parties lieng skulking & lurking in the woods, when the preies and cattell passed by, they issued out, tooke and carried awaie certeine of the cattell into the woods, wherevpon the crie was vp, and came as farre as Waterford. Wherevpon the souldiers and most part of the garison issued out, among whom Meilerius was the best and most forward. For he being come to the woods, and hauing in his companie then onelie one souldier, put spur to the horse, and aduentured in the woods, following the Irishmen (by the abetting of the souldier who was with him) euen to the furthest & thickest part of the woods: where he was so farre entered, that he was in danger of the enimie: and the souldier being not able to retire was there taken, killed and hewed in p  ces. Meilerius then seeing himselfe to be inuironed round about with the enimies, and he in the like perill as the other was, bicause he alone against a thousand was neither able to rescue his man, nor helpe himselfe, but in danger to be taken as was the other, like a valiant gentleman draweth his sword, and with a lustie courage, euen in despite of their t  eth maketh waie through them. And such as set vpon him he spared not, but cut off an arme of this man, a hand of that man, a head of one, and a shoulder of another, & he escaped throughout them without anie harme or hurt to his owne bodie, saving that he brought two darts in his shield, and thr  e in his horse.

The ouerthrow giuen by the Irishmen against the souldiers which came from Dublin; and what the Ostomen were, of whom mention is made here and elsewhere.

CHAP. 2.

WHEN these things were thus done, & the souldiers well refreshed by the booties and preies taken vpon the water and the land, Reimond being aduertised that his father William Fitzgerald was dead, he tooke shipping and passed ouer into Wales, there to take seisen, and to enter into the land descended vnto him. And in his absence Heruie was againe made lieutenant of the armie: who in the absence of Reimond, thinking to doo some seruice and notable exploit, bringeth the earle vnto Cashill; and for their better strength and further helpe, sent his commandement vnto Dublin, that the souldiers there should come and m  et them; who according came foorth: and in the iourneie they passed thorough Ossorie, where on a certeine night they lodged themselves. Donald then prince of Limerike, a man verie wise in his nation, hauing vnderstanding by his priue
espials

espials of their cōming, suddenlie and vnwares verie earlie in the morning with a great force and companie stale vpon them, and slue of them foure gentlemen which were capteins, and foure hundred (1) Ostomen in this sore discomfiture.

The earle as soone as he heard hereof, with great sorrow & heauinesse returned vnto Waterford. By means of this mishap, the Irishmen in euerie place tooke such a heart and comfort, that the whole nation with one consent and agrément rose vp against the Englishmen, and the earle as it were a man besieged, kept himselfe within the wals and citie of Waterford, and from whence he mooued not. But Rothorike Oconor prince of Connagh, comming and passing ouer the riuier of Shenin, thinking now to recouer all Meth, inuadeth the same with sword and fire, and spoileth, burneth, and destroieth the same, & all the whole countrie euen to the hard walles of Dublin, leauing no castell standing or vndestroyed.

(1) These Ostomen were not Irishmen, but yet of long continuance in Ireland. Some saie they came first out of Norwaie, and were called Ostomen, that is to saie Easterlings, or Easterne men, bicause that countrie lieth East in respect of England and Ireland. Some thinke they were Saxons and Normans; but whatsoeuer they were, they were merchants and vsed the trade of merchandize, and in peaceable maner they came into Ireland; and there being landed they found such fauour with the Irishrie, that they licenced them to build hauen townes wherein they might dwell & vse their traffike. These men builded the ancientest and most part of the cities and towns vpon or néere the sea side within that land; as namelie Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limerike, and others. And albeit they in processe of time grew to be mightie and strong, and for their safetie did build townes and castels: yet they durst not to dwell among the Irish people, but still continued and kept themselues within their owne townes and forts, and thereof they are and were called since townesmen. And of them were these, being the inhabitants of Dublin, which came to méet the earle, and were thus slaine.

The returning of Reimond into Ireland, and how he married Basilia the sister vnto the earle.

CHAP. 3.

THE earle then seeing himselfe to be now in great distresse, and in a narrow streict, taketh aduise with his fréends and councellors what were best to be doone. At length, as vnto his last refuge, he sendeth his letters to Reimond being yet in Wales, to this effect. "As soone as you haue read these our letters, make all the hast you can to come awaie, and bring with you all the helpe and force that you can make: and then according to your owne will and desire, you shall assuredlie and immediatlie vpon your comming haue and marrie my sister Basilia." Reimond, as soone as he had read these letters, he was forthwith in hast to be gone, and thought it long yer he could be gone; not onlie in respect of the faire ladie, whom he had long wooed, loued, and desired; but also that he might helpe and succour his lord and maister in this distresse and necessitie. Wherefore he maketh preparation accordinglie, and by means of friendship and otherwise, he had gotten thirtie lustie yong gentlemen of his owne coosins and kindred, and one hundred horssemen; as also thrée hundred footmen and bowmen of the best and chosen men in all Wales: all which were in a readinesse to go with him.

him. And as soone as the shipping for them was readie, and the wind seruing, he and his coosin Meilerius, with all the said companie tooke the seas, and shortlie after arriued in twentie barks vnto (1) Waterford.

At the verie same time the townesmen of Waterford, being in a verie great rage and furie against the Englishmen there, were fullie minded and determined to haue killed them all wheresoeuer they could find them. But when they saw these barks comming in with their flags, hanging to their top masts, which to them were vnknowne, they were astonied at their so sudden comming, and their deuises were dashed. Reimond forthwith entered the towne with all his companie; and when all things were quieted and appeased, he & the earle went from thense vnto Wexford, with all their force and strength, leauing behind one (2) Precell or Purcell his lieutenant at Waterford. But he verie shortlie minding to follow after the earle, tooke a boat, and as he passed ouer the riuier of the Sure, the maister of the boat and his companie which were townesmen of Waterford, slue this Purcell, and those few whom he had then attending vpon him. Which murther when they had thus doone, they returned to the citie, and there without all pitie or mercie, spared neither man, nor woman, nor child; but slue as manie as they could find in the streets, houses, or anie other places. Howbeit the citie it selfe was safelie kept by such as were then in Reinolds tower, who draue the traitors out of the citie, as also in the end compelled them to yéeld and submit themselues, and to intreat for peace, which they hardlie obtined, both with an euill credit and harder conditions.

But Reimond still mindfull of the promise made vnto him, and he languishing vntill the same were performed, would not depart from out of Wexford, vntill messengers were sent to (3) Dublin to fetch and bring his loue Basilia to (4) Wexford to be maried vnto him. Which being doone, and he maried, they spent all that daie and night in feastings & pastimes. And as they were in their most iollitie, newes was brought vnto them, how that Rothorike prince of Connagh had destroyed, wasted, & spoiled all Meth, and was entred into the borders of Dublin: Wherevpon Reimond on the next morrow, setting apart and giuing ouer all wedding pastimes, mustereth all his souldiors, and without anie delaiengs marcheth towards the enimies. But Rothorike who had before tried his valiantnesse, and experimented his force, hearing of his comming, and not minding to trie or abide the same, retireth backe, and getteth him to his owne home and countrie. Then Reimond recouereth againe all those countries, and forthwith causeth all the forts and castels then before pulled downe and defaced, to be now reedified and repaired, as also the castels of Trim, and of Dunlences in Meth, of which Hugh Tirell was before the conestable, and for want of rescue and helpe compelled to leaue and forsake them. And thus by the means of Reimond, all things being recouered and restored to their former and pristine estate, the whole land for feare of him continued a good time in peace and rest.

(1) There is great varietie in such bookes and examples as I haue; and which I doo follow in this point: some writing that Reimond did not land at Waterford, but at Wexford; and the tumult there being appeased, he went from thense vnto Waterford, and brought the earle vnto Wexford. Some write againe (as is aforesaid) that he landed at Waterford, and not at Wexford: but hauing saluted the earle, appeased the tumult, and set all things in order, he conducted the earle and the whole armie ouer land vnto Wexford. Although there be some variance in the exemplars, yet concerning the substance of the historie it is not materiall.

(2) There is also a varietie in the exemplars of this name; some write Fricellus, and some write Pricellus, and some Pircellus, or Purcell; it is like to be Purcell,
for

for they of that name were seruitors in this conquest, and for their good seruice they were rewarded with lands and territories, and who are yet remaining about or néere the citie, and in the countie of Waterford.

(3) It is certeine that this Basilia abode at Dublin, but whether she were there married or at Wexford it is doubted. Some hold opinion, that Reimond after that he had met and also saluted the erle, they foorthwith hearing the countries in Leinster, and especiallie about Dublin to be in an vprere, marched thither straitwaie without anie staie. And there Reimond as a lustie soldior in his armor married the ladie Basilia, and they issued with aduantage vpon the enemie. But the writer of best credit saith that the marriage was at Wexford.

The secret practise of Herueie against Reimond.

CHAP. 4.

BUT Herueie seeing the honor and credit of Reimond dailie to increase more & more, and he much gréeued therewith, deuiseeth all the means he can how to stop and hinder the same: and forsomuch as he could not compasse the same by anie open attempt, he practiseth it secretlie, and by secret deuises. Wherefore he is now a suter to marrie the ladie Nesta, daughter to Maurice Fitzgerald, and cousine germane to Reimond; that vnder the colour of this new affinitie, aliance, and vnfaigned friendship he might take Reimond in a trip. Well, his secret deuises being to himselfe, and no such thing suspected nor mistrusted as he meant; he by his earnest sute obtaineth this gentlewoman, and marrieth hir. And Reimond also to make freendship on all sides to be the more firme, procured that Aline the earls daughter was married to William eldest son of William Fitzgerald. And to Maurice Fitzgerald himselfe, who was latlie come out of Wales, there was giuen the halfe cantred of Ophelan, which he had before of the kings gift, as also the castell of Guindoloke: and Meilerius because he was the better marcher had the other halfe cantred. But the cantred of land which was neere towards Dublin, and which the king had once giuen vnto Fitzstephans, was now bestowed vpon the two Hertfords.

The obtaining of the priuilege at Rome.

CHAP. 5.

IN this meane time the king, though he were in great troubles, & much vnquieted with the wars, yet was he not vnmindfull of his realme of Ireland, as also of the orders made and deuised at the counsell of Cashill, for the redresse and reformation of the filthie and loose life of the Irishrie. And therevpon sent his ambassadors vnto Rome to pope Alexander the third, of and from whom he obtained certeine priuileges, and vnder his authoritie; namelie, that he should be lord ouer all the realme of Ireland; and by his power and authoritie they to be reduced and brought to the christian faith, after the maner and order of the church of England. This priuilege the king sent ouer into Ireland by one Nicholas Wallingford then prior, but afterwards abbat of Malmesburie, and William Fitzaldelme. And then being at Waterford, they caused an assemblie and a synod to be had of all the bishops and clergie within that land; and then in the open audience of them, the said grant and priuilege was openlie read and published: as also one other priuilege before

giuen and granted by pope Adrian an Englishman borne, at the sute of one John of Salisburie, who was made bishop of Karnoceus at Rome. And by this man also he sent vnto the king for a token, and in signe of a possession thereof, one gold ring, which together with the priuilege was laid vp in the kings treasure at Winchester. The tenure of both which priuileges it shall not be amisse here to insert. And concerning the first, these are the words thereof.

Two priuileges
sent from Rome
to the king of
England.

“Adrian the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his most déere sonne in Christ the noble king of England sendeth gréeting, and the apostolike benediction. Your excellencie hath béene verie carefull and studious how you might inlarge the church of God here in earth, and increase the number of his saints and elects in heauen: in that as a good catholike king, you haue and doo by all meanes labor and trauell to inlarge and increase Gods church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting vp the weeds of sin and wickednesse: and wherin you haue and doo craue for your better aid and furtherance the helpe of the apostolike sée, wherein the more spéedilie and discretelie you doo procéed, the better successe we hope God will send. For all they which of a feruent zeale, and loue in religion, doo begin and enterprise anie such thing, shall no doubt in the end haue a good and prosperous successe. And as for Ireland and all other Ilands where Christ is knowen, and the christian religion receiued, it is out of all doubt, and your excellencie well knoweth, they doo all apperteine and belong to the right of saint Peter, and of the church of Rome. And we are so much the more redie, desirous, & willing to sow the acceptable séed of Gods word, because we know the same in the latter daie will be most seuerelie required at our hands. You haue (our welbeloued in Christ) aduertised and signified vnto vs, that you will enter into the land and realme of Ireland, to the end to bring them obedient vnto law, and vnder your subiection, and to root out from among them their foule sins and wickednesse, as also to yéeld and paie yéerelie out of euerie house a yeerelie pension of one penie vnto saint Peter: and besides also will defend & kéepe the rites of those churches whole and inuiolate. We therefore well allowing and fauouring this your godlie disposition & commendable affection, doo accept, ratifie, and assent vnto this your petition: and doo grant that you for the dilating of Gods church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of maners, planting of vertue, and the increasing of christian religion, you doo enter to possesse that land, and there to execute according to your wisdom whatsoeuer shall be for the honor of God, and the safetie of the realme. And further also we doo strictlie charge and require that all the people of that land doo with all humblenesse, dutifulnesse, and honor receiue and accept you as their liege lord and souereigne, reseruing and excepting the right of the holie church, which we will be inuiolably preserued; as also the yeerelie pension of the Peter pence out of euerie house, which we require to be trulie answered to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome. If therfore you doo mind to bring your godlie purpose to effect, indeuor to trauell to reforme the people to some better order and trade of life: and that also by your selfe, and by such others as you shall thinke meet, true, and honest, in their life, maners and conuersation, the church of God may be beautified, the true christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things to be doone, that by anie meanes shall or may be to Gods honor, and the saluation of mens soules: whereby you may in the end receiue at Gods hands the reward of an euerlasting life, as also in the meane time, and in this life carrie a glorious fame, and an honorable report among all nations.” The tenure and effect of the second priuilege is thus.

The second
priuilege.

“Alexander the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his déerelie beloued son the noble king of England sendeth gréeting, grace, and the apostolike benediction.

benediction. Forsomuch as things giuen and granted vpon good reasons by our predecessors, are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed; we well considering and pondering the grant and priuilege, for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to vs apperteining, and latelie giuen by Adrian our predecessor; we following his steps doo in like maner confirme, ratifie, and allow the same: reseruing and sauing to saint Peter and to the church of Rome the yéerelie pension of one penie out of euerie house as well in England as in Ireland. Prouided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland by your meanes be reformed and recouered from their filthie life and abhominable conuersation; that as in name so in maners and conuersation they may be christians: that as that rude and disordered church by you being reformed, the whole nation also may with the profession of the name be in acts and life followers of the same."

The titles of the kings of England vnto Ireland.

CHAP. 6.

LET then the enuious & ignorant cease and giue ouer to quarrell, and avouch that the kings of England haue no right nor title to the realme of Ireland. But let them well vnderstand that by fūe maner of waies, that is to saie, by two ancient titles, and three latter they haue to auouch and defend the same, as in our topographie is declared. First it is euident and apparent by the histories of England, that Gurguntius the sonne of Belin king of Britaine, as he returned with great triumph from out of Denmarke, he met at the Iles of the Orchades a nauie (1) of a certeine nation or people, named Baldenses, now Baions, and those he sent into Ireland, appointing vnto them certeine guides and leaders to conduct & direct them thither.

Likewise the same histories doo plainlie witnesse, that king Arthur, the famous king of Britaine, had manie of the Irish kings tributarie to him: & he on a time holding & kéeping his court at Westchester, Gillomarus king or monarch of Ireland, with other the princes thereof, came & presented themselues before him. Also the Irishmen came out of (2) Baion, the chiefe citie in Biscaine. And forsomuch as men, be they neuer so frée, yet they maie renounce their right and libertie, and bring themselues into subiECTION: so it is apparent that the princes of Ireland did frélie, and of their owne accord, submit & yéeld themselues to king Henrie of England, & swore vnto him faith and loialtie. And albeit such men of a kind of a naturall lightnesse and inconstancie, be not ashamed nor afraied to denie and renounce their faith: yet that can not so release and discharge them. Euerie man is at his owne choise and libertie how to contract and bargaine with anie one, but the same once made he can not fléet nor swarue from it. And finallie the holie pope, in whom is the effect of perfection, and who by a certeine prerogatiue and title requireth & claimeth all Ilands, bicause by him and by him and by his meanes they were first reduced and recouered to the christian faith; he I saie hath ratified and confirmed this title.

(1) The historie is this, that Gurguntius the son of king Belin made a viage into Denmarke, there to appease the people, who were then vp in rebellion against him: and hauing preuailed and ouercommied them, he in his returning homewards by the Iles of the Orchades; there met him a fléet or a nauie of thirtie or (as some saie) three score sailes of men and women latelie come and exiled from out of that part of Spaine, called then Baldensis, whereof Baion was the chiefe citie, but now

it is a part of the countrie of Gascoigne, whose capteine named (as some write) Bartholomew, did present himselfe before Gurguntius, and discoursing vnto him the cause of their trauels, besought him to consider of their distresse, and to grant vnto them some dwelling place, and they would beecome his subiects. Which their request the king granted, and taking their oth of allegiance sent and caused them to be conducted into Ireland, where as his subiects they remained and continued.

(2) These people were named Iberi, & before that they came to seeke vnto Gurguntius for a land to dwell in, they dwelled in that part of Spaine, whereof Baion is the metropole, which is now part of Biscaye, and this countrie before and long after the time of Gurguntius, was still subiect to the kings of Britaine, now called England.

The rebellion of Donald prince of Limerike, and of the taking of the citie of Limerike.

CHAP. 7.

IN the meane while, Donald O Brin prince of Limerike waxed verie insolent, and nothing regarding his former promise and oth made to the king began & did withdraw his fealtie and seruice. Wherevpon Reimond mustering his armie, gathered and picked out the best and lustiest men which he had. And hauing twentie and six gentlemen, three hundred horssemen, and three hundred bowmen and footmen in readinesse and well appointed, about the kalends of October marched towards Limerike to assaile the same. When they came thither the riuier of the Shenin, which inuironeth and runneth round about the citie, they found the same to be so deepe and stikle, that they could not passe ouer the same. But the lustie yong gentlemen who were gréedie to haue the preie, but more desirous to haue the honor, were in a great agonie and gréedie, that they were thus abarred from approaching to assaile the citie. Wherevpon one (1) Dauid Welsh so named of his familie and kinred, although otherwise a Camber or a Welshman borne, and nephue vnto Reimond, who was a lustie and valiant yong soldior, and a verie tall man aboue all the rest, was verie hot and impatient, that they so long lingered the time about nothing. Wherevpon hauing a greater regard to win fame and honor, than fearing of anie perill or death, taking his horsse and putting his spuries to his sides aduentureth the water, which being verie stikle and full of stones and rocks was the more dangerous: but yet he so wiselie marked the course of the streame, and so aduised and guided his horsse, that he passed the riuier, and safelie recouered the further side: and then he cried out aloud to his companie, that he had found a foord: But for all that there was neuer a one that would follow, sauing one Gefreie.

But they both returning backe againe to conduct ouer the whole companie, the said Gefreie, his horsse being caried awaie with the violence of the streame, they were both drowned. Which when Meilerius (who was also come thither) did see, he began to fret with himselfe, partlie for that his cousine & kinsman of so noble an enterprise had so bad a successe: partlie also disdainig that anie should atchiue to honor but himselfe. Wherevpon being mounted vpon a lustie strong horsse, setteth spurre to his side, and being neither dismayed with the stiklenesse and danger of the water, nor afraied with the mishap fallen to the gentleman, who was then drowned, more rashlie than wiselie aduentureth the riuier & recouereth the further side & banke. The citizens some of them watching and meeting him at the waters side,

side, and some standing vpon the towne wals fast by the riuer side, minding and meaning to haue driuen him backe againe, or to haue killed him in the place, hurled stones a good pace vnto him. But this noble and lustie gentleman, being thus sharpelie and hardlie beset in the middle of perils and dangers, his enimies on the one side hardlie assailing, and the riuer on the other side stopping and closing him vp from all rescue, standeth to his tackle, and as well as he could couering his head with his shield, defendeth and saueth himselfe from his enimies. Whilst they were thus bickering there was great showting and noise on both sides of the water. Put Reimond being then the generall of the field, and in the rereward, knowing nothing hereof, as soone as he heard of it, came in all hast through the campe vnto the waters side. Where when he saw his nephue on the other side, to be in the middle of his enimies, and like to be vtterlie cast awaie and destroyed vnlesse he had some spé die helpe and succour, was in a maruellous griefe & agonie, & verie sharpelie crieth and callith out to his men, as followeth.

(1) This Welsh was so called the same being the name of his familie and kindred, and not of the countrie of Wales, wherein he was borne. He was a woorthie gentleman, and of his race there are yet remaining manie good and woorthie gentlemen, who are chieflie abiding in the prouince and citie of Waterford: for there were they first planted.

The oration and speech of Reimond vnto his companie, and of the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.

CHAP. 8.

“O YE worthie men, of nature valiant, and whose prowesse we haue well tried, come ye awaie. The waie heretofore not knowne, and the riuer hitherto though not passable, by our aduentures a foord is now found therein: let vs therefore follow him that is gone before, and helpe him being now in distresse. Let vs not suffer, nor see so woorthie a gentleman, thus for our common cause and honor oppressed, to perish and be cast awaie before our eies and in our sights for want of our helpe, and by meanes of our sluggishnesse. It is no time now to vse manie words, nor leisure serueth to make manie speeches. The shortnesse of the time, the present necessitie of this noble gentleman, & the state of our owne honors vrgeth expedition, & requireth hast.” And euen with these words he put spurres to the horsses, and aduentureth the riuer: after whome followed the whole companie, euerie one struing who might be formost. And as God would they passed all safe ouer, sauing two souldiors and one gentleman named Guido, who were drowned. They were no sooner come to land, but that their enimies all fled and ran awaie, whome they pursued, and in the chase slue a number of them, as also entered and tooke the towne. And hauing thus gotten both the citie and the victorie, they recouered their small losse with great spoiles & riches, as also reaped great honor and fame.

Now reader, which of these thrée thinkest thou best valiant, and best woorthie of honor? Him who first aduentured the riuer, and taught the way? Or him who seeing the losse of his companion, the perill of the riuer, and the multitude of the enimies, did yet not fearing death nor perill aduenture himselfe in the midle of his enimies? Or him who hastilie setting all feare apart, did hazard himselfe and all his hoast to saue the friend, and to aduenture vpon the enimie? And this one thing by the waie is to be noted, that on a tuesday Limerike was first conquered, on a tuesday it was

A note concerning tuesday or the daie of Mars.
againe

again recovered, on a tuesdaie Waterford was taken, on a tuesdaie Wexford was gotten, and on a tuesdaie Dublin was woone. And these things came not thus to passe, as it were by a set match, but euen of a common course of fortune, or by Gods so appointment. And it is not altogether against reason, that martiall affaires should haue good successe upon Mars his daie.

The description of Reimond.

CHAP. 9.

REIMOND was big bodied and brode set, of stature somewhat more than meane, his haire yellow and curled, his eies big, greie, and round; his nose somewhat high, his countenance well coloured, pleasant, and merie. And although he were somewhat grosse bellied, yet by reason of a certeine liueliness which was in him, he couered that fault: and so that which seemed to be a blemish in his bodie, he couered with the vertue of his mind. He had such a speciall care of his men and soldiors, that he would be a spie ouer his watchmen, and in his trauell that waie he watched manie whole nights, ranging and walking abroad in the camps. And in this he was verie happie & fortunate, that he would neuer or verie seldome laie violent hands vpon anie, of whom he had charge or were vnder his gouernement, although he had rashlie or vnadvisedlie ouerthrowne himselfe, & straid out of the waie.

He was verie wise, modest, and warie, being nothing delicat in his fare, nor curious of his apparell. He could awaie with all wethers, both hot and cold; and indure anie paines: he was also verie patient, & could verie well rule his affections. He was more desirous to doo good to such as he gouerned, than to be glorious of his gouernement: for he would shew himselfe more like to be a seruant than a master. Finallie and to conclude, he was a verie liberall, wise, gentle, and a circumspect man. And albeit he were a verie valiant capteine, and a noble soldior: yet in all martiall affaires, he passed and excelled in wisdom & prouidence. A man doubtles in both respects much to be praised and commended: hauing in him whatsoever appertained to a valiant souldior, but excelling in all things belonging to a good capteine.

The description of Meilerius.

CHAP. 10.

MEILERIUS was a man of a browne hew and complexion, his eies blacke, his looke grim, and his countenance sowre & sharpe, and of a meane stature; his bodie for the bignes verie strong, broad brested, & he was small bellied. His armes and other lims more sinewous than fleshie, a stout and a valiant gentleman he was and emulous. He neuer refused anie aduenture or enterprise which were either to be doone by one alone, or by mo; he would be the first that would enter the field, and the last that would depart from the same. In all seruices he would either haue the Igarland or die in the place, and so vnpatient he was in all exploits, that he would either haue his purpose, or lie in the dust: and so ambitious and desirous he was to haue honor, that to attein therevnto, there was no means nor mild thing but

but that he would suerlie haue the same either in death or in life: for if he could not haue it and liue, he would suerlie haue it by dieng. And verelie both he and Reimond haue béene worthie of too too much praise and commendation, if they had beene lesse ambitious of worldlie honors, and more carefull of Christes church, and deuout in christian religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might haue béene preserued and kept safe and sound: and also in consideration of their so manie conquests and bloudie victories, and of the spilling of so much innocent blood, and murthering of so manie christian people, they had béene thankefull to God, and liberallie contributed some good portion for the furtherance of his church and religion. But what shall I saie? It is not so strange but much more to be lamented, that this vnthankefulnesse euen from our first comming into this land, vntill these presents, this hath béene the generall and common fault of all our men.

The commendation and praise of Robert Fitzstephans, and of his cousins.

CHAP. 11.

WHAT shall we speake or saie, how well Robert Fitzstephans and his sonnes haue deserued? What of Maurice Fitzgerald? What shall I saie of Robert of Barrie, a man verie honest and valiant, whose worthie commendations by the premisses are to be knowne? What shall be said of Miles of Cogan, the nephue vnto Fitzstephans and Maurice, who as he came ouer with the first, so in commendation and for his seruice deserueth to be the chéefe and first? What shall we saie of Robert Fitzhenrie, & the brother vnto Meilerius, who if he had not so soone beene dead and cut, he would doubtlesse haue béene nothing behind his brother? What shall we speake of Reimond of Kantune & of Robert Barrie the yoonger, they both were verie worthie, tall, handsome, and worthie men? What also shall be said of Reimond Fitzhugh, who although he were but of a little stature, yet for his honestie & prudence not to be forgotten? These thrée lastlie spoken of for their valiantnesse and prowesse doone in the parties of Desmond, deserue great honor and commendation, and great is the pittie that through too much hardinesse their daies were so shortened, and their time so cut off? What did also a number of our gentlemen of the same their kindred & cousenage deserue, whose noble acts were such, and deserued such a perpetuall fame and memorie, that if I had a hundred toongs, a hundred mouthes, and so manie voices of yron; yet could I not vtter and at full declare their worthinesse and deserts. O kindred, O nation, which in double respects art noble! for of the Troians by a naturall disposition thou art valiant, of the French nation thou art most expert and skilfull of armes and chiuallrie. O worthie nation and kindred! which of thy selfe art sufficient and able to haue conquered anie nation, if enuie and malice had not maligned at thy worthinesse. Well then Reimond had taken order for the kéeping of the citie, and had well vittelled the same, he left therein a garison of his owne men, fiftie gentlemen, two hundred horssemen, and two hundred bowmen; ouer whome he appointed Miles of S. Davids his coosine to be lieutenant: and so as a noble conqueror he safelie returned into the borders of Leinster. But see the nature of enuie, who neuer ceaseth to persecute vertue. For Heruie of Mount Maurice, notwithstanding by meanes of the late affinitie he were thought to be a good fréend, yet could he not forget his old malicious mind and wicked deuises: for still he secretlie from time to time sent his messengers and letters to the king of England, and full vnrulie did aduertise the state, euent, and successe of all things, affirming that Reimond contrarie to the kings

kings honor and his owne allegiance, had determined to haue assumed and chalenged vnto himselfe not onelie the cite of Limerike, but also the whole land of Ireland. And to make this the more probable, and himselfe of more credit, he aduertiseth that Reimond had placed and appointed garrisons for the purpose; and had sworne the whole armie to obserue certeine articles by him prescribed, to the great prejudice of the king. Which his aduertisement being interlined with manie good words, the king so credited the same, that he beleued it to be most true: for as it is well seene, a little suspicion of an iniurie doone or offered to be doone vnto a prince, dooth more sticke in his mind, than manie benefits and good seruices before doone. The king therefore after the winter following, sent ouer foure of his seruants in message to Ireland; namelie Robert Powre, Osbert of Herloter or Herford, William Bendeger, and Adam of Gernemie: of which, two of them to come awaie and to bring Reimond with them, and the other to tarrie and remaine behind with the earle.

The description of Herue.

CHAP. 12.

AS we haue of others, so let vs also now make and set foorth the description of Herue. He was of stature a tall and a comelie man, his eies graie and somewhat big, amiable of face and pleasant of countenance, an eloquent man, hauing a long and a round necke, his shoulders somewhat low, his armes and hands somthing long, he was broad brested, but small in waste, though the same being big in others is thought to be commendable, his bellie was somewhat big and round, his thighes, legs, and fées being well proportionated and answerable to his bodie; of stature he was indifferent. But as in bodie he was well beset & compact, so on the contrarie, his mind, life, and conuersation were corrupt & disorderd. For euen from his childhood he was giuen to lecherie, being readie and forward to performe in wanton & filthie actions, whatsoever liked him or anie others, who were of the like disposition: and therefore he forbare neither incest nor adulteries, nor anie other such like filthinesse. Besides, he was a priue and an enuious accuser, and a double man, vncerteine, vaine, and altogether vnconstant, sauing in inconstancie; a verie subtill man and a deceitfull: vnder his toong he had both milke and honie, but both of them were mixed with poison. He was sometimes in great prosperitie, and all things fell out according to his owne desue; and suddenlie fortune turning hir wheele, he had such a fall, that he did neuer recouer the same againe. He was sometimes a verie good soldior, and had good experience in the feats of wars. after the maner vsed in France; but he was so suddenlie altred & changed, that he became more skilfull in malice than valiant in prowess, more full of deceit than renowned in honor, more puffed vp in pride than endowed with worship, more hastie than happie, and more full of words than abounding in truth.

The succouring of the garrison at Limerike.

CHAP. 13.

REIMOND hauing receiued the kings determination by the foresaid foure messengers, prepared all things in a readinesse for his passage ouer accordinglie, and
nothing

nothing wanted therevnto but onelie a west wind. But before the same happened, messengers came from the garrison at Limerike, aduertising that Donold prince of Thomond had besieged the citie round about with a great armie, and that their vittels which they had in the towne, aswell that which they found at their coming thither, as also what so euer was else prouided, were all spent and consumed; and therefore requested that they might with all speed be rescued and holpen. The earle, who was verie sorie & pensife for these newes, and deuising all the waies he could to helpe them, caused a muster to be taken of all his souldiers; who were so gréeued for the going awaie and departure of Reimond, that they vtterlie denied and refused to go and to serue that waie, vnles Reimond were their capteine and lieutenant. Wherevpon they tooke aduise with the kings messengers what were best to be doone in this distresse. At length it was thought best, that Reimond should take the enterprise in hand; and he though verie loth, yet at the request of the earle and the foresaid gentlemen, yéeldeth himselfe to that seruice, and marched forth toward Limerike, hauing with him foure score gentlemen of seruice, two hundred horsmen, & thrée hundred archers, besides Morogh of Kencile, and Donold of Ossorie, and certeine other Irishmen, who serued and attended him. And as he was marching and comming toward Cashill, tidings was brought him that the prince of Thomond had raised his siege and was comming towards him to méet him, and was now come to the passe of Cashill: which passe although naturallie of it selfe it were verie strong, yet by means of new trenching, plashing of trées, and making of hedges, it was made so strong, that no horsmen could either enter or passe through the same.

The oration of Donold to his soldiers, the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.

CHAP. 14.

REIMOND being now almost come to the place where his enimies laie, diuided his hoast or armie into thrée parts or companies, and determined to giue the onset or aduenture. Wherevpon Donold prince of Ossorie, who was a mortall enimie to the prince of Thomond, and now verie desirous that some good exploit shuld be doone; and beholding the Englishmen now also set in good araie, for though they were but few in number in respect of the others, yet they were piked men, valiant and couragiolis: he also to incourage them, to shew themselues like valiant men, vsèth and maketh these spéeches vnto them. "Yee worthie, noble, and valiant conquerors of this land, you are this daie valiantlie to giue the onset vpon your enimies, which if you doo after your old and accustomed maner, no doubt the victorie will be yours; for we with our spars, and you with your swords, will so sharplie them pursue, as they shall verie hardlie escape our hands, and auoid our force. But if it so fall out, which God forbid, that you be ouerthrowne and haue the woorse side: be you assured that we will leaue you and turne to our enimies, and take part with them. Wherefore be of good courages, and looke well to your selues, an dconsider that you are now far from anie fort or place of refuge, and therefore if you should be driuen to flee, the same will be long and dangerous to you: as for vs yée may not trust vnto vs, for we are determined to sticke to them who shall haue the victorie, and will pursue and be on the iacks of them who shall flée and run awaie; and therefore be no longer assured of vs than whilst yee be conquerors." Meilerius who had the fore ward, hearing these words, being

warmed with the same, suddenlie like a hurling and a blustering wind entered into the passe, pulled downe the fastnesse, and brake downe the hedges, and so made waie, with no small slaughter of the enimies, whereby the passe was recouered and the enimies ouercome. And they then marched without perill vnto Limerike, where they entered the third daie in the Easter weeke, being on tuesdaie. And as the first conquest of Limerike was vpon a tuesdaie, so was the second also, where for a time they staied, and restored all things by the enimies before spoiled, & set the same in good order. The enimies finding themselues to be too weake, and that it was better to bow than to breake, practise to haue a parlée and a communication with Reimond: & in the end the messengers of Rothorike king of Connagh, and of Donold of Thomond, did obtaine the same; and a parlée was appointed for them both, which was in one daie, but not in one place; for Rothorike of Connagh came by boates vpon the riuier of Shenin, as far as the great logh of Dirigid, & there staied. And Donold not far from thense kept himselfe and his companie in a certeine wood. But Reimond chose a place not far from Kिलlalloo, which is about seauentéene miles from Limerike, and in the midle betweene them both. The parlée betweene these continued a pretie while, but in the end both kings submitted & yéelded themselues, gaue hostages, made fealtie, and were sworne to be true from thensefoorth for euer, to the king of England and to his heires.

These things thus doone and concluded, Reimond returneth in great triumph and iolitie vnto Limerike. And by and by there came messengers vnto him from Dermon Mac Artie prince of Desmond, praieng and requesting him to aid and helpe him, being the king of Englands faithfull and leige man against his eldest sonne Cormon Olechan, who went about to drie and expell him out of his land and dominion: & promised him good interteinment both for himselfe and for his souldiors for the same. Reimond nothing refusing the offer, and verie desirous of honor, taketh aduise of his fréends and companions; and by all their consents, the iorneie towards Corke was liked. Wherevpon Reimond displaieth his banner, and marcheth thitherwards, and taketh by the waie great preies and booties of neat, cattell, and other things: of the cattels he sent a good portion backe vnto Limerike for vittelling of that citie; & in the end he conquered the whole countrie, subdued the rebellious sonne, and restored Dermon the prince to his estate and right. And thus by reason of Reimond Mac Artie, he was restored and recouered, who otherwise had beene in vtter despaire, and out of all remedie. And now to recompense his son Rormach, who before this, by waie of a peace and an intreatie, both vniustlie & guilefullie had taken and imprisoned him, he to acquite guile with guile, and the like with the like, tooke his sonne and cast him into prison, and not long after smote off his head.

The death of the earle Strangbowe.

CHAP. 15.

WHILEST these things were thus adooing in Desmond, there came a messenger in all hast from Dublin, with letters to Reimond from his wife Basilia, the effect whereof the messenger knew not. These letters Reimond foorthwith deliuered to a familiar fréend of his to read them vnto him secretlie, and apart from all others, the tenue of them was as followeth. "To Reimond hir most louing lord and husband, ~~his~~ owne Basilia wisheth health as to hir selfe. Know yec my déere lord that

The ladie Basilia
has letter to hir
husband Reimond.

that my great cheeketooth, which was woont to ake so much, is now fallen out; wherefore if yée haue anie care or regard of me, or of your selfe, come awaie with all spéd." Reimond hauing considered of this letter, did by the falling of the tooth fullie coniecture the death of the earle, for he laie verie sicke at Dublin before his comming awaie from thense. But he being thus deceased, which was about the kalends of Iune, they at Dublin did what they could to kéepe the same secret, for feare and in doubt of the Irishmen, vntill that Reimond were come with his band of souldiers vnto them. Reimond himselfe foorthwith returned vnto Limerike: and notwithstanding he were verie sorrie and much gréeued with this newes, yet dissembling the same, and bearing it out with a good countenance, would not nor did vtter or disclose it to anie bodie, sauing to a few wise and discrét men of his familiars and trustie counsellors. And then vpon good aduise and deliberation had among them, it was concluded and agréed vpon, that forsomuch as the earle was dead, and that Reimond also was to depart awaie ouer into England; that the citie of Limerike which was so farre remoted and in the middle of manie enimies, should for the time be left, and the garrison to be conducted and brought from thense into Leinster, for the defense and safe keeping of the townes and forts vpon the sea coasts. There Reimond full much against his will yéelded to this their aduise and counsell, being much gréeued that hauing taken paines to recouer the citie of Limerike, he was now neither able to kéepe it himselfe, nor yet had any to leaue behind him, who would take charge vpon him. But at length he sent for Donald prince of Thomond, being the kings baron & sworne subiect, and vnto him he committed the custodie and charge of the citie: who foorthwith pretending all truth and fidelitie was contented therewith; and did not onelie put in hostages, but also tooke a corporall oth, and was solemnlie sworne for the safe keeping and the restitution of the same at the kings will and pleasure, as also in the meane time to kéepe the peace.

Then Reimond and all his companie departed and went awaie: but they had not so soone passed ouer the one end of the bridge, but that the other end was forthwith broken downe, euen at their heeles; and the citie which was well walled, defended and vittelled, was set on fire in foure sundrie parts, which they saw and beheld with no small greefe of mind. The false traitor then openlie shewing and teaching what credit was to be giuen thenseforth to the Irish nation, who so wickedlie, impudentlie, and perfidiouslie did periure themselues. The king of England not long after, being aduertised héereof, is said to haue thus said: "Noble was the enterprise in the giuing of the first aduenture vpon the citie, but greater was the rescuing and recouering thereof againe; but it was onelie wisdom, when they left and forsooke it." Reimond then returned vnto Dublin with his whole garrison in safetie, and then the erle, whose corps by his commandement was reserued vntill Reimonds comming, was buried in the church of the Trinitie at Dublin, before the rood there, by the appointment of Laurence the archbishop, who did execute all the funerall seruices and obsequies.

The comming of William Fitzaldelme and others ouer into Ireland.

CHAP. 16.

THESE things thus doone, the kings messengers vpon these new changes and chances were to take new aduises; and hauing throughlie debated the state of the

countrie, and the necessitie of the time, they thought it best and did conclude that Reimond should tarie behind, and kéepe the countrie in good state and order; but they themselves to returne backe to the king. Who accordingly prepared themselves, and at the next westerlie wind then following, they tooke shipping and passed ouer into England; and being landed, did in post and with all the hast they could, make their repaire vnto the king; vnto whom they declared the death of the earle, & all other things concerning the state of that land. The king then vpon aduise and deliberation had in this matter, sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, with twentie gentlemen of his houshold, to be his lieutenant, & ioined Iohn de Courcie in commission with him, who had attending vpon him ten men. Likewise Robert Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan, who had noblie serued him in his wars two yeeres, were also sent with them, hauing twentie men attending vpon them. These assoone as they were arriued, and come to land, and Reimond hauing vnderstanding of the same, assembleth his companie and soldiours, which was a companie well beséene, and marcheth towards Wexford, and there in the confines or marches of the same he met Fitzaldelme and the rest of his companie, whom he verie louinglie saluted and imbraced: and forthwith according to the kings pleasure, he yéelded and deliuered vp vnto Fitzaldelme, then the kings lieutenant, all the cities and townes, as also all such hostages as he had within that land.

Fitzaldelme when he saw and beheld so iolie and lustie a companie about Reimond, and well marking also Meilerius, and others the nephues of Reimond, about the number of thirtie persons, mounted vpon their horssees, verie lustie and braue, and well beséene in like armor, with their shields about their necks, and their stauies in their hands; coursing vp & downe after their maner about the fields. He enuied thereat, and turning backe to his men, said secretlie vnto them; "I will shortlie cut off this pride, and quaille this brauerie." Which in the end it partlie so came to passe, for both he and all the rest which followed him in that office, did as it were by a secret conspiracie, enuie and maligne at Reimond, Meilerius, Fitzmaurice, sonnes to Fitzstephans, and all other of their race and kindred. For this was alwaies the lucke and fortune of this kindred and familie.

In all seruices of warres they were then the foremost, and had in best price, and in all martiall affaires they were the best and most valiant men: but when there was no such seruice in hand, and no néed of them, then were they contemned and no account was made of them; but by a secret malice they were abased, rejected and refused. And albeit great was their malice, yet was their nobilitie so honorable and great; that by no meanes, doo what they could, was the same to be extirpated or rooted out. For euen at this daie, such good successe hath their noble beginnings had, that their ofspring hath euer since (1) continued in that land, in much honor, force and power. And to saie the truth, who persed the force of the enemies in that land? Euen the Geraldines. Who did best kéepe & prefer the land in safetie? The Geraldines. Who made the enemies to go backe & be afraid? The Geraldines. Who be they which for their good deserts are most maligned and enuied at? The Geraldines. Suerlie, if it had pleased the prince to haue considered of them, according to their deserts and worthinesse; no doubt the whole state of Ireland long yer this had béene quieted and established. But causelesse were they alwaies had in suspicion, & their worthinesse still had in gelousie: and they put in trust, as in whome was neither valiantnesse of seruice, nor assurednesse of trust. But yet ye worthie and noble men, who for to attaine to honor, haue not béene afraid of death; and for to obtaine fame and renowme, haue not estéemed your selues; be not dismaid, though ye be vncourteouslie considered, and without your deserts disdained and maligned at: but go ye onwards, and

and procéed in your woonted steps of vertue. And if my pen can go according to worthinesse, I shall be happie, and receiue the guerdon of vertue & immortall fame: for vertue cannot faile nor die, but either in this life or in the life to come, or in both, shall haue his iust reward and desert. And albeit your valiant seruice and worthinesse, either by the slackenes of the king, or by meanes of other mens secret and enuious practises, haue not béene hitherto considered nor rewarded: yet shall not I faile, with my pen to publish, and in my writings to remember the same. And therefore shrinke not now, neither doo you giue ouer to labor and trauell from daie to daie to grow and increase in honor, fame and renowme. For the memoriall thereof (farre surpassing all the treasures in the world) for a time through malice maie be couered, but neuer suppressed nor extincted: but as fire long hid, shall in the end breake out into great flames, and for euer remaine in perpetuall memorie.

About this time was borne in Gwendelocke a monstrous man, begotten by a wicked man of that countrie vpon a cow, a vice then too common in that wicked nation. It had the bodie of a man, but all the extreame parts of an oxe, for from the ankles of the legs and the wrists of the armes, he had the hoofes of an oxe, his head was all bald, sauing a few small & thin heares héere and there: his eies great, round and blacke, like an oxe; nose he had none but onelie two holes, speake he could not but onelie bellowed like a cow. This monster did dailie resort vnto the house of Maurice Fitzgerald, about dinner times, and such meate as was giuen him he would take in his hoofes, and put to his mouth, and so feed himselfe, &c: but to returne to the matter. William Fitzaldelme, being now in high authoritie, and hauing the gouernement and charge of the land in his hands, marcheth along the sea coasts, and vieweth all the townes, forts and castels that waies: but for the inner countrie, the mounteines and hils vpon the maine land, and bordering vpon the Irishrie, he neither cared nor passed for the same: but yet misliked not the welth and riches thereof. For being a verie greedie and a couetous man, and especiallie hungrie to haue gold and treasure, whereof was good store in that land, he gréedilie scraped and scratched together whatsoever was to be gotten.

A monstrous
man begotten
vpon a cow.

About this time, Maurice (2) Fitzgerald in thé kalends of September died at Wexford, whose death was lamented, & his departure bewailed of all the countrie. For whie, he was a verie graue & a valiant man, & who for his constancie, truth, courtesie & loue left not his like behind. After his death, William Fitzaldelme sent for the sonnes of the said Maurice, and so dealt with them, that he neuer left them, vntill by one means or other he had craftilie gotten from them the castell of Guendoke. Howbeit afterwards he gaue them Fernes in exchange: which albeit it were in the middle of their enimies, yet like lustie and couragious gentlemen, they builded there a strong castell, which they kept & inhabited maugre all their enimies. Walter Almane, so called in name, and not for that he was ether in nature or stature an Almane, being nephue to William Fitzaldelme, was made seneschall of Wexford; who nothing degenerated from the maners & conditions of his vncke, but was one who was a corrupt man in all his actions & dooings, being couetous, proud, malicious and enuious. And suerlie it is commonlie séene, that there is none lightlie woorse, than when a beggerlie rascall from nothing, and from a base estate, is aduanced to wealth, credit and estimation. For such a one alwaies doubting and mistrusting all things, suppresseth all things, & thinking all things to be lawfull for him to doo, vseth all extremities at his will and pleasure. There cannot be (I saie) a woorse beast, than when a cruell rascall and proud begger is raised to estate, and made a ruler ouer his betters.

This Walter entered into acquaintance with Morogh prince of Kencile, and by
him

him being corrupted with great bribes, did what he could to procure the vtter destruction of Reimond, and all his foresaid coosins and kinsmen. And to begin the execution of their practises, the foresaid William first tooke awaie from Reimond all his lands about Dublin, and about Wexford. And whereas he receiued letters of commandement from the king, to restore vnto Fitzstephans a cantred of land which he had in Ophelan, he being well bribed, detracted and lingered the execution thereof: but yet in the end appointed and assigned vnto them other places which were further off and remoted; and the same the more perillous, because they were in the middle of the enimies.

(1) It is verie true, that these Geraldines euen euer since haue continued in this land of Ireland, and did dailie grow and increase to much honour: there being at this instant two houses aduanced to the titles of earledoms, and sundrie to the estates of barons. And so long as they continued in the steps of their ancestors, they were not so honourable as terrible to the Irish nation: but when they leauing English gouernment, liked the loose life of that viperous nation, then they brought in coine and liuerie, and a number of manie other Irish and diuelish impositions, which hath béene the ruine of their honour, the losse of their credit, & in the end will be the ouerthrow of all their houses and families.

(2) This Fitzgerald was buried, and yet lieth in a monasterie of Greie friers without the walles of the towne of Wexford, which house is now dissolued, and the monument of his buriall almost destroied: there wanting some good and woorthie man to restore the same againe. He deserued well of his prince and countrie: and therefore lamentable it is, that in so vnkind a countrie no one good man is to be found, that of so woorthie a knight will not restore so woorthie a monument.

The description of William Fitzaldelme.

CHAP. 17.

THIS Fitzaldelme was a grosse and corpulent man, as well in stature as in proportion, but of a reasonable height; he was verie liberall and courtlike. And albeit he were of great courtesie, and would giue to anie man much honour and reuerence, yet was the same altogether with wiles and guiles: for vnder honie he gaue venem, and his sugred words were mingled with poison. And as a venemous serpent couered with gréene leaues, he with an outward shew of courtesie couered his mindfull trecherie. For to the outward shew he was liberall and courteous, but inwardlie full of rancor and malice. In countenance pleasant, but in a stinking breast was hid a stinking vapor: outwardlie as méeke as a lambe, but within as wilie as a fox: carieng vnder swéet honie most bitter venem. His words as smooth as oile, and yet indeed they were deadlie strokes: whome he honoured and reuerenced this daie, he would either spoile or destroie the next daie. A cruell enimie against the weake and feeble, and a flatterer vnto the rebell and mightie: gentle to the wild and sauage, and courteous to the enimie; but extreame to the good subiect, and cruell to the humble; and by that means he was not fearefull to the one, nor trustie to the other. A man full of flatterie, and yet altogether craftie and deceitfull.

full. He was also much giuen vnto wine and to women. He was a gréedie couetous man, and an ambitious flatterer, being altogether bent to the one and the other.

(1) This William was the sonne of Aldelme father to Durke erle of Kent (as some saie) and his son Richard was sent into Ireland, and there greatlie aduanced: and of him (being lord of Connagh) descended the burgesses called Clauicards, who were the best blood of the foresaid Richard, and these doo yet remaine in Connagh, of whom is the earle of Claurike now liuing.

How Iohn de Courcie inuadeth Vlster.

CHAP. 18.

IOHN Courcie, who (as is before said) was ioined in commission with William Fitzaldelme, when he saw the course and maner of his dealings, who as he was couetous, and did nothing but for monie; so was he timerous, and did all things in craft and deceit: as also that the enimie feared him not, and the good subiect loued him not. And considering also that the souldiers and garrison at Dublin, by means of their capteins couetousnesse were vnpaid of their wages, and by reason of his slouth and sluggishnesse the vittels waxed scant, & none went & scouted anie more abrode as they were woont to get anie booties or preies, he secretlie deal-eth with some of them, and by his wise conference, and wittie persuasions, allureth and intiseth vnto him euen such as were the valiantest, honestest, and chosen men of them all: who were content and verie glad to accompanie and follow him. And hauing so gotten into his companie two and twentie gentlemen, and about three hundred others, he boldlie entreth and inuadeth into the prouince of Vlster, a countrie which hitherto had not tried the force and strength of the English nation. And then was fulfilled the prophesie of Merlin Celodine (as is said, howbeit I will not so affirme it) “A white knight sitting vpon a white horse, bearing birds in his shield, shall be the first which with force of armes shall enter and inuade Vlster.”

A prophesie of
Merlin fulfilled.

This Iohn Courcie was somewhat of a browne colour, but therewith somewhat whitish, and at that time he rode vpon a white horse, as also did beare in his shield three painted (1) birds. After that he had passed three daies iourneie through the countrie of Vriell, he came the fourth daie (being the kalends of Februarie) to the citie of (2) Downe, without anie-resistance of the inhabitants thereof: he being an enimie and a ghest vnlooked for. And (3) Odonell then the ruler of that countrie, being astonied and amazed at their so sudden comming, fled awaie. The souldiers which before their comming from Dublin were halfe pined with famine, and hunger starued, hauing now recouered great booties and preies of neat and cattels, were full and well refreshed.

At this verie present time, there was come thither out of Scotland a legat from Rome named Viuianus, & he tooke great pains to intreat & make a peace betwéene Odonell & Iohn de Courcie, vsing all the persuasions that he could, affirming that if he would depart and go awaie, there should be a yearelie tribute paid to the king of England: but all his words auailed nothing. Odonell séeing that words could little auaille, assembleth all the forces of the countrie: and within eight daies hauing gotten about ten thousand souldiors, with force inuadeth, & with great courage commeth

commeth to enter & breake into the citie of Downe. For in Ireland, as it is commonlie also in all other lands, they which inhabit in the north, are more warlike and cruell than anie others in other parts. Iohn Courcie séeing the course and bent of the enimies, who not onelie vpon a hope and confidence of their great multitude against so few enimies; but also their valiant and couragious minds, who were fullie determined to inuade the citie: thought it better with his small companie (which though they were but few in respect of their aduersaries, yet they were souldiors valiant, coragious, and of good seruice) to issue out and aduenture the fight with them, than to be pinned & shut vp in a beggerlie ward made with turffes in a corner of the citie, and there for want of vittels to be famished. Wherefore he issued out and joined the battell with them, where the fight was hot, the bowes a farre off on the one side, and the darts on the other side: then lance against lance, and the bill against the spar, and the sword against the skeine: who buckled so lustilie the one against the other, that manie a man fell that daie to the dust. And in this terrible fight and buckling, he that had séene how valiantlie each man shewed himselfe, and speciallie how Iohn Courcie most valiantlie with the stroke of his sword mangled manie a man, killing some, but wounded and maimed manie, would and must néeds haue commended him for a right woorthie, noble, and right valiant warrior.

(1) He giueth thrée birds as this author saith, which by heralds are thus blasoned. Argent thrée griphs or geires gules crowned gold: this griph or geire is a kind of an eagle, but such as is rauinous, and feedeth more vpon carren than vpon anie foule of his owne preieng: & for his cowardnesse carieth neither the name nor praise appertaining to the true eagle.

(2) Downe is a towne lieng in the Ards, which is in Vlster, a profitable and a fertile soile: it is the séc of the bishop of that diocesse, who beareth his name of the said towne, being called the bishop of Downe.

(3) The Latine word is *Danlenus*, which I doo find to be Englished Odonell, which is the name of a great familie or nation in the prouince of Vlster; but whether this Latine be trulie so interpreted, I refer it to the reader, or such as be expert in such Irish names.

The commendation of Roger Power, and the victorie of Iohn de Courcie, and of the propheties of Celodine.

CHAP. 19.

IN this fight there was manie a woorthie man, which valiantlie acquitted himselfe: but if it might be said without offense, there was no one man who did more valiant acts than (1) Roger le Power, who albeit he were but a yong man and beardlesse, yet he shewed himselfe a lustie, valiant, & couragious gentleman; & who grew into such good credit, that afterwards he had the gouernment of the countrie about Leighlin, as also in Ossorie. This fight was verie long & doubtfull, each partie mantullie defending themselves, and none yeelding the one to the other. But as the common prouerbe is, be the daie neuer so long, yet at the length it ringeth at euensong; so likewise this fierce, long, and cruell fight had his end, and the victorie fell to Iohn de Courcie, and a great multitude of the ennies were slaine

slaine in the field, as also vpon the woars of the seas as they were fléeing and running awaie. Then was fulfilled the old prophesie of Celodine the Irish prophet, who forespeaking of this battell said, that there should be such a great bloudshed therein of the Irish people, that the enimies perceiuing them should wade vp to the knees in bloud. Which thing came so to passe; for the Englishmen perceiuing them and killing them vpon the woars, the same were so soft, that with the weight of their bodies they sunke downe vp to the hard knées or twisels, and so the bloud fléeting and lieng vpon the woars, they were said to be therein vp to the knées.

A prophesie of
Celodine
fulfilled.

The same man also (as is said) did write that a poore stranger, and one come out from other countries, should with a small power come to the citie of Downe, and against the will of the gouernor thereof should take the same. Manie other things also he wrote of sundrie battels to be waged, and of the euent thereof, which were all fulfilled in Iohn de Courcie. This booke the said Iohn had, and he so esteemed the same, that still he had it about him, and in his hands; and did manie times, yea and for the most part direct his dooings by the same. It was also written in the same booke, that a yoong man with force and armes should breake and enter in through the wals of Waterford, and conquer the same with the great slaughter of the townsmen: moreouer, that the same man should come to Wexford, & from thense to Dublin, where he should enter in without anie great resistance; & all these things (as is apparant) were fulfilled in earle Richard. Likewise he wrote in the same booke, that the citie of Limerike should be twice left and forsaken by the Englishmen: but the third time it should be kept, which thing came so to passe. For first (as is before written) Reimond had it and gaue it ouer: the second was, when the king had giuen the same to Philip de Bruse, for he being brought thither by Fitzstephans, and Miles Cogan, to take and enter into the same, and being come to the riuier side of Shenin for the same purpose, was there vtterlie discouraged to procéed anie further, and so without anie thing doone, leaueth the same as he found it, and came backe againe; as hereafter in his place it shall be shewed. And thus (according to this vaticine) twice it was left, but the third time it shall be kept.

But this is to be implied and meant of Hamon de Valognies the iusticiarie there appointed; in whose time the said citie being vnder his gouernment, was by treacherie and treason destroyed, and so forsaken and left; but afterwards recouered by Meilerius: euer since which time it hath remained and béene kept in the possession of the Englishmen. Well then to the battels of Iohn de Courcie, first he had the victorie in two notable battels or fights at Dublin; the one in Februarie, and the other in Iulie: in which he hauing but a small companie of men, fought against fiftene hundred of his enimies, of whome he slue and ouerthrew a great number, and had the victorie. The third was at Ferlie about the taking of a preie, where by reason of the streict & narrow passes, he was too much and euerie eftsoones ouerset by the enimies, and so had the woorse; some of his men being killed, and some scattered and dispersed abroad in the woods and fields, so that he had scant eleuen persons left with him. And notwithstanding that he had thus lost his men and horsses, yet was he of such a valiant mind and courage, that with those few which were left, he went through his enimies, and in spite of them all trauelled two daies and two nights on foot in their armour without meat or drinke thirtie long miles, vntill he was past danger, & so came safelie vnto his owne castell againe. The fourth battell was at Vriell, where manie of his men were killed and manie fled. The fift was at the bridge of Yuor, after and vpon his comming from out of England, and yet therein he had the victorie and conquest. So in three battels he had the victorie, but in two he receiued both the losse and hurt; and yet in them did more annoie the enimie, than was hurted himselfe.

(1) The race & issue of the Powers hath euer since and yet dooth remaine in Ireland, who nothing degenerating from this their ancestor, haue for their part shewed themselues valiant and men of good seruice, for which they haue béene honorable rewarded, and are now barons and peeres of the realme. Their habitation and dwelling is in the prouince or countie of Waterford, and not far from the citie of Waterford.

The description of Iohn de Courcie.

CHAP. 20.

THIS Iohn de Courcie was white and pale of colour, but verie fierce and arrogant, he was sinowous and a verie strong made man, verie tall and mightie, and of a singular audacitie: and being from his verie youth bent to the wars proued a verie valiant souldior. He would be the first in the field and formost in the fight; and so ambitious and desirous he was of honor, that were the enterprise neuer so perillous, and the seruice neuer so dangerous, yet he would giue the aduenture. And albeit he were the generall or capteine, yet setting the prioritie thereof apart, he would be as a common souldior, and serue in the place of a priuat seruitor; and manie times being more rash than wise, and more hastie than circumspect, he had the woorst side and lost the victorie. And although in seruice he were thus forward, earnest, and vehement; yet in time of peace and rest he was verie sober, modest, and altogether giuen and disposed to serue God, and hauing the victorie of his enimies and good successe in his affaires, he would ascribe the honor vnto God, and be thankfull for the same. But as Tullius writeth, nature neuer made anie thing perfect and absolute in all points. And so it appeared in this man; for through his too much pinching and sparing, and by reason he was verie vncertaine and vnconstant, his vertues (otherwise great, and deseruing great praises and commendations) verie much imperished and blemished. He married the daughter of Gotred king of Maime. And after that he had waged manie battels, and fought sundrie times with his enimies, he at length had the masterie and conquest ouer them: and then hauing brought the whole countrie to a good peace and rest, he builded sundrie and diuerse castels throughout Vlster, in such méete and conuenient places as he thought best. And by the way this one thing me thinketh is verie strange, that these thrée notable & the chiefest posts of Ireland, namelie Herueie, Reimond, and this Iohn de Courcie, by Gods secret, (but not vniust iudgement) neuer had anie lawfull issue. I might also say the like of Meilerius, who as yet hath no lawfull issue by his wife. Thus much hauing bréesslie and by the waie spoken of the noble acts of Iohn de Courcie, and leauing the same vnto others to be more at large set forth and described, we will now returne againe to Dublin.

The three chiefe
posts of Ireland
without issue
lawfull.

*The councell or synod kept at Dublin; of Viuian the popes legat, and of Miles Cogan
issuing into Connagh.*

CHAP. 21.

IN this meane time, Viuianus the popes legat remained still in Ireland, and held a synod at Dublin of all the clergie, in which he openlie confirmed and published the right which the king of England hath to the realme of Ireland, as also the popes ratification and confirmation of the same; commanding and charging euerie person, of what estate, degré, or condition soeuer he were, that vpon paine of excommunication he should not denie his loialtie, nor breake his allegiance vnto him. And moreouer (1) forsomuch as the manner and custome was among the Irishrie, that whensoever anie goods, corne, or vittels, were put and kept in anie church, no man would medle or deale to carrie the same awaie; yet neuerthesse, he gaue licence and libertie to all Englishmen, that whensoever they went, or were to go in anie hosting, and could not elsewhere be provided of anie vittels, that they might lawfullie take what they found in anie church, so that they left with the church-wardens, or such as had the charge thereof, the true and iust value of so much as they tooke awaie. These things thus doone, Miles of Cogan, who was lieutenant of the bands of soldiours vnder William Fitzalhelme, as also conestable of the citie of Dublin, he with 40 gentlemen, whereof 20 were vnder the conduct of Ralph the son of Fitzstephans, as also his lieutenant, and they hauing with them 200 horssemen & 300 footmen, passed over the riuier of Shenin, & inuaded Connagh, which hitherto no Englishman had aduentured. The Connagh men forthwith set on fire and burned all their townes, villages, and churches, as also all such corne as they had in their haggards, and in their caues, and could not carrie with them. Likewise they tooke downe the images and crucifixes, and hurled them abroad in the fields. Neuerthesse, the Englishmen marched onwards, till they came to the towne of Thomond, where they staid eight daies together; and finding the countrie forsaken of the people, and barren of vittels, they returned backe againe ouer the Shenin: and by the waie they met with Rothorike prince of Connagh, who laie in a wood neere the Shenin watching for them, and he had three great troops and companies with him of the best fighting men of Connagh. Betwéene them there was a long and a cruell fight, in which Miles lost but thrée of his owne companie, but manie of his enimies were slaine. Which doone, he recovered ouer the riuier, & so came safelie to Dublin.

(1) This vsage and custome is yet at this present obserued, and euerie church in the countrie stuffed and filled with great chests full of corne, which the husbandmen doo for safetie kéepe therein: and this lieth safe at all times, euen in the verie warres among themselues: howbeit the same is not so religiouslie kept and obserued in these daies as in times past.

How William Fitzaldelme is sent from home into England, and Hugh de Lacie put in his place : and how Miles Cogan and Robert Fitzstephans haue the kingdome of Corke giuen vnto them.

CHAP. 22.

WILLIAM Fitzaldelme, who during his abode and being in this land, had doone nothing worthie the commendation, sauing that he caused the staffe called Iohns staffe to be fetched from Armach, and brought to Dublin; he (I saie) and Miles Cogan, with Robert Fitzstephans were sent for by the king to come home. In whose roome the king sent ouer Hugh de Lacie, and made him his deputie ouer the whole land, ioining in commission with him Robert Powre then seneschall of Wexford and Waterford. The king, after the returne of the aforesaid Fitzaldelme and others, thinking and considering with himselfe the good seruice of Miles Cogan, Robert Fitzstephans, and others; as also how necessarie it were, that such noble seruitors and valiant men were placed among the Irish people, wherby to keepe them in good order and dutifull obeisance; he gaue to Robert Fitzstephans, and to Miles Cogan in fée for euer to be equallie diuided betwéene them all south Mounster (1) that is to saie, the whole kingdome of Corke, from the west part of the riuier at Leismore vnto the seas, sauing and reseruing the citie of Corke, and one cantred of land therevnto adioining. Also he gaue vnto Philip de Bruse all the north Mounster, that is to saie, the kingdome of Limerike, sauing and excepting the citie of Limerike it selfe with one cantred thervnto adioining, to haue vnto him and to his heires for euer in fée. These men thus rewarded, confederated themselues together to ioine and helpe one another, and euerie of them maketh the best preparation that he can. Which being in redinesse they tooke shipping and arriued into Ireland in the moneth of Nouember, and landed at Waterford: from thense they coasted along vnto Corke, where they were receiued with much honor both by the citizens, and also by an English gentleman named Richard of London, who was deputie there vnder Fitzaldelme.

What a cantred
is.

As soone as they had pacified and quieted Dermon (2) Mac Artie prince of Desmond, and the residue of the noble men and gentlemen in those parties, Fitzstephans and also Miles Cogan diuided betwéene them the seauen cantreds, which were néerest to the towne: for these they kept and held in best peace and rest. Fitzstephans had the thrée cantreds which laie in the east part, and Cogan had the foure which laie in the west, the one hauing the more because they were the worser, and the other had the fewer cantreds that were the better soile and ground. The citie it selfe remained in their ioint gouernement, and the residue of the cantreds being foure and twentie remained in common, and the profits thereof growing they equallie diuided betwéene them. A cantred both in English and in Irish is so much land as conteineth one hundred villages, as is in our topographie declared, which is commonlie called an hundred. These things thus doone, they bring and conduct Philip de Bruse vnto Limerike. Fitzstephans had with him twentie gentlemen and fortie horssemen, Miles Cogan had twentie gentlemen & fiftie horssemen, Philip de Bruse had twentie gentlemen & thrée score horssemen, besides a great number of bowmen & footmen, which they all had when they were come to Limerike, which was about fortie miles from Corke, & onlie the riuier of Shenin

Shenin was betwéene them and the citie: the same at their comming was set on fire before their eies by the citizens themselues. Neuerthelesse, Stephens and Miles offered to aduenture ouer the water, and to enter the towne; or if Philip thought it so good, they would there build a castell vpon the riuers side right ouer against the towne. But Philip albeit he were a valiant and a good man, yet considering with himselfe how dangerous the place was, being in the middle of the enimies, and farre remoted from all succors and helpe, without which he was not able with his small companie to defend and kéepe the same, as also being partlie persuaded by the counsell and aduise of his companie, thought it better to retorne home in safetie, than to dwell in the middle of his enimies in continuall perill and danger. And it is not to be much maruelled that in this iourneie he had so euill successe: for whie he had gathered & reteined to him the notablest murtherers, thécues, & seditious persons that were in all Southwales, and the marches of the same, and these were of best credit with him, and he most ruled by them.

About this time Amere duke Fitzstephans son, a lustie yoong gentleman and a towardlie, died at Corke in March, to the great sorrow and gréeffe of all his fréends. Neere about this time was found and scene a great tode at Waterford, wherof was made much woondering, as is in our topographie declared. Also within the space of ^{Thré eclipses of the sun in three yeres.} thrée yeares there was séene thrée eclipses of the sun, howbeit these were not vniuersall, but particular eclipses seene onelie in the land. After that Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan had quietlie and peaceable gouerned and ruled the kingdome of Desmond fíue yéeres togither, and by their prudence and modestie had restrained the hastie forwardnesse, and rash disposition of their yoong men, Miles and Rafe the sonne of Fitzstephans a lustie yong gentleman, and who had married Miles daughter, went toward Lisemore, there to méet & to haue a parlée with Waterford men: as they sate in the fields waiting and looking for them, one Machture with whome they should and had appointed to haue lien at his house the next night following, suddenlie and vnwares came stealing vpon them, and there traitorouslie slue them, and fíue of their companie. By meanes whereof the whole countrie foorthwith was in an vproare, insomuch that Dermon Mac Artie, and all the Irishrie in those parties, as also the traitor Machture, were out: and denieng to be anie longer the kings loiall subiects, made wars against Fitzstephans, who now once againe felt the course of fortunes disposition. And these so much annoied him, that he could neuer recouer himselfe againe, vntill that his nephue Reimond, who succéded him in the gouernement there, came and rescued him: yet that notwithstanding, he was neuer his owne man, neither could he be at a perfect peace and rest.

And by the waie this is to be noted and considered, that as the northerne men be warlike and valiant; so are the southerne men craftie and subtill, the one seeking honor, the other deliting in craft & deceit; the one valiant, the other wilie; the one of great courage, the other set all on treason and falshood. But to the matter. When Reimond hard how fortune frowned vpon his vncke Fitzstephans, and what distresse he was in, being shut vp in the citie of Corke, and his enimies assailing him round about, forthwith assembleth his companie, and hauing in readinesse twentie gentlemen, and one hundred of footmen and bowmen, he taketh shipping at Wexford, and sailing along the coasts, maketh towards Corke with all the hast he can, that he might relieue and comfort his friends, and be a terror vnto his enimies. And in the end hauing oftentimes incountered with the enimies, some he killed, some he droue out of the countrie, and some he compelled (which was the greater number) to submit themselues and to sue for peace: and thus in the end after great stormes and tempest followed a faire wether and a calme. Verie shortlie after Richard of Cogan, brother

brother vnto Miles, & nothing inferior vnto him in valiantnesse, or anie other respect: came into Ireland with a iollie picked companie and chosen men, being sent to the king to supplie his brothers roome. Also in the end of the same winter, and in the moneth of Februarie (3) Philip Barrie nephue to Fitzstephans, a verie honest and a wise gentleman, came ouer with a lustie companie of chosen men, as well for the aid of his vncle, as also for the recouerie of his land in Olethan, which was perforce taken awaie (4) from Fitzstephans, as also afterwards from Rafe Fitzstephans sonne. In the same passage also came Gerald an other nephue of Fitzstephans, and brother vnto vnto Philip Barrie, who with his good aduise and counsell did verie much pleasure and helpe both his vncle and brother: for he was learned and a great traueller, in searching to learne the site and nature of that land, as also the first origine of that nation, and whose name the title of the booke beareth. About this time Herrie of Mont Moris professed himselfe a moonke in the monasterie of the Trinitie in Canturburie, and gaue to the same in franke and pure almes all his patronages and impropriations of all his churches, lieng by the sea coasts betwene Waterford & Wexford, and so became a moonke, & liued a solitarie life in a religious habit: who as he changed his habit, so would God he had changed his mind! & as he hath laid awaie his secular weeds, had cast off his malicious disposition!

(1) The gift which the king gaue vnto these two gentlemen of this countrie is yet extant vnder his broad seale, and was giuen by the name of the kingdome of Corke, being bounded from the riuer which fléeteth by Lisemore towards the citie of Limerike, vnto Knocke Brendon vpon the seas on the west, to be holden of the king, and of his heires by thrée score knights fées. The citie it selfe without cantred of land was reserued to the king, sauing that they two had the custodie thereof. This kingdome in course of time for want of heires male of them, came to two daughters. The one of them was married to Carew and the other to Courcie, & they in the right of their wiues inioied the same during their liues; and after them their heires, vntill such time as by a diuision growing amongst the Englishmen, the Irishrie expelled them, and recouered the countrie vnto themselues.

(2) These Mac Arties are yet remaining in the said prouince of Corke, and they be now dispersed into sundrie families, but the chiefest of them is named Mac Artie More, and he in the time of king Henrie the eight was aduanced to the honor and degree of an earle, being called the earle Clan Artie, which in common speech by interposition of the letter C is pronounced Clancartie.

(3) In this point there is a varietie among the writers, some writing that Fitzstephans should take awaie the land from Philip Barrie, and giue it to his son Rafe; and to recouer this out of their hands, the said Philip came ouer with such power and force as he could make. Some write againe that the land after that it was giuen to Philip Barrie, he departing into England left it in the custodie and charge of Robert Fitzstephans, who when he listed not or could not keepe it anie longer, deliuered the custodie thereof to his sonne Rafe: who as his father so was he wearie to kéepe the same. And for that cause Philip Barrie minding to inioie, and to make the best therof, with such force and helpe as he had gotten, came ouer both to helpe his vncle, & also to fortifie & build holds & castels vpon his said land, whereby he might be the better able to defend and kéepe the same: and this seémeth to be the truth of the historie.

(4) This Philip of Barrie, hauing seized vpon lands and possessions in Ireland, his posteritie haue euer since continued in that land; and nothing degenerating from
their

their first ancestor, haue from age and to age béene noble and valiant gentlemen, and who for their fidelitie and good seruices, were aduanced to honour and made vicounts: and in that title of honor doo continue still. But would to God they were not so nuzled, rooted, and altogether seasoned in Irishrie! the name and honor being onelie English, all the rest for the most part Irish.

How Hugh de Lacie builded castels, and fortified in Leinster and Meth

CHAP. 23.

WHILEST these things were thus a dooing in Desmond, Hugh de Lacie a good and a wise man buildeth sundrie castels both in Leinster and Meth, and fortifieth the same verie stronglie: and among others he builded one at (1) Leighlin vpon the riuer of (2) Barrow besids Ossorie, a place naturallie of it selfe verie strong, which place Robert Powre by the kings commandement had the charge of, vntill he gaue the same ouer and forsooke it. O what worthie champions and fit marchmen were this Powre & Fitzaldelme, to be sent to dwell and rule in a nation, which is destituted and wanteth noble and valiant men! But a man maie see the course of fortune, who when she is disposed to smile, how she aduanceth and raiseth vp men from base estate to high degrés: for why, these two had more pleasure in chambering and plaieng the wantons with yoong girls, and to plaie vpon a harpe than to beare a shield or staffe, or to weare armour. And trulie it was to be maruelled, that so noble a prince could send such cowards to beare rule, and haue authoritie in places of seruice. But to the matter. Hugh de Lacie being a verie wise man, all his care was to bring all things to a peace and quietnesse: and therefore such as were oppressed or driuen out of their lands and territories, he restored them, and with such courteous behauiour and gentle spéeches he dealt with all men, that in a verie short time he drew vnto him the hearts of the people, who desirous to dwell vnder his gouernment, manured the grounds; which being then wast and vntilled, was in short space full stored and fraughted both with corne and cattell. And then for the safetie of the people and defense of the countrie, he builded townes and erected castels in euerie place, made orders & established lawes for the gouernment of the people. And by this it came to passe, that ech man inioied the labours of his owne hands, and euerie man liued in peace one with the other, and euerie bodie loued him, and he assured of all men. But hauing thus by his wisdom, policie, and good gouernement recouered that nation to good conformitie and obedience, behold enuie (which alwaies maligneth vertue) he was had in a gealousie and suspicion, that his drift and policie was to appropriat the whole land to himselfe, and as the lawfull king and monarch would crowne himselfe king of Ireland. Which opinion was so receiued & false rumour so spred, that it was in a short time caried into England; which when it came to the kings eares, you maie not thinke that he at all liked thereof, or could brooke the same.

(1) This Leighlin standeth full vpon the riuer of Barrow, and it is a verie old & ancient castell called by the name of the Blake castell, a fort in those daies verie strong: it standeth in the baronie of Odrone, which is the ancient inheritance of the Carews, who being barons of Carew in Wales, one of them married the daughter and heire of the baron of this Odrone, & so the Carews became & were for the course of sundrie yeares, vntill in the troublesome times, in king Richard the seconds
time

time they were expelled, as all others or the most part of the English were. But being dwelling there, some one of them builded a religious house of Greie friers neere adioining to the said castell, which being since dissolued in king Henrie the eightes time, the same fell into the kings hands, who made thereof a fort, and kept there a perpetuall garison, and thus was it disseuered from the baronie. There is also one other Leighlin distant from this about an English mile, where is the cathedrall church of that diocesse, and whereof the bishop taketh his name being called the bishop of Leighlin; but for difference sake the same is called old Leighlin, and this other Leighlin bridge, by reason of a bridge builded of stone ouer the riuer at that place, and whereof the one end butteth vpon the foresaid Blake castell.

(2) The Barrow is a goodlie and a notable riuer, hauing his head orspring in the hill called Mons Blandina or Slogh Blome, in which also are the heads or springs of the two other notable riuers Sure and the other Eoire. This Barrow kéepeth & hath his course through the countie of Lex, and passeth by the market towne of Athie vnto Carlow, and from thense vnto Leighlin, and so to Rosse, a little aboue which towne it méeteth and ioineth with the Eoire, and they together kéepe their course about six miles, vntill they méet with the Sure, which is neere vnto the late abbeie of Dunbradrie: and as they all doo spring and rise out of one mounteine, so after they haue taken their seuerall courses, they meet together and take one waie into the seas. They are all nauigable, and all a like replenished with sundrie sorts and kinds of fishes.

The description of Hugh de Lacie.

CHAP. 24.

IF you will know what manner of man Hugh de Lacie was, you shall vnderstand his eies were blacke and déepe, and his nose somewhat flat, and the right side of his face from the chin vpwads by a mischance was shrewdlie skalled: his necke was short, and his bodie hairie, as also not fleshie but sinewish and strong compact; his stature was but small, and his proportion deformed, but in conditions he was verie sober, trustie, and modest. He was verie carefull in his owne priuat matters, but in causes of gouernment and in all publike affaires he was most vigilant and carefull. And albeit he were a verie good souldier, and one of great experience in martiall affaires; yet in his sundrie aduentures wherin he was sometimes rash and verie hastie, he sped not alwaies best nor had the best successe. After the death of his wife he was somewhat lose of life, being much giuen to women, of whom he made no great choise: he was verie gréedie and couetous of wealth and possessions, but ouermuch ambitious of honour and reputation. At this time in Leinster florished Robert Fitzhenrie brother vnto (1) Meilerius, who in his youthfull yeares was verie lustie like the flower of the garden, which when the winter draweth and is cold, dooth vade and wither awaie. Likewise (2) Alexander and Giraldus the two sonnes of Maurice. And albeit Girald were a man but of meane stature, yet verie wise, sober, and honest. Also Roger le Powre conestable of Leighlin, Hugh de Lacie, and William le Powre seneschall of Waterford, Robert Barrie the yoonger sonne of Philip Barrie, and both the Reimonds were of best fame and credit in these daies. About this time befell and happened the two strange woonders at Fother in Meth, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie; namelie, of the woman violentlie and perforce abused in a mill by a souldier, and of the otes there stolen and caried awaie.

(1) Nesta

(1) Nesta the daughter of the great Rhesus had thrée husbands, by the first named Henrie she had a sonne, who being named after his name, was named Fitzhenrie, who was father to Henrie, Robert, and this Meilerius.

(2) This same Nesta had to hir third husband one Gerald of Windsore, and by him had issue hir fourth son named Maurice, who was father to William Gerald and this Alexander. This Gerald was a valiant and a noble gentleman, and who had wars against Rhesus the father of this Nesta, and kept the towne and castell of Penbroke against him and all his force: but in the end after a peace concluded betwéene them, he married this ladie, and had worthie issue by hir.

How Hugh de Lacie vpon a vaine suspicion was sent for into England, and of his returne againe from thense.

CHAP. 25.

THE suspicion conceiued of Hugh de Lacie dailie increased more & more, and as is before said came to the kings eares, who as princes in such causes was verie gelous, and could not like thereof, and therefore foorthwith sent for Hugh de Lacie by John conestable of Chester and Richard Pet, whome he appointed to tarrie and serue in his place, & to be the gouernors or lords iustices of the land. But before he should depart and go awaie, it was agréed by a common consent, that there should diuerse castels and sundrie forts be builded in Leinster: for Meth was alredie méetlie well and indifferentlie fortified & incastelled. First therefore they builded two castels in Fotheret of Onolan, the one for (1) Reimond, and the other for Griffith his brother: the third was at (2) Tresseldermont néere to Moroghs countrie for Walter of Ridensford: the fourth for John (3) Clauill vpon the riuier of Barrow not far from Leighlin: the fift at Collach for John Herford. And as for Kildare, which with the countrie adiointing was before by the earle in his life time giuen to Meilerius, was taken from him; & in exchange the countrie of (4) Lex was giuen to him, which was a wild and sauage countrie, full of woods, passes, and bogs, and in the middle of the enimies, as also from anie succour or rescue: howbeit not vnfit for this such a champion of Mars and so worthie a souldier.

These things being thus doone in the summer time, Hugh de Lacie tooke his passage ouer to England, and made his spéedie repaire to the kings presence, where he so wiselie and dutifullie behaued himselfe, that the king not onelie was resoluéd of his truth and fidelitie, but also putting especiall confidence in him, he sent him backe againe. And calling home the foresaid John de conestable and Richard Pet, made him his generall and deputie of the land, and tooke assurance of him for his truth in this behalfe: howbeit he ioined in commission with him one Robert of Salisburie, who should in the kings behalfe be a counsellor and a trustie assistant vnto him in all his dooings. Now Hugh de Lacie being returned backe againe into Ireland, and there settled and placed, thinketh vpon his first deuises, how to fortifie the countrie and to kéepe it in good order. And the more castels he buikled, and the more Englishmen he did bestow and place therein, the sooner and better did he thinke to bring the same to passe and effect. Among manie castels therfore which he builded, he made one at Tachmeho in Lex, which he gaue to Meilerius, as also gaue him his néece to wife; also one castell néere to Abowie which he gaue to Robert Bigaret, and not farre from thense an other castell which he deliuered to Thomas Fleming. And not farre from thense he builded one other castell at the Norach on the riuier of the Barrow, which Robert Fitzrichard had:

besides in Meth he builded the castels of Dunach and of Kilaire, as also Adam Fuceport and Gilbert Migents castels, and manie others, which were now too long to be particularlie repeted and recited.

Talke betwéene
a priest and a
woolfe.

And about this time was that strange talke and communication in a wood in Meth, betwéene a préest and a woolfe, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie: which thing though it may séeme verie strange & most incredible, yet the same is not to be discredited. For as S. Jerome saith, you shall find in scripture manie strange things, & which to a mans iudgement shall séeme to be nothing true at all: and yet neuertheles they are most true. For nature cannot preuaile nor doo anie thing against the Lord of nature: neither ought anie creature to contemne or scorne, but rather with great reuerence and honour to consider the workes of God his creator. Not long after this king Henrie the yoonger, the son of king Henrie the elder, being seduced & caried (the more was the pitie) by lewd and naughtie counsels, rebelled the second time against his father, and had gotten vnto him the most part of the best noble men in all Poitiers, & the lustiest gentlemen in all France: besides his brother Geffreie the earle of Britaine the chiefe author and cause of this rebellion, and manie others of his confederates. But in the end, by Gods iust iudgement and vengeance for his vnnaturall ingratitude against his father, who though he were a verie valiant and a lustie gentleman, yet against death nothing can helpe, and so died about June at Marels to the great sorrow of manie. And verie shortlie after also the foresaid Geffreie, a noble and a valiant gentleman, & who for his worthinesse and prowess might haue béene the sonne of Vlysses or Achilles, who now reuolting the third time from his father, and rebelling against him, was by Gods iust iudgement about the kalends of August taken out of his life, and so died.

(1) Nesta the daughter of the great Rhesus prince of Wales had thrée husbands, the third of them was Gerald of Windsore, and these had to their first sonne William Fitzgerald the father vnto this Reimond, and Griffith.

(2) Tresseldermont is a castell about a fue miles from Catherlough, & somtimes a verie faire towne and walled round about, and bordering néere to the baronie of Odrone. The English writers doo saie that this castell was not builded in this Tresseldermont, but at Kilken, a castell about thrée miles from this, and both now belonging to the earle of Kildare. But the Latine bookes, which are of eldest writing and credit, and whom I doo herein follow, doo write it by expresse words, Tresseldermont.

(3) This castell of Clauill not far from Leighlin, is supposed to be that which is now called Carlough or Catherlough: howbeit the common fame of the countrie dooth attribute this castell of Carlough to Eua the earls wife, and the ladie and heire of Leinster, and that she should build the same. But there appeereth no such things of hir doings, for by the course of the historie it is plaine, that the castels builded in Leinster were doone by the Englishmen onelie, and for their defense and safetie.

(4) The countrie of Lex is parcell of Leinster, & lieth in the marches and extreame confines of the same by the west: it is verie strong and fast, being full of woods and bogs, and therefore a safe receptacle for rebels and outlawes. It is within the diocesse of Leighlin, and before now of late no shire ground, but inhabited by the Mores, who were alwaies rebels and traitors. But in hope to reforme the same it was made a countie of it selfe, by an act of parlement in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie, and named the Queenes countie.

The death of Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and of Iohn Comin made archbishop in his place.

CHAP. 26.

IN this meane time Laurence archbishop of Dublin died at the castell of Angiers in Normandie, about the kalends of December 1180. He was a (1) iust and a good man, but somewhat in displeasure with the king, who had him in suspicion because he was at the councell of (2) Laterane, and there inueighed much against the king of England and his honour; & for that cause in his returne homewards through Normandie was staied, and in the end there died, where he was buried in the high church of our ladie. After him Iohn Comin an Englishman borne, and a monke in the abbeie of Euenham, was by the kings means elected orderlie by the clergie of Dublin archbishop, and afterwards confirmed by pope Lucius at Viterbe, where he was also made a cardinall. A man he was verie well learned and eloquent, and verie zealous in causes of the church; wherein he would haue doone verie much good, if that he had not beene too worldlie, & haue sought to haue pleased worldlie princes, and to haue beene in the kings fauour.

(1) This one thing is and was a common obseruation in the Romish church, that if anie one had receiued the charact thereof, that although he were neuer so rebellious, nor so great a traitor against his prince; yet the same was to be interpreted to be in defense of the holie church, and such a one was counted a godlie and a holie man, though by the scriptures he who resisteth his prince is^d said to resist God himselfe.

(2) The councell of Laterane is said to be one of the greatest synods or generall counells that hath bin, it was kept at Rome vnder pope Innocent the third An. 1204. Manie décrées were there made for the aduancing of the Romish antichrist: but yet the councell could not be brought to his full perfection by reason of the ciuill wars in Italie. But among other décrées this was concluded, that all controuersies betwéene kings and princes, the correction therof should apperteine to the pope: as also no man should be counted emperour, except the pope had admitted him and crowned him.

The comming of Iohn the kings sonne into Ireland.

CHAP. 27.

THE king to aduance his yoonger sonne named Iohn had giuen him the dominion ouer Ireland, and he therevpon had taken homage of sundrie persons for the same: and now minding to bring the same to a finall end & perfect order, sendeth ouer into Ireland before his sonne Iohn the new archbishop of Dublin, who as a fore-runner vnto his sonne should prepare all things in readinesse against his comming, who foorthwith tooke his iournie about the kalends of August, and sailed ouer into Ireland. Also in the moneth of September then next following, he sent ouer Philip of Worcester, a valiant souldier, a sumptuous and a liberall man, with fortie gentlemen, who was commanded to send ouer (1) Hugh de Lacie, and he to staie

there as governour of the land vntill Iohn his sonne came ouer. This Philip being thus placed in authoritie, the first thing he did he resumed and tooke into the kings vse the lands in Ochathesie, and diuerse other parcels which Hugh de Lacie had before sold, and these he appointed to serue for the kings prouision and diet. And after the winter was past, he assembled and mustered all his men and companie, & began to trauell from place to place; and in March about the middle of Lent he came to (2) Armagh, where when he had extorted and perforce exacted from the cleargie there a great masse of monie and treasure, he returned vnto the citie of Downe, and from thense to Dublin in safetie: being well laden with gold, siluer, and monie, which he had exacted in euerie place where he came: for other good he did none. In this iournie there happened two strange miracles, the one at Armagh concerning the great anguish and grieve of (3) Philip when he departed and went out of the towne, the other was of a (4) fornace which Hugh Tirell tooke away from the poore priests at Armagh, as more at large is declared in our topographie.

Two strange
miracles.

(1) This Hugh de Lacie albeit he were thus sent for, yet he went not ouer, as it appéereth by the course of the histories of this time: he was about building of a castell at Deruagh, and there being among his labourers, and séeing one not to frame verie well in his worke, taught him what he should doo, taking his pickeaxe in both his hands and brake the ground. This wicked Irishman when he saw his lord and master thus stooping and labouring, suddenlie came behind him, and with his ax or weapon strake him in the head and slue him, but his inheritance and possessions came & descended to his two sonnes Walter and Hugh.

(2) In Ireland there are foure archbishoprikes, one at Dublin for the prouince of Leinster, another at Cashill for the prouince of Mounster, the third at Thomond for the prouince of Connagh, & the fourth at Armagh for the prouince of Vlster. The chiefest of them is the archbishop of this Armagh, for although euerie one of the others be named a primat of Ireland, yet this one alone is named primat of all Ireland; which title he hath partlie bicause he is successour to S. Patrike, who first conuerted Ireland to the christian faith, and had his see and church at this Armagh; one other cause is bicause this archbishop was the first that receiued a pall from the pope. This pall is a certeine inuesture of cloth, which the pope haloweth and giueth or sendeth to euerie archbishop, who weareth the same vppermost vpon his garment. The nature of this pall, of the first inuention thereof and the causes whie it is giuen to euerie archbishop, is not incident nor appertaining to the course and nature of this historie, and therfore I will omit it. This Armagh was somtimes a faire towne, and therein a faire cathedrall church, lieng farre and remote from all good neighbors, and in the middle of the Onels and other sauage people; the same hath beene and still is and lieth wast: and the archbishop remooued to a house of his named Terseekam, which lieth néere the towne of Drogheda, being a place of better safetie.

What the
bishops pall is.

(3) The historie is, that this Philip of Worcester being well landed with great riches exacted from the cleargie and departed, he was no sooner out of the towne, but that he was taken with a sudden pang, which for the time was so vehement, that it was supposed he would neuer haue recouered it.

(4) This Hugh Tirell among other the spoiles which he tooke, he had a great bruig fornace or pan which serued for the whole house, for which his dooing the priests curssed him, and he caried this along with him vntill he came to the citie of Downe. And on a night he being in his lodging, the same was entred with fire, and the horsses which drew the said pan, as also much goods which they brought with them, and a great part of the towne was burned. In the morning, when he saw the

great

great spoile, and yet the said pan as nothing hurt nor perished, he began to repent and be sorie, and so restored the pan againe.

The comming of Heraclius the patriarch into England.

CHAP. 28.

WHILE these things were dooing in Ireland, Heraclius the reuerend patriarch of Ierusalem, hauing gone a long iourneie from the east to the west, came into England about the beginning of Februarie; who brought with him the keies of the holie citie and sepulchre, with the kings ensigne and martiall signe, in the behoofe of all the states of the holie land, as well of the brethren of th' order of the temple as hospitall: and with the consent of all the cleargie and laitie, making supplication to king Henrie the second, falling at his feet with teares, and humblie desiring him, that he would be pitifullie moued to the aid of the holie land, and Christes patrimonie, desperatlie afflicted by the infidels: otherwise affirming (which within two yeares happened) that the whole kingdome would fall shortlie into the hands of the Soldane of the Saracens and of Egypt. Oh what a glorie was it to this king and kingdome, that he passing so manie emperours, kings and princes, as though there were no helpe in the middle part of the world, should come into this corner of the earth, & as it were into an other world to require aid! O how worthie, perpetuall and incomparable had the kings glorie béene, if he setting aside other businesse, and forsaking his kingdoms, had taken without delaie (at this calling of Christ) Christes crosse, and haue followed him! Verelie, he should haue receiued of him the euerlasting kingdome, if he had serued him in this necessitie of whom he receiued his kingdome, and so glorious a grace of gouernement on earth. Oh if he would haue defended here (for his abilitie) the patrimonie of so worthie a kingdome in this point of necessitie, and this triall of deuotion, he might haue béene worthilie fortified in earth by such a patrone and tutor in all his affaires and necessities whatsoeuer.

The answer of the king to the patriarch.

CHAP. 29.

A DAIE for answer herof being appointed at last by the king at London, manie as well knights as of common sort, by the admonishments of the patriarch, as the sermons of Baldwin the archbishop were croised to the seruice of Christ. At the last the patriarch receiued this answer of the king, that it was not good to leaue his realme without defense and gouernement, & leaue open his lands beyond sea to the rapacitie of the Frenchmen that hated him: but as concerning monie, he would giue both that which he sent thither, to be reserued for him, and more also for the defense of the holie land. To whome the patriarch answered by following this aduise. "O king you doo nothing: and by this meanes you shall neither saue your selfe, nor reserue Christes patrimonie. We come to séeke a prince, and not monie. Euerie part of the world almost sendeth vs monie, but none sendeth vs a prince. Therefore we desire a man that may want monie, and not monie that may want a man." But, when the patriarch could get no other answer of the king, he taketh

This was the
say eng of The-
mistocles.

an

an other deuise: he desireth him to giue to their aid one of his sonnes, and if none other, yet his yoongest sonne Iohn, that the bloud descending from the Aniwes might in a new branch raise vp the kingdome.

Iohn himselfe, albeit he was readie to passe into Ireland giuen him by his father, with a great armie, (prostrating himselfe at his fathers fêet) desired (as they saie) that he might be sent to Ierusalem, but he obtained it not. So the patriarch séeing he could doo nothing, and draw no oile out of the hard stone, hée spake thus against the king, in th'audience of manie; with a threatfull and propheticall spirit. "O glorious king, thou hast reigned hitherto among the princes of the world with incomparable glorie, and your princelie honour hath hitherto dailie increased to the type of highnesse. But now doubtlesse is this triall being forsaken of God, whom you forsake, and destitute of all heauenlie grace. From hensefoorth shall your glorie be turned into sorrow, and your honor to reproch so long as you liue. I would to God the king had auoided this threat by penance, like the king of Ninuie, and had caused this sentence to be altered!"

The holie man spake this thing thrise, first at London, then at Douer, and lastlie at Chinon castell beyond the sea. And I would to God the patriarch had béene a man without that propheticall spirit, & had rather spoken a lesing, that we may for more euidence touch such things brieflie as were before spoken by that true fore-speaker, which we saw shortlie to take effect. Whereas the king reigned thirtie and fíue yeares, thirtie yeares were granted him for worldlie glorie, expectation of his conuersion, & triall of his deuotion; but the last fíue yeares fell vpon him, as vpon an vngratefull, reprobate, and abiect seruant, in reuengement, sorrow, & ignominie. For in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, immediatlie after the comming of the patriarch, his first enterprise of sending his sonne Iohn into Ireland, both the labour and cost was frustrate and lost. The thrée and thirtith yeare, whereas he neuer lost land before, he lost to king Philip (being but a child) almost all Aniou. The foure and thirtith yéere he lost the castell Rader, and welnéere all Berie. The fíue and thirtith yeare of his reigne, and the fourth yéere after the comming of the patriarch, not onelie king Philip of France, but his son Richard of Poitiers rising against him, he lost the cities of Towres and Maine, with manie castels, and himselfe also; according to that in saint Gregorie: "Those that the Lord hath long forborne, that they might be conuerted, if they doo not conuert, he condemneth them the more greuouslie."

The croising of kings.

CHAP. 30.

BUT perchance the king was reserued by heauenlie disposition to the victorie of deserued loue. How much greater is it to repara things cast downe, than to vnder-prop things likelie to fall? And who had knowne Hector, if Troie had continued in prosperitie? By so much as aduersitie is more instant and vrged, by so much the glorie of valiantnesse will shine the brighter. For by the secret iudgement of God, within two yeares after the victorie was giuen to the pagans and Parthians, against the christians, either to reuenge the cold deuotion of the east church, or to trie the déutout obedience of the westerne men; the worthie Richard earle of Poitiers hearing this ouerthrow, tooke deuoutlie the croisure vpon him at Towres, giuing an example to other princes in that matter. Whervpon the king of England, the earles father, and Philip king of France, who had bin before at variance (with Gods
grace,

grace, and the archbishop of Towres persuasion) in that place and that houre, at their conference at Guisors were croised, with manie other great men of the clergie and laitie. And as kings folowed the example of the erle, so after their example the emperour Frederike, through the persuasion of the duke of Alba, with manie states of Almane were croised in the lords court at Mentz. So as it is thought, the king of England being reserued more than all other to the restoring of the decaied state of the holie land, if he had finished his life in this victorie; doubtlesse that famous prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius had beene verified in him. "His beginning (saith he) shall wauer with wild affections, and his end shall mount to heauen."

A prophesie of
Merlin touching
the king.

The discord of the kings.

CHAP. 31.

A SUDDEN discord rose betwene the kings and that (which was woorse) betwene the father and the earle, through the working of the old enimie, & their sinnes deseruing the same, to the great hinderance of their noble enterprise: as though they being vnfit for it, the honor thereof was reserued for other; or perchance according to the sentence of Gregorie: Aduersitie, which is objected against good vowes, is a triall of vertue, and not a signe of disproofe. Who is ignorant how happie a thing it was that Paule was driuen into Italie, and yet he suffered shipwracke? But the ship of his heart was safe among the surges of the sea. Likewise therfore as vertue is perfected in infirmitie, and gold tried in the fire: so the constancie of faith that cannot be craized with tribulations, dooth increase more as sinapis; and the courage of the mind is more valiant againe than troublous assaults of fortune. O how much rather would I, that these kings accompanied with a few men acceptable to God, had taken vpon them this laborious, but yet a glorious iourneie, than to wax proud for the great wealth that they had gathered of manie people to this end. Read ouer the whole bible, and consider these latter times, and you shall find, that victorie hath beene gained, not with force and humane power, but with Gods grace and store of vertues. For as Cassiodorus saith: "An armed people without the Lord is vnarmed." And as Seneca saith, "Not the number of the people, but the vertue of a few get the victorie." Of the foure before named, the emperour Frederike, albeit he was the last croised, yet in the execution thereof he was the first: whome therefore I account so much the more woorthie of victorie in heauen, and glorie in earth, that he forsaking large kingdomes and his empire, delaied not out the matter.

A vision and exposition thereof.

CHAP. 32.

THEREFORE I thought it not inconuenient to set downe a vision, which he that hideth much from wisemen & reuealeth it to babes visited me withall, being a most simple and vile wretch. In the miserie of this time, in that ciuill and detestable discord betwene the king and the erle of Poitiers, I being with the king at Chinon castell the seuenth ides of Maie: at night in my sleepe about the cocke crowing, me thought I saw a great multitude of men looking vp into heauen, and as it were woondering

woondering at somewhat. So I lifting vp mine eies to see what the same was, I saw
A strange vision. a bright light breake out betweene the thickenesse of the clouds, and the clouds
 being incontinentlie seuered asunder, and the lower heauen as it were being opened,
 and the sight of mine eies pearsing through that window to the empeireall heauen,
 there appered the court thereof in great multitude, wide open as it were to be spoiled,
 all kinds of munition being bent against it. You might haue séene there a head
 cut from one, an arme from another, and some stricken through with arrowes,
 some with lances, and some with swords. And when manie of the beholders either
 for the brightnes, or terror, or pitie, had fallen flat on their faces: me thought that I
 (to see the end of the matter) did view it longer than the rest. So they hauing
 gotten the victorie ouer all the other, the bloudie slaues fell vpon the prince of the
 heauenlie orders, sitting in his throne as he was woont to bee pictured, and drawing
 him from the throne on the right hand, hauing his breast naked, they thrust him
 through the right side with their lances, and immediatlie there followed a terrible
 voice in this maner, Woch, woch, O Holi-ghost! But whether it came frō heauen,
 or was vttered by the people beneath, I can not tell; and so the terror of this voice
 & the vision awakened me.

*The meaning
 of the foresaid
 vision.*

I call him here to witnesse, to whome all things are apparant and manifest, that
 immediatlie as I sat in my bed, & reuolued these things in my mind, I was in so
 great an horror both of bodie and mind, for halfe an houre and more, that I feared
 least I should haue fallen besides my selfe. But recouring deuoutlie to the onlie
 refuge of humane saluation, & blessing my forehead with the crosse eftsoones, &
 fortieng my mind thereby, I passed the rest of the night without sléepe, & so
 through Gods grace returned fullie to my selfe: yet to this daie I can neuer remember
 that vision without horror. What may be more terrible to a creature than to see
 his creator smitten through with weapons? What man without gréeffe can abide to
 see the seruants of God, & patrons of men to be murdered? Who can behold the
 Lord of nature to suffer, & dooth not suffer therewith? What this vision portendeth,
 without preiudice to anie I will shew brieflie. He that suffered once in his owne
 person for all, giueth vs to vnderstand, that he now suffereth againe, but that in his
 flocke. And he that by triumphing ouer the crosse, and ascending to the right
 hand of his father, hath victoriously entered his kingdome; his enimies now go
 about to depriue him of his kingdome, and subuert his church, which he gathered
 vnto him by the shedding of his blood. Therefore, as I doo suppose, this passion
 did not appeare vpon the crosse, but his maiestie: as though the crosse now being
 taken awaie, his enimies go about to take that glorie from him, which he got on
 the crosse. Or else that his faithfull had suffered, not in the crosse, but with
 weapons in that holie land, which he after so manie miracles had consecrated with
 his blood. So likewise he declared this his passion which he for his susteined, not
 in the crosse, but in his maiestie: so he signified, that all the court of heauen suffered
 with the like compassion, mouing his to reuengement with the shewing of so great
 gréeffe. As concerning that voice beginning in a barbarous language and ending
 in Latine, what I thinke I will shew. Woch, woch, in the Germane toong, is a
 signe of gréeffe doubled. And where that wofull mourning voice began in the
 Germane toong, and ended in Latine, it maie be signified thereby, that onelie the
 Almans and the Italians take this the affliction of their Lord more grieuouslie than
 other nations, as their hasting declareth. God forbid that the passion or
 lamentation be here vnderstood by anie slaughter of the christians and people in
 this expedition.

The memorable euent of our time.

CHAP. 33.

I THINKE it not impertinent to set downe here (by occasion) the aduentures and notable euent in England: and first of all, the sudden death of the detainers of the kingdome of England against the lawfull heire, the nephue of Henrie by his daughter Matild: as well the death of the woorthie knight Eustathius the son of king Stephan, and son in law to Lewes the French king: as of his mother quene Matild the countesse of Bullogne. Then the concord adoption made betwene king Stephan, and Henrie duke of Normandie. And then after the death of king Stephan, the mariage of queene Elianor, and the translation from crowne to crowne. Immediatlie, the aduancement of the duke to the kingdome, and the coronation of king Henrie the second. The assiege of the castell of Bridgenorth vpon Seuerne, and the compulsion of the woorthie knight Hugh Mortimer to dedition, to the terrible example of all. What needeth manie words? To confound the mightie, and to make euen the rugged, there were prosperous successes. And as destruction fell vpon the detainers of the kingdome, so likewise it fell vpon the peacebreakers of the same, as well of the brethren, as also of the sons.

The subduing of prince Oene at Colshull in Northwales in a wooddie streict, not without the losse of manie knights. A sumptuous expedition to Thofouse, albeit it was vnprofitable. An altercation & warre betwene the king of England and Lewes of France, through the doting of both parts. The yeelding vp of prince Rhese by the means of his vncle Oene at Pencador in Southwales, the king of England comming thither. The vnwilling & wrested confession onelie by word & by writing (as some say) of Thomas of Canturburie, and his suffragans at Clarendon, as concerning annates: when that prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius seemed to be fulfilled; "The buls toongs shall be cut out." The iniurious crieng out of all the court at Northampton against the father, bearing the crosse, & mainteining the rights of the crucifix, and the priue departure of him to exile that night. The ambassage of Reinold archbishop of Cullen, & chancellor to the emperor, from the said emperor to the king of England: who was an effectuous persuader of mariage to be had betwene Henrie the emperors nephue duke of Saxonie and Bauier, and Matild the kings eldest daughter: he mooued also, but in vaine, to set cleare the Almain schisme. Not long after the publike periurie through out all the realme, by the kings proclamation against the see of saint Peter, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And incontinentlie the countie Gunceline, and other states of Saxonie came from the duke into England for the kings daughter.

A prophesie of
Merlin fulfilled.

The coronation of king Henrie the third, son to king Henrie, solemnized in London by the archbishop of Yorke, to the preiudice of the church of Canturburie. Ambassadors came from Spaine, and obtained the kings daughter Elianor, to be married vnto Ansulfo, king of Toledo and Castile. The comming of Dernicius (being expelled) to the king, and the sailing ouer into Ireland of Fitzstephans, & earle Richard. The expedition of the lord of *Oswalstre in Powes, and his returne by occasion of raine: not without his hurtfull dismembring of the pledges, and great slaughter of his enimies. The martyrdome of Thomas. The often shining miracles. The departure of the noble Henrie bishop of Winchester, descended of the kings bloud at Winchester. The viage of the king into Ireland. The conspiracie of the states against their prince, and the children against their father.

* Albion.
steril.

The comming of two cardinals into Normandie, to make inquirie of the death of the martyr. The sudden returne of the king out of Ireland into Wales, and so into England, thense into Normandie; with an appeasing of the said cardinals, and the French king. The first departure of the yoong king with his two brethren from his father into France. The victorie of the ciuill and two yeares warre, and the kings mercie towards the vanquished, as we haue shewed before. The comming of Huguntio Petie Leon cardinall of the title of saint Angelo into England, and the celebration of a councell vnder him of all the cleargie of England, at London, as concerning the contention of supremasie betweene Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and Roger of Yorke: but the allegations on both sides with fists and stauies brake it off. The bishop of Capua, and Diaferus elect of Croia, and earle Florius, came from William king of Sicill, to haue mariage betweene him and Ioane the kings yoonger daughter.

The ambassadors of the kings of Spaine, Castile, and Nauar, came into England: who as concerning lands and castels (whereof they contended) promised altogether to stand vnto the king of Englands arbitrement. Wherefore the king assembling at London all the lawyers & wise men in the land of both orders; when the cause was proposed, and the allegations heard on both sides, by famous aduocats; among whome, Peter of Cardon, that came in the behalfe of the king of Nauar, excelled in eloquence: the king vsing wise counsell, and intending to end the contention by transaction, that giuing somewhat from one, and keeping somewhat from an other, he would hurt neither partie much. But as he was appointed iudge by both, so he was carefull for the commoditie of both as much as could be. So making a transaction, and ingrossing it in writing, he writ the iudiciall examination for a prouiso; That if either part refused to stand to his arbitrement, the definitiue strife might be dirempted by sentence. The comming of Lewes king of France into England, who went on pilgrimage to Canturburie, to the martyr Thomas, to require his helpe deuoutlie, whome he in the time of his exile had helped: and offering a cup pretious both for matter & substance in the place where the holie bodie was buried, when he had declined a while prostrat on his face, and had laid his bare head a while in the right side hole of the marble stone that standeth therby; at last, rising from his praier (that he might confirme the memorie of his pilgrimage with euerlasting record) in the presence of the king of England, the earle of Flanders, the archbishop of the see, the prior of the couent, and other men of state, he gaue yearelie vnto Canturburie abbeie an hundred tuns of wine.

The second defection of king Henrie the third, and earle Geffreie, with the sudden death of the yoonger king at Marcell. The comming on pilgrimage of Godfrie archbishop of Cullen, and Philip earle of Flanders vnto Canturburie. The death of earle Geffreie. The comming of Heraclius the patriarch, and the sailing of earle Iohn into Ireland. Almost all things as they be here set in order, chanced in our time, in no great distance betweene, in and about the space of thrée and thirtie yeares. O how glorious had all these things béene, if they had sorted to a good end! Which surelie would haue hapned, if he setting other things aside, had followed Christ, when he was called, of whome he receiued all these benefits; and had spent the last fives yeares reigne in his seruice. But these things being before rehearsed by the way, let vs returne to the historie.

The recapitulation of sundrie acts, and of the comming of Iohn the kings sonne to Ireland, with his successe there.

CHAP. 34.

NOW omitting the building of three castels, one at Tipporarie, the other at Archphin. & the third at Lismore, after the comming of earle Iohn, & speaking nothing of the euill fortune of thrée woorthie yoong men; Robert Barrie at Lismore, Reimond Fitzhugh at Olethan, and Reimond Cantitimensis at Odrona. Of part of the garrison of Archphin slaine in the wood there, by the prince of Limerike on Midsummer daie, & foure knights there killed, not without manfull defense. Of them of Limerike, and the noble man Ograine slaine at Tipporarie. Of them of Archphin slaine againe by those of Limerike in taking of a preie. Of Dermucius Mac Arthie prince of Desmond, with others slaine in parlée neere Corke by them of Corke, and the garrison of Theobald brother to Walter. Of the slaughter of them of Kencolon, with their prince inuading Meth by the men thereof, & William Litle, and one hundred of their heads sent to Dublin. Of the finding out of the bodies of Patrike, Brigid, & Columbe at Dundalke, & their translation from thense by the procurement of Iohn de Curcie.

Of the heading of Hugh Lacie at Dornach, through the treason of his owne Irishmen. Of the killing of twelue noble knights vnder Iohn de Curcie, in the returne from Connagh. Of the traitorous and lamentable slaughter of Roger Powre, and manie others in Osserie: and thorough that occasion, the priue conspiracie of all Ireland against the Englishmen, manie castels being therewith destroied. All which things are not vnwoorthie to be recorded, when the dominion was translated to the kings son. But assigning these dooings to other writers, we will proceed to more profitable matters. How and wherefore this first enterprise of the kings son had no good successe I thought good to declare brieflie: that this finall addition (albeit it can not be a cure to that which is past) yet it may be a caueat for things to come. ¶ This recapitulation followeth in a more absolute forme, pag. 223. which being Note. deliuered out of sundrie copies, doo perfect one another.]

When all things méete and necessarie for so great a iournie or voyage were at the king his commandement and charges made readie; then Iohn the kings yoonger sonne a little before made lord of Ireland, was sent ouer; and in the Lent time (1) he tooke leaue of his father, and as he trauelled towards saint Dauids to take shipping, he passed and rode along by the sea coasts of Southwals, and so came to (2) Penbroke. There brought and accompanied him vnto the ship a noble and a worthie man named Reinulte Glanuile, one of the K. his most priue counsell in all weightie matters, as also cheefe iustice of England. And on wednesdaie in the Easter weeke, the wind being at east and blowing a good gale, he tooke ship in Milford hauen, but for hast he left to doo his deuotion and oblation at saint Dauids, which was but an euill halsoning: neuerthelesse on the next morrow about noonetide he arriued in safetie vnto Waterford with all his companie, which were about thrée hundred gentlemen, and of bowmen, footmen, horssemen, and others a great number. Then was fulfilled the vaticine or prophesie of old Merlin: "A burning globe shall rise out of the east, & shall compasse about the land of Ireland, and all the foules of that Prophesie of Merlin fulfilled. Iland shall flée round about the fire." And hauing spoken these words of the father, he continueth his speech, and thus speaketh of his sonne: "And of this fire shall rise a sparkle, for feare of which all the inhabiteurs of the land shall tremble and be afraid:

and yet he that is absent shall be more esteemed than he that is present, and Lette shall be the successe of the first than of the second."

John at this his first arriuall into Ireland was of the age of 12 yeres, which was from the first arriuall of his father thirtéene yeaes, of the landing of the earle Strangbow fouretéene yeaes, and from the first entrance of Robert Fitzstephans fiftéene yeaes, and the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie and fíue, Lucius then Romane bishop, Frederike the emperor, and Philip the French king. There passed ouer with the king in the same fléet manie good clerks, among whome (3) one was speciallie commended vnto this yoong lord by his father, for that he was a diligent searcher of naturall histories, as also had béene before two yeaes in the same land, and there collected sundrie notes, and sufficient matter as well for his historie, as for his topographie: and which after that he was returned home, and attending in the court, did (as leisure serued him) digest and set in good order of a booke, the same being his labor of thrée yéeres. A trauell to him painefull, but to his posteritie profitable, although much misliked and enuied at by such as then were liuing: the one liked it well, but the other dispraised it; the one reaped a benefit and commoditie, but the other of a secret malice maligning the same, fretted in his humor, and was grauelled in his owne follie.

(1) The first voiage of the king his sonne, being then but a child of twelue yéeres of age: the English chronicles doo make small mention therof. But such as doo write thereof, doo report that the king brought his sonne as farre as Glocester on this iornie: and there dubbing and honoring him with the degree of knight-hood, sent him on his iornie.

The ancient
house of the
Carews

(2) Penbroke is an old and an ancient towne, builded by a noble man named Arnulph Montgomerie the ancestor of the Carews, whose names are Montgomeries, & lieth in Westwales named Demetia, but now of this towne is called Penbroke-shire. It standeth vpon a crécke of Milford hauen, about two miles from the castell Carew: of which castell the Montgomeries builded, and there dwelling tooke the name thereof, & were called Carews, which name that familie dooth yet reteine. In this towne of Penbroke standeth a goodlie and a strong castell, which hath béene in times past the seat and house of manie a noble man bearing the name of the earles of Penbroke. In this was king Henrie the seuenth borne. It is now in great ruine and in decaie.

(3) This man ment here is Giraldus Cambrensis the author of this booke, who (as it appeareth by this and other his works) was learned and much giuen to studie. He was archdeacon of saint Dauids, and descended from Girald of Windsore, and the ladie Nesta his wife, for he was the son of Maurice, and the sonne of the foresaid Girald and Nesta: and so this Girald of Windsore was his Proauus or great grand-father.

The praise and commendation as also the excuse of Robert Fitzstephans andth e earle Strangbow.

CHAP. 35.

ROBERT Fitzstephans was the first who taught and shewed the waie to the earle; the earle to the king, and the king to his sonne. Great praise-worthie was he that gaue the first aduenture, and much was he to be commended who next followed and increased the same: but aboue all others he descrued best, who fulfilled, absolved,

absolued, and ended the same. And here is to be noted, that albeit both Fitzstephans and the earle did helpe Dermot Mac Morogh to recouer his countrie of Leinster, as also defended and kept the same from robbers, théeues, & enimies: yet they did it in diuerse respects. The one in respect of his faith and promise, the other for loue of Eua, & of the (1) inheritance, which by hir should grow and come vnto him. But as concerning the intruding vpon Waterford, and the conquests of sundrie territories as well in Desmond as in Meth, I can not excuse them. The earle, who in right of his wife was lord of Leinster, the fift part or portion of Ireland, surrendered and yéelded vp all his right and title there vnto the king himsette, and tooke it againe to hold of him. The like also did all the princes of the land. Whereby as also by other old and ancient records it is apparant, that the English nation entred not into this land by wrong and iniurie, (as some men suppose and dreame) but vpon a good ground, right, and title.

(1) The course of this historie in the beginning dooth plainelie declare, how that Dermot after his departure from the king came to the citie of Bristow, and there hauing conference with Richard Strangbow erle of Chepstow, did offer vnto him his onelie daughter and heire in marriage, with the inheritance of all Leinster: conditionallie that he would passe ouer into Ireland, and to helpe him to recouer his land, which conditions were accepted and afterwards performed. Afterwards he lieng at saint Dauids for passage, there he met with Robert Fitzstephans, & did condition with him, that if he would passe ouer into Ireland to helpe him, he would giue him the towne of Wexford with certeine cantreds therevnto adioining, which conditions were then accepted and afterwards performed. Thus it appeareth that the one for loue of the gentlewoman, and the other in respect of his promise did passe ouer into that land and realme.

The causes of lets whie this conquest could not nor had his full perfection.

CHAP. 36.

HAPPIE and for euer happie had Ireland béene, which being valiantlie conquered, well replenished with townes, and fortified with castels from sea to sea of the first (1) aduenturers, who were then minded to haue established a good order and gouernment, had not they through the secret malice and treacherie of some men béene called awaie and sent from home. Yea happie had it beene, if the first conquerors (being noble and valiant men) might according to their deserts haue had the charge of gouernment committed vnto them. For whie, a nation which at the first comming ouer of our men, when they were galled with our arrows, and afraid of our force, they were then easie to be reclaimed. But partlie by meanes of trifling and delaieng of time, which is alwaies dangerous, and partlie by reason that the best seruitors being called home from thense, new rulers tooke too much ease, and liued in too much securitie; nothing was doone to anie purpose: and therevpon the people of that countrie tooke hart of grace, and practised our manners in shooting and the vse of our weapons: and by little and little they became so well expert and skilfull therein, that whereas at the first they were easie to be ouercommed, were now strong and hardie, and not onlie able to resist, but also readie to put vs in danger and hazard. And the causes herof whoso listeth to search, shall easilie find out the same: for if you will read ouer the bookes of the kings & prophets, examine the course of the old testament, and well consider the examples of these our latter daies;

Sin the cause of
ouerthrows by
the enimie.

The foure Irish
prophets.

daies; you shall find it most certeine and true, that no nation, no state, no citie, nor common-wealth was euer ouerthrowne by the enimie, nor overcome by the aduersarie but onelie for sinne and wickednesse. And albeit the Irish people and nation for their sinfull and abhominable life did well deserue to be ouerthrowne and ouerrun by strangers; yet was it not Gods will and plesure that they should vtterlie be brought into subiection: neither was it his good will & pleasure that the Englishmen, though they had brought some of them into subiection, yet they should not therefore haue the whole empire and entire souereigntie ouer them: for both were sinfull people and merited not anie fauour at Gods hand, but deserved to be seuerelie punished, and therefore neither the one (albeit he were a conqueror, and had the ouer hand) could yet obtaine a seat (2) in Pallas castell, nor yet the other be fullie subdued & broght into perfect subiection. The Irish people are said to haue the foure men whome they account to be great prophets, and whome they haue in great veneration and credit (3) Merlin, Bracton, Patrike, and Columkill, whose books and prophesies they haue among themselues in their owne language, and all they intreating and speaking of the conquest of this land, doo affirme that the same shall be assailed with often warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaughters great. But yet they doo not assure nor warrant anie perfect or full conquest vnto the English nation (4) not much before dooms daie. And albeit the whole land of Ireland, from sea to sea, haue for the most part béene in the power of the Englishmen, and by them fortified and replenished with sundrie and manie castels, though sometimes to their perilles and smartes: yet Bracton saith, that the king who shall make the absolute and finall conquest, shall come from out of the deserts and mounteins of saint Patrike, and vpon a sundaie at night shall with force breake into a castell builded in the fastnesse of Ophalie: and vntill that time the English nation shall from time to time be in continuall troubles with the Irishrie, sauing that they shall hold and inioie the whole land bordering vpon the east coasts of the seas.

(1) The course of this historie dooth at full declare in particulars, how the first aduenturers were maligned, & as much as might be discredited. First Robert Fitzstephans, whose seruice was counted notable, and his fidelitie to his prince and king trustie and assured: yet fell he into the kings displeasure, was cast into prison, and albeit deliuered out againe, yet the king conceiuing some gelousie of him, had him ouer into Normandie, where he serued two yeares in his warres: and although he were againe afterward sent ouer into Ireland, yet was he not in anie authoritie or office. The earle Strangbow although he came ouer with the king his speciall licence, yet his good successe was so enuied at, that the king made proclamation, that all his subiects being in Ireland with the earle, should returne & come home; and that no vittels, no munition, nor anie reléefe should be transported out of anie of his dominions into Ireland. And albeit the earle afterwards were reconciled to the king, yet was he faine to yéeld vnto him all his land and dominion of Leinster vnto the kings deuotion, & to receiue the same againe to be holden of the king. Reimond who could not be charged, nor spotted with anie vntruth: yet the treacherous Heruie with his false informations so inueigled and falselie informed the king against him, that he was sent for home, and not trusted with anie gouvernement. Hugh de Lacie, who (as the historie saith) was the first that made waie into Vlster, who fortified the prouince of Leinster and Meth with manie strongs holds & castels, and brought all the countrie to a peaceable state; he was suspected to haue meant the impropriation of the whole land to his owne vse, and was dismissed of his charge and gouvernement, and sent for home: and in place and lieu of these were sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Chester, and others, in whome was no value
at

at all, but onelie to pill and poll the people, and to heape vp treasure and riches.

(2) Pallas was the daughter of Iupiter, who for hir excellent gift in inuention, is said and fained by the poets to be borne of the braine of Iupiter without anie moother, she inuented the order of warres, and deuised the manner of fightings, she maketh men to be bold, and gineth the victorie. And bicause Englishmen could not obtaine a full and a perfect victorie: therefore they were said not to sit in Pallas castell.

(3) There were two Merlins, and both were prophesiers: the one was named *Merlinus Calidonus*, or *Syluestris*, bicause his dwelling and habitation was néere or by a wood called *Calidonia*, he was borne in the marches of Scotland, but a man verie excellentlie well learned in philosophie, and in knowledge of all natural causes; and by diligent observations he would gesse maruellouslie at the euent of manie things. Wherevpon he was taken for a prophesier, and reputed for a magician or a diuinor. He was in the time of king Arthur, about the yeare five hundred and thréscore, and of this Merlin it is spoken in this historie. The other Merlin was before this man and in the time of Vortiger: about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred and thréscore, and he was named *Ambrosius Merlinus*, who was also excellentlie well learned, both in philosophie and the art magike; but his sentences were so darkelie couched, that nothing could be conceiued nor vnderstood by them before the euent.

(4) Much adoo there hath béene, and manie books written, concerning the full conquest of this land: so manie heads, so manie reasons. But if men would haue the truth plainelie told, it is soone to be séene how the verie cause proceedeth and is continued for want of a generall reformation. But Pluto hath so blinded mens eies, that séeing they can not nor will not see: but hereof I shall more at large write in an other place.

A breefe repetition of certeine things done within the course of the historie that are omitted.

CHAP. 37.

HERE by the waie it were not amisse brieflie to touch & declare of certeine things which happened, & which (for certeine causes) are not at f^{ull} discoursed in this storie, as we wished that we might haue had the oportunitie so to haue doone. First therfore you shall vnderstand, that Iohn the kings sonne at his first comming ouer builded three castels, one at Tibrach, an other at Archephinan, and the third at Lisemore. Likewise three worthie gentlemen were lost and killed: namelie, Robert Barrie at Lisemore, Reimond Fitznugh at Onthan, and Reimond Kantune at Ossorie. Also how Donald the prince of Limerike secretlie stole vpon the earles armie in Ossorie, as they were comming from Dublin towards Limerike, and slue foure hundred Ostomans, and foure noble gentlemen, which were their capteines; among whom was Ogranie an Irishman. And also Dermond Mac Artie prince of Desmond, being at parlee with certeine men of Corke not farre from the said towne, was there set vpon by the said Corkemen & (1) Theobald Fitzwalter, and there was he and the most part of his companie slaine. The like happened in Meth, where they of Kencole & their capteine made a rode, and being set vpon by one William the iustice of that countrie, they were all slaine and a hundred of their heads sent vnto Dublin. Moreouer Iohn de Courcie found the bodies of saint Patrike, saint Brigid, and saint Colome at Downe, and remooued them from thense. Hugh de Lacie builded his
castell

castell at Deruach, was there traitorouslie slaine. Iohn de Courcie at his returne from out of Connagh lost sixtéene of his best gentlemen. Roger le Powre a valiant, and a lustie yoong gentleman, was by treason taken and murthered in Ossorie, wherevpon the Irishmen foorthwith brake out from their due obeisance to the king of England, and rebelled against the Englishmen, destroied manie castels, and set the whole realme in a great sturre and vnquietnesse. Other sundrie things happened which were too long to recite: and therefore leauing the same, we will returne to our historie.

(1) This Theobald Fitzwalter, who by his nation was named Becket but by his office Butler, was the sonne of Walter the sonne of Gilbert: & was the first Butler that came into Ireland, who being a wise and an expert man, was first sent with William Fitzaldelme. Afterwards he was sent ouer by king Iohn to view and serche the countrie; and in the end he grew into such credit, that he was infeoffed with great liuings there, as also aduanced (and his posteritie after him) to great honors & promotions, which now are named earles of Ormond and Ossorie.

The causes why England could not make the full and fnall conquest of Ireland.

CHAP. 38.

IT were not amisse, that we now did consider the causes, and declare the impediments, why the kings sonne had not the best successe in this his so honourable a iournie, and wherefore his so famous attempt tooke not effect: that albeit the same can not reuoke and remedie that which is past and doone, yet that it maie be a forewarning to that which maie follow and insue. The principall and chiefe cause I suppose and thinke to be, bicause that whereas the patriarch of Ierusalem named Heraclius came in an ambassage vnto him, in the name and behalfe of all the whole land of Palestiue called the holie land, requesting that he would take vpon him to be their helpe, and defending the same against the Saladine then king of Egypt and of Damasco: who hauing bent his whole force against them, was like within two yeares following vtterlie to be ouerrun, the said holie land, vnlesse some rescue in the meane time and with expedition were provided: he vtterlie denied and refused the same. And being further vrged to send one of his sonnes, although it were the yoongest: he denied that also: making no account neither of the cause it selfe, which was Christ; nor of the people, which were christians: neither yet of the person, which was a reuerend and honourable personage.

And yet neuerthelesse he sent foorth his younger sonne in a iournie or hosting, more sumptuous than are néedfull or profitable? And whither I praie you? Was it into the east and against the Saracens and miscreants? No, no, it was into the west, & against his euen christian, nothing séeking the aduancing of Gods glorie, nor promoting of his cause, but onelie for his owne priuat lucre and singular commoditie. An other cause was this. At the first landing and entrie of the kings sonne at Waterford, a great manie of the chiefest of the Irishmen in those parties, and who since their first submission to king Henrie had continued faithfull and true, they being aduertised of this his arriuall, did come and resort vnto him in peaceable maner, and after their best order to salute him, and congratulate his comming. But our new men & Normans, who had not before béene in those parties, making small account of them, did not onelie mocke them, and laugh them to scorne for the manner of their apparell, as also for their long beards and great
glibs,

glibs, which they did then weare and vse according to the vsage of their countrie: but also they did hardlie deale and ill intreat manie of them. These men nothing liking such intertainment shifted themselues out of the towne, & with all hast sped themselues home: euerie one into his owne house; & from thense they with their wiues, children, and houshold, departed and went some to the prince of Limerike, some to the prince of Corke, some to Rotherike prince of Connagh, and some to one lord, and some to an other: and to these they declared orderlie how they had béene at Waterford, and what they had séene there, and how they were intreated; and how that a yoong man was come thither garded with yoong men, and guided by the counsels of yoong men: in whom there was no staie, no sobrietie, no stedfastnesse, no assurednesse, whereby they and their countrie might be assured of anie safetie.

These princes and namelie they thrée of Connagh, Corke, and Limerike, who were the chéefest, and who were then preparing themselues in a readinesse to haue come and saluted the kings sonne, and to haue yéelded vnto him the dutifull obeisance of faithfull subiects: when they heard these newes, they began streightwaies to imagine, that of such euill beginnings woorse endings would insue: and reasoning the matter among themselues, did conclude, that if they thus at the first did deale so discourteouslie with the humble, quiet, and peaceable men: what would they doo to such as were mightie and stout, and who would be loth to receiue such discourtesies at their hands? Wherefore with one consent they concluded to stand and ioine together against the English nation, and to their vttermost to aduenture their liues, and to stand to the defense of their countrie and libertie. And for the performance thereof, they enter into a new league among themselues, and swore each one to the other, and by that means enimies before are now made fréends and reconciled. This we know to be true, and therefore we speake it, and that which we saw we doo boldlie witnesse. And for so much as we thus fondlie and in our pride did abuse them, who in humblenesse came vnto vs: therefore did we well deserue by Gods iust iudgement (who hateth the proud and high minded) to lose the others, for by this example they were vtterlie discouraged to like of vs. And this people and nation though it be barbarous and rude, not knowing what apperteineth vnto honour: yet most and aboue all others doo they desire to be exalted and honoured. And although they be not ashamed to be found false of their word, and vniust in their dealings: yet will they greatlie discommend lieng and commend truth, louing that in others, which is not to be found in themselues. But to the matter. What great euils and inconueniences doo grow by such follies and insolencies, a wise man may soone learne by the example of Rehoboam the sonne of Salomon, & so by an other mans harme learne to beware of his owne. (2) For he being lead and carried by yoong mens counsels, gaue a yoong mans answer vnto his people, saieing vnto them; "My finger is greater than was my fathers loins, and whereas he beat you with rods, I will scourge you with scorpions," by reason whereof ten tribes forsooke him for euer, and followed after Ieroboam. Another cause is this, when Robert Fitzstephans came first ouer, and also the earle; there were certeine Irishmen which tooke part with them, and faithfullie serued vnder them: and these were rewarded and had giuen vnto them for recompense certeine lands, which they quietlie held and inioied, vntill this time of the comming ouer of the king his sonne: for now the same were taken from them, and giuen to such as were new come ouer, contrarie to the promise & grant to them before made. Wherevpon they forsooke vs and fled to our enimies, and became not onelie spies vpon vs, but were also guiders and conductors of them against vs: they being so much the more able to hurt and annoie vs, bicause they were before our familiars, and knew all our orders and secrets. Besides this, the cities and townes vpon and

The inconueni-
ences following
civil govern-
ment.

néere the seacoasts, with all such lands, reuenues, tributes, and commodities as to the same did belong and apperteine, and which before was imploied and spent for the defense of the commonwealth & countrie, and in the seruice against the enimies, were now all assigned and bestowed vpon such as were giuen to pilling and polling, and who laie still within the townes, spending their whole time, and all that they had in drunkennesse and surfetting, to the losse and damage of the good citizens and inhabitants, and not to the annoiance of the enimies. And besides sundrie other commodities, this was one, and a speciall one; that at the verie first entrie of the king his sonne into this vnrulie and rebellious land, the people being barbarous, and not knowing what it was to be a subiect, nor what apperteineth to gouernment, such men were appointed to haue the charge, rule and gouernement, as who were more méet to talke in a parlor than to fight in the fields, better skill to be clad in a warme gowne than to be shrowded in armor, and who knew better how to pill and poll the good subiects than to resist and incounter the enimie: yea for their valiantnesse and prowesse they might well be resembled vnto William Fitzaldelme, vnder whose gouernement both Ireland and Wales were almost vtterlie destroied & lost. For whie, they were neither faithfull to their owne people nor dreadfull to their enimies; yea they were vtterlie void of that affect, which is naturallie ingrafted in man, which is to be pittifull to the humble and prostrate, and to resist the proud and obstinat; but rather of the contrarie, they spoiled their owne citizens, and winked at their enimies: for to resist and withstand them nothing was doone, no castels nor fortresses builded, no passes for safetie made, no waies for seruicé opened, but althings went to ruine, and the common state to wracke. Moreouer, the seruing men and the soldiers which were in garrison, they liking well of their capteins and masters maners and loose life, gaue themselues to the like, spending their whole time in rioting, banketing, whoredome, and all other dissolute and wanton orders, tarrieng still within the townes and places far off from the enimies. For as for the marches (so called because the same bordered vpon their enimies; or rather of Mars, because in those places martiall affaires were and are woont to be most exercised) they would not come néere the sight thereof, and by that means the people there dwelling and seated, the soiles there manured, the castels there builded, were altogether destroied, wasted, spoiled, and burned. And thus the prowesse of the old capteins, the good seruices of the veterans & well experimented soldiers by the insolent, distemperat, and lewd life of these new comes was discredited: whereof was nothing else to be awaited for but after such calmes must néeds insue stormes and tempests. And albeit they thus lieng in the townes in securitie and at rest, wallowing in lose and wanton life, euerie daie being a holie daie to Bacchus and Venus: yet the state of the land at large was most miserable and lamentable. For euerie where was howling and wéeeping, the manured fields became waste, the castels destroied, and the people murthered, and no newes but that the vtter destruction of the whole land was at hand. And in this distresse and necessitie it had béene verie requisit and néedfull that the souldiers should haue taken vp their weapons, serued against the enimie, and haue defended the common state: but it was farre otherwise, for there was such lawing & vexation in the towns, one dailie suing and troubling another, that the veterane was more troubled with lawing within the towne, than he was in perill at large with the enimie. And thus our men, giuen ouer to this trade and kind of life, became faintharted, and afraid to looke vpon the enimie: and on the contrarie the enimie most strong, stout, and bold. Thus was the land then gouerned, and thus the same posted towards the destruction of the English nation and gouernment, which had doubtlesse verie shortlie followed and insued, had not the king provided a speedie remedie for the same. For the king being aduertised how disorderlie things framed,

Lawing woorse
than warring.

framed, and considering with himselfe in what perill the state of his realme and people stood, he with all speed sendeth for all these new come souldiors, in whome (other than the name of a souldior was nothing of anie value and commendation) and commandeth them to repaire and come home, and sendeth ouer in their places these old beaten and well tried soldiors, by whose seruice the land before had beene conquered and kept, among whome one and the cheefest was Iohn de Courcie, who was made lord deputie, and had the gouernement of the land committed vnto him: who, according to his office and dutie, setteth in hand the reformation of all things méet and requisit to be redressed: who the more valiant and forward he was in his said affaires and seruices, the more the land grew to good order, and inioied peace & quietnesse. For whie, he would not be idle himselfe, neither would he suffer his souldiors to lie idle like loiterers and sluggards: but was alwaies labouring and traouelling abroad, and marching still towards the enimies, whome he followed and pursued euen through the whole land, to the vttermost parts thereof, as well in Corke, Thomond, Connagh, and elsewhere; and if by any means he could haue anie aduantage of them, he would suerlie giue the onset and aduenture vpon them: which for the most part was to their ouerthrowe, though he and his sometimes were galled, and felt the smart. And would to God he had beene as prudent a capteine as he was a valiant souldior; and as prouident in the one as skilfull and hardie in the other! But to my former purpose. Among the manie and sundrie incoñueniences happened by euill gouernment of these new officers (as is before said) there was none greater, nor more to be lamented than was this: that notwithstanding God of his goodnesse did giue the victorie, and send the happie successe in this noble conquest: yet was there neither due thanks attributed vnto God, nor anie remembrance giuen vnto his church; but to increase a further ingratitude, they tooke and spoiled awaie from the same their lands and possessions, as also minded to abridge them of their old and ancient priuileges & liberties. Too great a note of ingratitude, and an argument of too much vnthankfulnes: wherof what vnquietnesse and troubles did insue, the sequele therof (for the course of sundrie years) did shew and declare.

Aha Giraldus!
could you see
that cursed fault
and abuse?

So manie outrages & disorders, which did créepe in by the disordred gouernement vnder the king his sonne, were not so much to be imputed to his yoong and tender yeares, as vnto the euill counsels and directions of such as were about him, and had the speciall charge thereof; for such a sauage, rude, and barbarous nation was by good counsels, discret directions and prudent gouernement to haue béene gouerned and reduced to good order and conformitie. For whie, if a realme which by wise and prudent gouernement is brought and reduced to a perfect state, yet being committed to the gouernement of a child is cursed and brought to manifold distresses, troubles and miseries (5) how much more then is it to be so thought of that land, which of it selfe being rude and barbarous, is committed to the gouernement of such as be not onelie rude and barbarous, but also lewd and euill disposed. And that this did so happen and come to passe in Ireland, all wisemen doo know it, and the elder sort doo confesse it to be true; although yoong men to couer their folies, would reiect it to some other causes & impediments. For whie, such of them as had procured vnto themselues great liuings, lordships and territories, they pretended at the first that they would be readie to serue the king his sonne, to defend the countrie, to resist the enimie, and that they would doo this and that with manie good morowes. But when they had gotten what they would, and had that they sought for, then it manifestlie appeared that it was singular gaine & priuat profit which they shot at: for hauing obtained that, they neuer remembred their oth to their lord, nor cared for the common state, nor passed for the safetie and

defense of the countrie, which in dutie they ought chiefelie to haue considered.

(1) The Irish nation and people euen from the beginning haue béene alwaies of a hard bringing vp, & are not onelie rude in apparell but also rough & ouglie in their bodies: their beards and heads they neuer wash, clense, nor cut, especiallie their heads; the haire whereof they suffer to grow, sauing that some doo vse to round it: and by reason the same is neuer kembered, it groweth fast together, and in processe of time it matteth so thicke and fast together, that it is in stéed of a hat, and kéepeth the head verie warme, & also will beare off a great blow or stroke, and this head of haire they call a glibe, and therein they haue a great pleasure.

(2) The historie is written in the first booke of the kings the twelke chapter, and in the second of the chronicles the tenth chapter: the effect therof is, that after the death of Salomon the people of Israell requested Rehoboam his sonne, to ease them of the grieuous burdens and heauie yoke which his father laied vpon them, who leauing the counsell of the old counsellors, gaue them answer by the aduise of yong heads, as in this place is recited.

(3) What these Irishmen were, there are diuerse opinions. Some thinke that they were such as did inhabit about Wexford, some thinke that they were they of Kencelo, for they faithfullie serued the Englishmen vnder their capteine named Morogh at Limerike, when the earle of Reimond recouered the same. But I find it to be noted of the Oriens, who are now dwelling within the baronie of Odron, and had a seat there by the gift of the Kauenaughs, but since resisting against them and denieng to paie their accustomed cheuerie, yéelded themselves vnto the earle of Ormond, paieng vnto him a certeine blacke rent to be their defendor against the said Keuenaughs, but in right they are tenants to the barons of Odron.

(4) This is meant of that which is before spoken in the twentie chapter in the description of this Iohn de Curcie, where his too much rashnes is noted to be a great fault in him.

(5) It is written by the preacher, or Ecclesiastes; "Wo be vnto thee O thou land whose king is but a child." Which is not ment absolutelie of a child, but of such a one who (as a child) hath an euill affection, and is void of that grauitie, wisdom, and maiestie as is required in a prince and gouernour. For Iosias when he was crowned king of Iehuda, was but eight yeares of age; and yet bicause he did that which was right in the sight of God, and ruled the land godlie and vprightlie, he is commended in the scriptures for the same.

Three sorts of people which came and serued in Ireland.

CHAP. 39.

THERE were three sundrie sorts of seruitors which serued in the realme of Ireland, (1) Normans, Englishmen, and the Cambrians, which were the first conquerors of the land: the first were in most credit and estimation, the second were next, but the last were not accounted nor regarded of. The Normans were verie fine in their apparell, and delicate in their diets, they could not féed but vpon deinties, neither could their meat digest without wine at each meale; yet would they not serue in the marches, or anie remote place against the enimie, neither would they lie in garrison to kéepe anie remote castell or fort, but would be still about

The Normans
fine in their ap-
parell and de-
licat in their diet.

about their lords side to serue and gard his person ; they would be where they might be full and haue plentie, they could talke and brag, sweare and stare, and standing in their owne reputation, disdaine all others. They receiued great interteinement and were liberallie rewarded, and left no meanes vnsought how they might rule the rost, beare the sway, and be aduanced vnto high estate and honour. In these things they were the first and formost, but to serue in hosting, to incounter with the enimie, to defend the publike state, & to follow anie martiall affaires, they were the last and furthest off. And for asmuch as those noble and worthie seruitors, by whose seruice, trauels and industrie, the said land was first entred into and conquered, were thus had in contempt, disdaine, and suspicion, and onelie the new comes called to counsell, and they onelie credited and honored : it came to passe that in all their dooings they had small successe, & by whole and little their credit decaied, and nothing came to effect or perfection which they tooke in hand.

(1) This king, besides England and Scotland, had in his rule and gouvernement the duchie of Normandie, and the earledomes of Gascoine, Guien, Aniou, & Poitiers, beside the losse of that which came to him by the right of his wife. And albeit he trusted the Englishmen well inough, yet being borne on the other side of the seas, he was more affectionated to the people of those prouinces there subiect vnto him : for of them he chose both them which were of his counsell in peaceable gouvernement, as also his seruitors in martiall affaires. And albeit he had of euerie of these prouinces some, yet bicause Normandie was the chiefest, and he duke thereof, they went all vnder the name of Normans, and so called Normans.

How or by what manner the land of Ireland is throughlie to be conquered.

CHAP. 40.

IT is an old saieng, that euerie man in his owne art is best of credit & most to be beléued : & so in this matter they are speciallie to be credited, who haue béene the chiefest trauellers and seruitors in and about the first recouerie of this land, doo know and can best discouer the natures, manners, and conditions of these people and nation : for as the matter speciallie toucheth them, so none can doo it better than they. For whie, by reason of their continuall warres with them being their most mortall enimies, none can better saie than they how they are either to be conquered or vanquished. And here by the waie happie had Wales bin, I meane that Wales which the English people doo inhabit, if the king therof. in governing the same or when he incountred with his enimies had vsed this deuise & policie. But to the matter. These Normans although they were verie good souldiers and well appointed, yet the manner of the warres in France far differeth from that which is vsed in Ireland and Wales ; for the soile & countrie in France is plaine, open, & champaine ; but in these parts it is rough, rockie, full of hills, woods, & bogs. In France they weare complet harnesse, and are armed at all points, not onelie for their honor, but especiallie for their defense and safeties ; but to these men the same are combersome & a great hinderance. In France they kéepe standing fields & trie the battels, but these men are light horssemen & range alwaies at large. In France they kéepe their prisoners and put them to ransomes, but these chop off their heads and put them to the sword. And therefore when the battell is to be waged in the plaine, open, & champaine countrie, it behoueth

Great ods betweene the warres in France and Ireland or Wales.

all

all men to be armed, some in complet harnesse, some in iackes, some in Almaine riuets, & some in brigandines & shirts of maile, according to their places of seruice. So on the contrarie, where the fight & triall is in narrow streicts, rockie places, & where it is full of woods & bogs, & in which footmen are to serue and not horssemen, there light armor and slender harnesse will best serue. To fight therefore in such places and against such men, as be but naked and vnarmed men, and whome at the first push and aduenture, either the victorie must be had or lost, light and easie armor is best and conuenient. And againe these people are verie nimble & quicke of bodie, and light of foot, and for their safetie and aduantage they seeke waies through streicts and bogs, and therefore it is not for anie man laden with much armor to follow and pursue them. Moreouer, the Frenchmen and Normans most commonlie are horssemen, and doo serue on horssebacke, & these men haue their saddles so great and deepe, that they cannot at ease leape vp and downe; and being on foot by reason of their armor, they cannot serue nor trauell. And you shall further vnderstand, that in all the seruices and hostings, both in Ireland & in Wales, the Welsh seruitors, and especiallie such as doo dwell in the marches, by reason of their continuall wars, they are verie valiant, bold, and of great experiences, they can endure anie paines and trauels, they are vsed to watchings and wardings, they can abide hunger and thirst, and know how to take aduantage of their enimie; and their seruice by horse is such, that they are readie to take aduantage of the field, being quicke & readie to take and leape to the horsse, as also to leaue the same, & to folow the enimie at their best aduantage, whether it be on horsse or on foot. And such kind of seruitors and souldiers were they, which first gaue the aduenture and first preuailed in Ireland: and by such also in the end must the same be fullie conquered, that when the battell is to be fought & waged in the plaine and champaine countrie, and against such as be throughlie armed and appointed for the same, it is reason that the aduerse part be likewise armed and appointed. But when the matter is to be waged in steepe places, rough fields, rockie hils, or in marish and boggie grounds, and against such as be quicke of foot, and doo seeke others to tops of hils, or to bogs, and woods: then men of the like exercise, and hauing light armour, are to be allowed. And in the Irish wars this one thing is to be considered, that you doo in euerie wing ioine your bowmen with your footmen and horssemen, that by them they may be defended from the Kerns, whose nature and conditions are to run in and out, and with their darts are woont shrewddie to annoie their enimies, who by the bowmen are to be kept off. And moreouer, that the hither part of the land lieng on the east side, or part of the Shenin which diuideth the three other parts from this, and this being the fourth part must be well fortified with castels and forts: but as for Con-nagh & Thomond, which lie in the further side of the Shenin, and all those parties (sauing the citie of Limerike which must needs be recouered and kept in the English gouernement) must for a time be borne withall, and by little and little by forti-fieng of the frontiers in meet places be gotten and recouered, and so by little and little to grow in vpon them as occasion shall serue.

The Kerns
vsage in battell.

How the Irish people being vanquished are to be governed.

CHAP. 41.

AS there be means and policies to be vsed in conquering this people, who are now more light in their bodies than inconstant in mind: so when they are vanquished, they must in an order be ruled and governed. First and principallie therefore it is to be considered, that whosoever shall be gouernor ouer them, that he be wise, constant, discreet, and a staied man; that in time of peace, and when they are contented to liue vnder law and in obedience, they maie be gouerned by law, directed by right, and ruled by iustice; as also to be stout and valiant, readie and able with force seuerelie to punish all such as (contrarie to their dutie and allegiance) shall either rebell and breake out, or otherwise liue in disordered maner. Moreouer, when anie haue doone amisse, and contrarie to dutie haue rebelled, and doo yet afterwards knowledge their follie, and yeelding themselues haue obtained pardon; that in no wise you doo afterwards euill intreat them, neither yet laie their former faults to their charges, neither cast them in the teeth of their follies: but hauing taken such assurance of them as you maie, to intreat them with all courtesies and gentlenesse, that by such good means they maie the better be induced and incouraged to kéepe themselues within their dutie, for loue of their good gouernement which they see: and yet be afraid to doo euill for feare of punishment, which they are to receiue for their euill and lewd dooings. And if they will not thus order and gouerne them, but confound their dooings, being slacke to punish the euill, and quicke to oppresse the good and obedient, to flatter them in their rebellions and outrages, and to spoile them in peace; to fauor them in their treasons and treacheries, and to oppresse them when they liue in loialtie, as we haue seene manie so to haue doone: surelie these men so disorderedlie confounding all things, they in the end shall be confounded themselues. And bicause harms foreséene do least annoie & hurt, let them which be wise looke well, that in time of peace they doo prepare for the warres. For after the Alcion daies and calme seas doo follow stormes and tempests: and therefore, when they haue vacant times and leisure, let them build and fortifie castels, cut downe and open the passes, and doo all such other things as the nature of warres requireth to be preuented. For this people being vncerteine, craftie, and subtile, vnder colour of peace, are woont alwaies to be studieng and deuising of mischiefs. And also bicause it is good to be wise by another mans harne, & warie by other mens examples. For nothing dooth better teach a man than examples, and the paterns of things doone afore time. Let not them forget what became of these woorthie men, Miles of Cogan. Rafe Fitzstephans, Hugh de Lacie, Roger Powre, and others, who when they thought of least danger they were in most perill: and when they thought themselues in most safetie, they were intrapped and destroyed. For as we haue said in our Topographie; this people is a craftie and a subtile people, and more to be feared when it is peace, than when it is open warres: for their peace indéed is but enimitie, their policies but craft, their friendships but coloured, and therefore the more to be doubted and feared. And by experience the same in some part hath béene prooued: and therefore, as Euodius saith, "Let the fall and ruine of things past be forewarnings of things to come."

And bicause herein a man can not be too wise nor warie, it were good that an order were taken (as it is in Sicilia) that none of them should weare anie weapon at all, no not so much as a staffe in their hands to walke by. For euen with that weapon,

No better teachers than examples.

pon, though it be but slender, they will (if they can) take the aduantage, and bewreake their malice and cankered stomachs. Finallie, forsomuch as the kings of England haue a iust title, and a full right to the land of Ireland in sundrie and diuerse respects; and considering also that the same is chieflie mainteined by the intercourse and traffike of merchandizes out of England; and without the same cannot releue and helpe it selfe; it were verie expedient that for the acknowledging of the one, and for the iniouieng of the other, as also for the supporting of the continuall charges of the king of England there yearelie bestowed: that there be a yearelie tribute paied and answered vnto the kings of England, either in monie, or in such commodities as that land breedeth, aswell for the continuance of the title in memorie, as also for the auoiding of manie inconueniences. And because time weareth awaie, and men doo dailie perish and die, that this order for the perpetuall honour of the king and of his realme, and the memoriall of this conquest, the same be ingrossed and registred in a publike instrument to indure for euer. And thus hauing spoken what we know, and witnessed what we haue séene, we doo here end this historie, leauing vnto others of better knowledge and learning, to continue the same as to them shall be thought most néedfull and conuenient.

Thus farre Giraldus Cambrensis.

THE
PROCESSE OF IRISH AFFAIRES

(BEGINNING WHERE GIRALDUS DID END) VNTILL THIS PRESENT AGE, BEING A
WITNESSE OF SUNDRIE THINGS AS YET FRESH IN MEMORIE:

WHICH PROCESSE FROM HENSEFORWARD IS INTITULED

THE CHRONICLES OF IRELAND.

LEAUNG at the conquest of Ireland penned by Giraldus Cambrensis, we are now to proceed in that which followeth: wherein our authour (as he himselfe writeth) vsed such notes as were written by one Philip Flatsburie, out of a certeine namelesse author, from this place vnto the yeare 1370: and we hauing none other helpe besides (except onelie Henrie of Marleborow) do set downe that which we find in our oft mentioned authour, and in the same Marleborow in all the whole discourse that followeth, except in some certeine particular places, where we shew from whence we haue drawne that which we write as occasion serueth.

THE

CHRONICLES OF IRELAND, &c.

HUGH de Lacie (of whom such memorable mention is made hertofore) the rather to méet with such hurlie burlies as were like to put the state of the Irish countrie in danger, if the same were not the sooner brought to quiet, erected and built a number of castels and forts in places conuenientlie seated, well and sufficientlie garnished with men, munitions, and vittels, as one at Derwath, where diuerse of the Irish praied to be set on worke for wages. Lacie came sundrie times thither to further the woorke, full glad to see them fall in vre with anie such exercise, wherein might they once begin to haue a delight, and tast the swéetnesse of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of reformation: for which cause he visited them the oftner, and merilie would command his gentlemen to giue the laborers example to take their tooles in hand, and to woorke a season, whilst the poore soules looking on might rest them. But this pastime grew to a tragicall end. For on a time, as each man was busilie occupied, some lading, some heauing, some plastering, some grauing, the generall also himselfe digging with a pickaxe: a desperat villaine among them, whose toole the noble man vsed, espieng both his hands occupied, and his bodie inclining downwards, still as he stroke watched when he so stooped, and with an axe cleft his head in sunder, little esteeming the torments that for this traitorous act insued. This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of Meth, for that he was the first that brought it to anie due order of obedience vnto the English power. His bodie the two archbishops, Iohn of Dublin, and Matthew of Cashill buried in the monasterie of Bectie, and his head in saint Thomas abbeie at Dublin.

A castell built at
Derwath.

1186
Lacie is traito-
rously slaine.

By occasion of this murder committed on the person of Hugh Lacie, Iohn Curcie, and Hugh Lacie the yoonger, with their assistants, did streight execution vpon the rebels; and preuenting euerie mischiefe yer it fell, staied the realme from vprores. Thus they knitting themselues together in friendship, continued in wealth and honor vntill the first yeare of king Iohns reigne, who succéeding his brother king Richard, tooke his nephue Arthur, son to his brother Geffreie earle of Britaine, and dispatched him (some said) with his owne hands, because he knew what claime he made to the crowne, as descended of the elder brother. And therefore not onelie the French king, but also certeine lords of England and Ireland fauored his title: and when they vnderstood that he was made awaie, they tooke it in maruelous euill part. And Curcie either of zeale to the truth, or parcialitie, abhorring such barbarous crueltie, whereof all mens cares were full, spake bloudie words against king Iohn, which his lurking aduersaries (that laie readie to vndermine him) caught

Curcie and Hugh
Lacie the yoonger
keepe the
realme in quiet.
1199.

King Iohn slaieth
his nephue Ar-
thur.

Curcie vttereth
displeasent words
against King
Iohn.

by the end, and used the same as a meane to lift him out of credit: which they did not onelie bring to passe, but also procured a commission to attach his bodie, and to send him ouer into England. Earle Curcie mistrusting his part, and belike getting some inkling of their drift, kept himselfe aloofe, till Hugh Lacie lord iustice was faine to raise an armie and to inuade Vister, from whence he was oftentimes put backe: whereupon he proclaimed Curcie traitor, and hired sundrie gentlemen with promise of great recompense, to bring him in either quicke or dead. They fought once at Downe, in which battell there died no small number on both parts; but Curcie got the vpper hand, and so was the lord iustice foiled at Curcies hands: but yet so long he continued in practising to haue him, that at length Curcies owne captains were inueihed to betraie their owne maister: insomuch that vpon Good fridaie, whilst the earle out of his armour visited barefooted certeine religious houses for deuotion sake, they laid for him, tooke him as a rebell, & shipped him ouer into England the next waie, where he was adiudged to perpetuall prison. One Seintleger addeth in his collections (as Campion saith) that Lacie paid the traitors their monie, and foorthwith therevpon hanged them.

This Curcie translated the church and prebendaries of the trinitie in Downe, to an abbeie of blacke moonks brought thither from Chester, and caused the same to be consecrated vnto saint Patrike: for which alteration, taking the name from God to a creature; he déemed himselfe woorthilie punished. Not long after (as saie the Irish) certeine French knights came to king Iohns court, and one among them required the combat for triall of the right to the duchie of Normandie. It was not thought expedient to ieopard the title vpon one mans lucke, yet the chalenge they determined to answer. Some friend put them in mind of the earle imprisoned, a warrior of notable courage, and in pitch of bodie like a giant. King Iohn demanded Curcie, whether he could be content to fight in his quarrell? "Not for thee" said the erle, "whose person I estéeme vnworthie th'aduenture of my bloud, but for the crowne & dignitie of the realme, in which manie a good man liueth against thy will, I shall be contented to hazard my life."

These words were not construed in the worst part, as procéding from an offended mind of him that was therein estéemed more plaine than wise. Therefore being cherished and much made of, he was fed so woonderfullie (now he came to so large allowance in diet after hard keeping) that the French challenger tooke him for a monster: and fearing to deale with him, priuilie stole awaie into Spaine. It is further reported, that the French king, being desirous to see Curcie, requested king Iohn that he might come before them, and shew of what strength he was by striking a blow at an helmet. Herevpon foorth he was brought, and presented before the kings, where was an helmet set vpon a blocke. Curcie taking a sword in his hand, and with a sterne & frowning countenance cast vpon the kings, gaue such a stroke to the helmet, that cleauing it in sunder, the sword sticked so fast in the log, that no man there was able to plucke it foorth, except Curcie himselfe. When he therefore had plucked foorth the sword, the kings asked him what he meant to looke vpon them with such a grim & froward countenance before he gaue the blow to the helmet? He answered, that if he had missed in his stroke, he would haue killed all the whole companie, as well the kings as others. Then was he released of bonds, and crossing the seas towards Ireland whither he was bound, was fiftéene times beaten backe againe to the English shore, & going into France to change the coast died there. This Curcie was white of colour, mightie of lims, with large bones and strong of sinews, tall & broad in proportion of bodie, so as his strength was thought to excéed, of boldnesse incomparable, and a warrior euen from his youth; the formost in the front of euerie battell where he came, and euer readie to hazard himselfe in place of most danger, so forward in fight, that oftentimes forgetting the office

He is accused.

He is proclaimed traitor.

He is taken.

Translation of prebendaries to monks.

A chalenge for a crown made by certeine French knights.

Curcies answer to king Iohn.

He cometh vpon him to defend the chalenge.

Curcie departeth thence.
The description of Curcie.

office of a capteine, he tooke in hand the part of a souldior, pressing foorth with the foremost, so that with his ouer rash violence, and desire of victorie, he might séeme to put all in danger. But although he was thus hastie and hot in the field against his enimies, yet was he in conuersation modest and sober, and verie religious, hauing churchmen in great reuerence, ascribing all to the goodnesse of God, when he had atchiued anie praise-woorthie enterprise, yéelding thanks to his diuine maiestie accordinglie. But as seldome times anie one man is found perfect in all things, so these vertues were spotted with some vices; namelie, too much nigardnesse in sparing, and inconstancie. He married the daughter of Godred king of Man, and after manie conflicts and battels had against the Irish, he conquered (as before ye haue heard) the countrie of Vlster, and building diuerse strong castels therin, he established the same vnder his quiet rule and gouernment, till he and Lacie fell out, as before is expressed.

After Curcies decease, because he left no heires, the earledome of Vlster was giuen vnto Hugh Lacie in recompense of his good seruice. There was one of the Curcies remaining in Ireland that was lord of Rathermie and Kilbarrocke, whome (as an espiall of all their practises and informer thereof to the king) Walter and Hugh the sons of Hugh Lacie slue, by reason whereof great trouble and disquietnesse ensued: those Lacies bearing themselues (now after the decease of their father) for gouernors out of checke. To set the realme in quiet, king Iohn was faine to passe thither himselfe in person with a maine armie, banished the Lacies, subdued the residue of the countrie yet not conquered, tooke pledges, punished malefactors, established the execution of English lawes, coined monie of like value currant sterling in both realmes. The two Lacies repenting their misdemeanors, fled into France disguised in poore apparell, and serued there in an aboeie as gardeners, till the abbat by their countenance and behauior began to gesse their estates, and opposed them so farre that they disclosed what they were; beséeching the abbat to keepe their counsels, who commending their repentant humblenes, aduised them yet to make sute for their princes fauor, if it might be had, promising to doo what he could in the matter, and so tooke vpon him to be a suter for them vnto the king that was his god-cept and well acquainted with him. He trauelled so earnestlie herein, that at length he obtained their pardons: but yet they were fined, Walter at foure thousand, and Hugh at fife and twentie hundred markes: and herevpon Walter was restored vnto the lordship of Meth, and Hugh to the earledome of Vlster.

King Iohn went into Ireland.

See more hereof in England.

They fled into France.

They are pardoned, and put to their fines.

King Iohn appointed his lieutenants in Ireland, and returning home, subdued the Welshmen, and soone after with Pandulfus the legat of pope Innocentius the third, who came to release him of the censure, wherein he stood excommunicat, to whom as to the popes legat he made a personall surrender of both realmes in waie of submission; and after he was once absolved, he receiued them againe. Some adde, that he gaue awaie his kingdoms to the see of Rome for him and his successors, recognising to hold the same of the popes in fée, paieng yearelie therefore one thousand markes, as seauen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. Blondus saith, "Centum pro vtroque auri marchias." Sir Thomas More (as Campion saith) a man both in calling & office likelie to sound the matter to the depth, writeth preciselie, that neither such writing the pope can shew, neither were it effectuell if he could. How farre foorth, and with what limitation a prince may or may not addict his realme feodarie to another, Iohn Maior a Scottish chronicler, and a Sorbonist not vnlearned partlie scanneth, who thinketh three hundred markes for Ireland no verie hard peniworth. The instrument (as Campion thinketh) which our English writers rehearse, might happilie be motioned and drawn, and yet not confirmed with anie seale, nor ratified: but though the copie of this writing remaine in record, yet certeine it is, king Iohns successors neuer paid it. After Iohn

An hundred markes of gold. Blondus.

Iohn Bile in 112 up to 112 against 112.

Comin

Comin archbishop of Dublin, and founder of saint Patriks church succéded Henrie Londres in the sée, who builded the kings castell there, being lord chéeft iustice of Ireland, him they nicknamed (as the Irish doo commonlie giue additions in respect of some fact or qualitie) Scorchuillein, that is, Burnebill, because he required to peruse the writings of his tenants, colorablie pretending to learne the kind of ech mans seuerall tenure, and burned the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their takings, or to hold at will.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred and sixtéene king Iohn departed this life. In his daies diuerse monasteries were builded in Ireland, as (besides those that before are mentioned) in the fourth yeare of his reigne the abbeie of Dowish was founded; in the sixt the abbeie of Wetherham in the countie of Limerike, by Theobald le Butler lord of Cacrackie, and in the twelke yeare Richard Oute builded the monasterie of Grenard. In the daies of Henrie the third that succéded his father king Iohn great warres were raised in Ireland betwixt Hugh Lacie & William Marshall, so that the countrie of Meth was gréeuouslie afflicted.

Henrie the third.
Warres betwixt
Lacie and Mar-
shall.

1228

The Giraldines.

Morice Fitzgi-
rald.
Lucas arch-
bishop.

1230

1234

1241

The lord Verdon.
Geffrie Genuill.

1252

1253

The castell of
Scligath.

Odonill.

Iohn Fitzgeffrie
lord iustice.
Alaine de la
Zouch lord
iustice.

In the yeare of our Lord 1228, after the death of Londres archbishop of Dublin, that was lord chéeft iustice, king Henrie the third vnderstanding the good seruice doone by the Giraldines euer since their first comming into Ireland, although by wrong reports the same had beene to their preiudice for a time sinisterlie misconstrued, so as the gentlemen had still béene kept backe, and not rewarded according to their deserts. The king now informed of the truth made Morice Fitzgerald the sonne of Morice aforesaid lord chéeft iustice of Ireland. Lucas succéded Londres in the archbishops sée, and was consecrated. In the yeare one thousand two hundred and thirtie, Richard Marshall was taken prisoner in battell at Kildare. Some write that he was wounded there, and within few daies after died of the hurt at Kilkennie, and was buried there in the queere of the church of the friers preachers, néere to the place where his brother William was interred, who departed this life in the yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie and one.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fortie and one, Walter Lacie lord of Meth departed this life in England: he left two daughters behind him that were his heires, Margaret married to the lord Verdon, and Matild the wife of Geffrie Genuill. King Henrie in the six & thirtith yeare of his reigne, gaue to Edward his eldest sonne, Gascoigne, Ireland, and the countie of Chester. In the yeare following, Hugh Lacie earle of Vlster departed this life, and was buried at Cragfergus, in the church of the friers minors, leauing a daughter behind him, that was his heire, whome Walter de Burgh or Bourke married, and in right of hir was created earle of Vlster, as after shall appeare. Morice Fitzgiralde lord iustice of Ireland, being requested by this prince to come and assist him with a power of men against the Welsh rebels, left a sufficient garrison of men in the castell of Scligath, which he had latelie builded, and then came ouer with Phelin Ochonher, and a lustie band of souldiers: & meeting the prince at Chepstow, behaued themselues so valiantlie, that returning with victorie, they greatlie increased the fauor of the king and prince towards them; and vpon their returne into Ireland, they ioined with Cormacke Mac Dermot Mac Rome, and made a notable iournie against Odonill the Irish enimie, that when Lacie was once dead, inuaded & sore annoied the kings subiects of Vlster. Odonill being vanquished, the lord iustice forced pledges and tribute of Oneale to keepe the kings peace, and diuerse other exploits praise-worthie did he, during the time of his gouernment, as Flatsburie hath gathered in his notes for the lord Girald Fitzgiralde earle of Kildare, in the yeare one thousand five hundred and seuentéene. After Morice Fitzgiralde succéded in office of lord iustice, Iohn Fitzgeffrie knight, and after him Alaine de la Zouch, whome the earle of Surrie Fitzwarren slue. And after de la Zouch, in the yeare one thousand two hundred

dred fiftie and eight, being the two and fortith of Henrie the third his reigne, was Stephan de long Espée sent to supplie that roome, who slue Oneale with thre hundred fiftie & two of his men in the stréets of Downe, and shortlie after departed this life; then William Dene was made lord iustice, and Gréene castell was destroyed. Also Mac Careie plaid the diuell in Desmond.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and one, sir William Dene lord iustice of Ireland deceased, and sir Richard Rochell (or Capell as some copies haue) was sent to be lord iustice after him, who greatlie enuied the familie of the Giraldins; during his gouvernement the lord Iohn Fitzthomas and the lord Morice his son were slaine. In the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and foure, Walter de Burgh was made earle of Vlster, and Morice Fitzmorice tooke the lord iustice of Ireland together with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diuerse other great lords at Tristildermot, on saint Nicholas daie. And so was Ireland full of warres, betwixt the Burghs and Giraldins. In the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and six, there chanced an earthquake in Ireland. In the yeere following, king Henrie tooke vp the variance that was in Ireland betwixt the parties, and discharging Dene, appointed Dauid Barrie lord iustice in his place, who tamed the insolent dealings of Morice Fitzmorice, cousine germane to Fitzgiralde.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, Conhur Obren was slaine by Dermot Mac Monerd, and Morice Fitzgiralde earle of Desmond was drowned in the sea, betwixt Wales & Ireland. And Robert Vffort was sent ouer to remaine lord iustice of Ireland, and Barrie was discharged, who continued till the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and nine, and then was Richard de Excester made lord iustice. And in the yeare following, was the lord Iames Audleie made lord iustice. Richard Verdon, and Iohn Verdon were slaine, and Fulke archbishop of Dublin deceased. Also the castels of Aldlecke, Roscoman, & Scheligagh, were destroyed. The same yeare was a great dearth and mortalitie in Ireland. In the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie & two, the lord Iames Audleie was slaine by a fall from his horsse in Thomond, and then was Morice Fitzmorice made lord iustice of Ireland, and the castell of Randon was destroyed. In the yeare one thousand two hundred seauentie and two, king Henrie the third departed this life, and the lord Walter Genuill latelie returned home from his iournie into the holie land, was sent into Ireland, and made lord iustice there. In the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and fve, the castell of Roscoman was eftsoones repaired and fortified.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and six, there was an ouerthrow giuen at Glenburie, where William Fitzroger, prior of the knights hospitalers, & manie other with him, were taken prisoners, and a great number of other were slaine. The same yeare, Iohn de Verdon departed this world, and Thomas de Clare married the daughter of Morice Fitzmorice. In the yeare following, Robert Vffort was appointed to supplie the roome of Genuill, being called home, and so was this Vffort the second time ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. He hauing occasion to passe into England, made his substitute Fulborne bishop of Waterford till his returne, and then resumed the gouvernement into his owne hands againe. In the yeare one thousand two hundred seauentie and seauen, Thomas de Clare slue Obrenroth king of Tholethmond: and yet after this the Irish closed him vp in Slew bani, together with Maurice Fitzmaurice, so that they gaue hostages to escape, and the castell of Roscoman was woone. In the yere next insuing, was Iohn de Derlington consecrated archbishop of Dublin. There was also a counsell holden at Grenoke, and Mac Dermot slue Cathgur Oconthir king of Connagh. In the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, Robert Vffort vpon occasion of busines

Stephan de long
Espée.
William Dene
lord iustice.
Gréene castell
destroyed.
Mac Careie.
1261.

Sir Richard Ca-
pell lord iustice.

Lord Iohn Fitz-
thomas slaine.

The lord iustice
taken.

1266

1267

Dauid Barrie
lord iustice.

1268

Robert Vffort.

Richard de Ex-
cester.

1270

1271

The lord Aud-
leie.

Randon.

The decease of
king Henrie the
third.

1272

Walter Genuill.

1275

1276

An ouerthrow
at Glenburie.

1277

1278

business came over into England, and left frier Fulborne bishop of Waterford to supply his roome, and Rafe Piphard and Onaulan chased Oueak to a battell.

1280 In the yeare one thousand two hundred and foure score, Robert Vffort came the third time to occupie the roome of lord chiefe iustice in Ireland, resuming that roome into his hands againe.

1281 In the yeare following, the bishop of Waterford was established by the king of England lord iustice of Ireland. Adam Casacke the younger slue William Barret, and manie other in Connagh. And in the next yeare, to wit, one thousand two hundred foure score and two, Penqueit slue Murertagh, & his brother Art Mac Murgh at Athlon. Also the lord James de Birmingham, and Piers de Tute departed this life. Also the archbishop Derlington deceased. And about the same time, the citie of Dublin was defaced by fire, and the steeple of Christs church vtterlie destroyed. The citizens before they went about to repara their owne priuat buildings, agreed together to make a collection for repairing the ruines of that ancient building first begun by the Danes, and continued by Citrius prince of Dublin at the instance of Donat sometime bishop of that citie, and dedicated to the blessed trinitie.

Christ church
repared.

Donat bishop of
Dublin.

Strangbrows
toome restored
by Henrie Sid-
neie.

Captaine Ran-
dolfe.

At length Strangbow earle of Penbroke, Fitzstephans, & Laurence, that for his vertue was called saint Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and his foure successors, John of Euesham, Henrie Scotchbill, and Lucas, and last of all John de saint Paule finished it. This notable building, since the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath beene beautified in diuerse sorts by many zealous citizens. Strangbrows toome defaced, by the fall of the roote of the church, sir Henrie Sidneie, when he was lord deputie, restored; & likewise did cost vpon the earle of Kildares chappell for an ornament to the quier, ouer the which he left also a monument of capteine Randolfe, late coronell of the English bands of footmen in Vlster that died there valiantlie, fighting in his princes seruice, as after shall appeare. In the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and three, Funnund chancellor of Ireland, and Richard Tute departed this life, and frier Stephan Fulborne was made lord iustice of Ireland.

1285

John Samford
consecrated arch-
bishop of Dublin.
An ouerthrow
at Rathod.
Norwagh and
Ardace burnt
1286

In the yeare 1285, the lord Theobald Butler fled from Dublin, and died shortlie after, and the lord Theobald Verdon lost his men and horses as he went towards Offalie, & the next day Gerald Fitzmaurice was taken, and John Samford was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Moreouer at Rathod, the lord Geifreie Genuill fled, and sir Gerard Doget, and Rafe Petit were slaine, with a great number of others. The Norwagh and Ardscoll with other townes and villages were burnt by Philip Stanton the sixteenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare 1286. Also Calwagh was taken at Kildare. In the yeare 1287, diuerse nobles in Ireland deceased, as Richard Deceter, Gerald Fitzmaurice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Taffie, & Nicholas Teling knights. The yeare next insuing, deceased frier Fulborne lord iustice of Ireland, and John Samford archbishop of Dublin was aduanced to the roome of lord iustice. Also Richard Burgh earle of Vlster besieged Theobald Verdon in the castell of Athlon, and came with a great power vnto Trim, by the working of Walter Lacie.

1288

Samford arch-
bishop of Dublin
lord iustice.

1290

William Vescie
lord iustice.

In the yeare 1290, was the chase or discomfiture of Offalie, & diuerse Englishmen slaine. Also Mac Coghlan slue Omolaghelin king of Meth, and William Burgh was discomfited at Deluin by Mac Coghlan. The same yeare 1290, William Vescie was made lord iustice of Ireland, and entered into that office on S. Martinus daie. Vnto this iustice, Edward Balioll king of Scotland did homage for an earldome which he held in Ireland, in like maner as he did to king Edward for the crowne of Scotland. In the yeare 1292, a fifteenth was granted to the king, of all the temporall goods in Ireland, whilst Vescie was as yet lord iustice. This Vescie

1292

was

was a sterne man and full of courage, he called Iohn earle of Kildare before him, charging him with foule riots and misdemeanors, for that he ranged abroad, and sought reuenge vpon priuat displeasures out of all order, and not for anie aduancement of the publike wealth or seruice of his souereigne.

The earle as impatient to heare himselfe touched as the iustice to suffer euill dooing, answered thus. "By your honor and mine (my lord) and by king Edwards hand (for that was accompted no small oth in those daies among the Irish) you would if you durst appeach me in plaine termes of treason or felonie: for where I haue the title, and you the fléece of Kildare, I wote well how great an eiesore I am in your sight, so that if I might be handsomlie trussed vp for a felon, then might my master your sonne become a gentleman." "A gentleman" quoth the iustice, "thou proud earle? I tell thée, the Vescies were gentlemen before Kildare was an earledome: and before that Welsh bankrupt thy cousine fethered his nest in Leinster. But seeing thou darrest me, I will suerlie breake thy heart." And therwith he called the earle a notorious théefe and a murtherer. Then followed facing and bracing among the souldiers, with high words, and terrible swearing on both sides, vntill either part appeased his owne.

The lord iustice shortlie after, leauing his deputie William Haie, tooke the sea, and hasted ouer to the king. The earle immediatlie followed, and as heinouslie as the lord iustice accused him of felonie, Kildare no lesse appealed him of treason. For triall heereof, the earle asked the combat, and Vescie refused not: but yet when the lists were prouided, Vescie was slipt awaie into France, and so disherited of all his lands in the countie of Kildare, which were bestowed vpon the earle and his heires for euer. The earle waxing loftie of mind in such prosperous succeſse, squared with diuerse nobles, English and Irish of that land. The same yeare died Iohn Samford archbishop of Dublin, and Iohn Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, and Iohn de la Mare tooke prisoners, Richard Burgh earle of Vlster, and William Burgh within the countrie of Meth, and the castell of Kildare was taken, and all the countrie wasted by the English on the one side, and the Irish on the other, and Calwagh burnt all the rolles and talies concerning the records & accompts of that countie. Great dearth and death reigned in Ireland this yeare, and the two yéeres next insuing. The earle of Kildare detained the earle of Vlster prisoner, vntill by authoritie of a parlement holden at Kilkennie, he was deliuered out of the castell of Leie, for his two sonnes, and for the inuasion which the earle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other his vnurlic and misordred parts, was disseized of the castell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connagh.

William Dodingsels, being this yeare made lord iustice of Ireland, after Vescie died, in the yéere next following, that is 1295, and the thrée and twentieth of king Edward the first. After him succéded in that roome the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice. In the yeare 1296, frier William de Bothum was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. In the yeare 1298, and six and twentieth of Edward the first, the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice departed this life, and an agrément was made betwixt the earle of Vlster and the lord Iohn Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, by Iohn Wogan that was ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. In the yéere 1299 William archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and Richard de Fringis was consecrated archbishop in his place. The king went vnto Iohn Wogan lord iustice, commanding him to giue summons vnto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare themselues with horsse and armor to come in their best arraie for the warre, to serue him against the Scots: and withall wrote vnto the same nobles, as to Richard de Burgh earle of Vlster, Geffreie de Genuill, Iohn Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Theobald lord Butler, Theobald lord Verdon, Piers lord Birmingham of Thetemoie, Eustace lord Powre, Hugh lord Purcell, Iohn de Cogan, Iohn de Barrie, William de Barrie, Walter de Lastice, Richard de

The earle of Kildare.

1294

The death of the archbishop Samford.

The earle of Vlster taken prisoner.

Great dearth and death.

William Dodingsels lord iustice.

1295

Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

1296

1298

Rec. Turris.

1299

Excester, Iohn Pipurd, Walter Lenfant, Iohn of Oxford, Adam de Stanton, Simon de Pheibe, William Cadell, Iohn de Vale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roch, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitzthomas de Kerto, commanding them to be with him at Withwelaun the first of March. Such a precept I remember I haue read, registred in a close roll among the records of the tower. But where Markburrow saith, that the said Iohn Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, and the lord Iohn Fitzthomas, with manie others, came to king Edward into Scotland, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yere 1299, which fell in the seuen & twentieth of the reigne of king Edward: & if my remembrance faile me not, the close roll aforementioned beareth date of the foure and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne. All which notes may be true, for it is verie like, that in those warres against the Scots, the king sent diuerse times to the Irish lords to come to serue him, as it behooued them to doo by their tenures: and not onelie he sent into Ireland to haue the seruices of men, but also for prouision of vittels, as in close rolles I remember I haue also séene recorded of the seauen and twentieth and thirtith yeare of the said king Edward the first his reigne. For this we find in a certeine abstract of the Irish chronicles, which should séeme to be collected out of Flatsburie, whom Campion so much followed, that in the yeare 1301, the lord Iohn Wogan lord iustice, Iohn Fitzthomas, Peter Birmingham, & diuerse others went into Scotland in aid of king Edward, in which yeare also a great part of the citie of Dublin, with the church of saint Werburgh was burnt in the night of the feast daie of saint Colme. Also the lord Genuill married the daughter of Iohn de Montfort, and the lord Iohn Mortimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuill, also the lord Theobald de Verdon married the daughter of the lord Roger Mortimer. The same yeare in the winter season, the Irish of Leinster raised warre against the townes of Wicklow and Rathdon, dooing much hurt by burning in the countrie all about: but they were chastised for their wickednesse, loosing the most part of their prouision and cattell. And in the Lent season the more part of them had béene vtterlie destroied, if discord and variance had not risen among the Englishmen, to the impeachment of their purposed enterprises.

Chr. Pembrig.

1301

Irishmen inuade
Scotland

Walter Power.

1302

1303

The earle of
Ulster.

1304

1306
A discomfiture
at Offalie.

In haruest there were thrée hundred théeues slaine by the Phelanes. Also Walter le Power wasted a great part of Mounster, burning manie farmes and places in that countrie. In the yeare 1302, pope Boniface demanded a tenth of all the spirituall liuings in England and Ireland, for the space of thrée yeares, to mainteine wars in defense of the church of Rome, against the king of Arragon. In the yeare 1303, the earle of Vlster, and Richard Burgh, and sir Eustace le Power, with a puissant armie entered Scotland. The earle made thrée and thirtie knights at Dublin, before he set forwards. The same yeere Gerald, sonne and heire to the lord Iohn Fitzthomas departed this life, and likewise the countesse of Vlster. William de Wellisleie, and sir Robert de Persiuall were slaine the two and twentieth of October. In the yeare 1304, a great part of the citie of Dublin was burnt by casuall fire. In the yeare next insuing, Iordaine Comin with his complices slue Maritagh Oconhur king of Offalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuerse others within the court of Piers de Birmingham at Carricke in Carbrie. Also sir Gilbert Sutton steward of Wexford was slaine by the Irishmen, néere to the farme of Heimond de Grace, which Heimond bare himselfe right valiantlie in that fight, and in the end through his great manhood escaped.

In the yeare 1306 a great slaughter was made in Offalie néere to the castell of Geschill, the thirteenth daie of Aprill vpon Oconhur and his fiéends by the Odempies, in the which place were slaine a great number of men. Also Obren king of Thomond was slaine. Moreouer, Donald Oge Mac Arthie slue Donald Russe king of

of Desmond. And vpon the twelfe of Maie in the confines of Meth, a great ouerthrow chanced to the side of the lord Piers Butler, and Balimore in Leinster was ^{Balimore burnt} burnt by the Irish, where Henrie Celfe was slaine at that present time. Hereof followed great wars betwixt the English and Irish in Leinster, so that a great ^{Warres in Leinster.} armie was called together foorth of diuerse parts of Ireland, to restreine the malice of the Irish in Leinster, in which iournie sir Thomas Mandeuill knight entred into a conflict with the Irish néere to Glenfell, in the which he bare himselfe right manfullie, till his horse was slaine vnder him, and yet then to his great praise and high commendation he saued both himselfe and manie of his companie. The lord chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Caucocke, was consecrated bishop of Imaleie within the Trinitie church at Dublin, and kept such a feast as the like had not lightlie beene séene nor heard of before that time in Ireland, first to the rich & after to the poore. Richard Flerings archbishop of Dublin deceased on the euen of saint Luke the euangelist, to whom succéded Richard de Hauerings, who after he had continued in that séc about a fíue yeares, resigned it ouer by dispensasion obtained from Rome, and then his nephue Iohn Léech was admitted archbishop there.

In the yeare 1307 the first of Aprill, Marcod Ballagh was beheaded néere to Merton by sir Daud Caunton knight, and shortlie after was Adam Daune slaine. Also, a great discomfiture and slaughter fell vpon the Englishmen in Connagh by ^{A discomfiture in Connagh.} the Oscheles the first daie of Maie, and the robbers that dwelt in the parties of Offalie raised the castell of Geischell, and in the vigill of the translation of Thomas Becket, being the sixt of Iulie, they burnt the towne of Leie and besieged the castell: but they were constrained to depart from thense shortlie after, by Iohn Fitzthomas and Edmund Butler that came to remoue that siege. In the yeare 1308 king Edward the first departed this life the seuenth of Iulie.

Edward the second.

RICHARD archbishop of Dublin, after that he had gouerned that séc the space of fíue yeares, by reason of a vision that he saw in his sléepe, féeling himselfe troubled in conscience, with consideration of that dreame, resigned the next morrow all his title to the archbishops dignitie (as before ye haue heard) and contented himselfe with other ecclesiasticall benefices as seemed conuenient to his estate. This yeare by vertue of letters directed from the pope to the king of England, he caused all the Templers as well in England as Ireland to be apprehended, and committed to safe kéeping. The profession of these Templers began at Ierusalem, by certeine gentlemen that remained in an hostell néere to the temple, who till the counsell of Trois in Francé were not increased aboue the number of nine, but from that time foorth in little more than fiftie yeares, by the zealous contribution of all christian realmes, they had houses erected euerie where, with liuings bountifullie assigned to the same for their maintenance, in so much as they were augmented vnto the number of thrée hundred, that were knights of that order, beside inferiour brethren innumerable: but now with wealth they so forgot themselues, that they nothing lesse regarded, than the purpose of their foundation: and withall being aocused of horrible heresies (whether in all things iustlie or otherwise, the Lord knoweth) they were in the counsell at Lions in France condemned, and their liuings transposed to the knights Hospitalers, otherwise called the knights of the Rhodes, and now of Malta. The manner of their apprehension and committing was sudden, and so generall in all places vpon one daie, that they had no time to shift for themselues.

For first, the king sent foorth a precept to euerie shiriffe within the realme of England,

England, commanding them within each of their roomes to cause a prescribed number of knights, or rather such men of credit, on whose fidelities he might assure himselfe to assemble at a certeine towne named in the same writ, the sundaie next after the Epiphanie, & that ech of the same shiriffes failed not to bethere the same daie, to execute all that should be inioined them by anie other writ, then and there to be deliuered. The shiriffe of Yorke was commanded to giue summons to foure and twentie such knights, or other sufficient men to méet him at Yorke. The shiriffe of Norffolke and Suffolke, to summon twentie to meet him at Thetford. The other shiriffs were appointed to call to them some ten, some twelue, or some fourteene, to méet them at such townes as in their writs were named. The date of this writ was from Westminster the fiftéenth of December, in the first yeare of this king Edward the seconds reigne. The other writ was sent by a chapleine authorized both to deliuer the same writ, and to take an oth of the shiriffe, that he should not disclose the contents, till he had put the same in execution, which was to attach by assistance of those aforementioned knights, or as manie of them as he thought expedient to vse, all the Templers within the precinct of his roome, and to seize all their lands, goods, and cattels into the kings hands, and to cause an inuentarie of the same indented be made in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were knight of the order or anie other, and in the presence of other honest men neighbours thereabouts, keeping the one counterpane with himselfe, sealed with his seale that made the seizure, and leauing the other in the hands of the said warden: and further to see the same goods and cattels to be put in safe kéeping, and to provide that the quicke goods might be well kept and looked vnto, and the grounds manured to the most profit, and to cause the bodies of the Templers attached, to be so detained in all safetic, as that they be not yet committed to irons nor to streict prison, but to remaine in some conuenient place other than their owne houses, and to be found of the goods so seized accordinglie as falleth for their estates, till he haue otherwise in commandement from the king: and what is doone herein, to certifie into the excheker the morrow after the purification. The date of this second writ was from Bislet the twentieth of December. There was likewise a writ directed to Iohn Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, signifieng vnto him what should be doone in England, touching the apprehension of the Templers, and seizure of their lands and goods, commanding him to procéed in semblable manner against them in Ireland: but the daie and place when the shiriffes should there assemble, was left to the discretion of the said iustice and treasurer of the excheker there, but so as the same might be doone before anie rumour of this thing could be brought ouer out of England thither. Also a like commandement was sent vnto Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, lord warden of Scotland, and to Eustace Cotesbach chamberleine of Scotland, also to Walter de Pederton lord iustice of west Wales, to Hugh Aldighleigh *aliàs* Auderleie lord iustice of north Wales, and to Robert Holland lord iustice of Chester. Thus much for the Temples. But now to other dooings in Ireland.

1308

This Macbalther
was after hanged
at Dublin.
The lord iustice
discomfited.

1308

Iohn Decer
maior of Dublin.

In the yeare 1308 the twelwe of Aprill deceased Peter de Birmingham a noble warriour, and one that had béene no small scourge to the Irish. The eleuenth of Maie the castell of Kennun was burnt, and diuers of them that had it in kéeping were slaine by William Macbalther, and other of the Irish, and likewise the towne of Courcoulie was burnt by the same malefactors. And the sixt of Iune, Iohn lord Wogan lord iustice was discomfited néere to Glindelorie, where Iohn de S. Hogelin, Iohn Norton, Iohn Breton, and manie other were slaine. The sixtéenth of Iune, Dunlouan, Tobir, and manie other townes were burnt by the Irish rebels. About this season, Iohn Decer maior of Dublin builded the high pipe there, & the bridge ouer

ouer the Liffie towards S. Vlston, and a chappell of our ladie at the friers minors, where he was buried, repared the church of the friers preachers, and euerie fridaie tabled the friers at his owne costs.

John Wogan hauing occasion to passe into England, William Burgh did supplie Burgh. his roome, vnto whom king Edward recommended Piers de Gaueston, when (con- Piers Gaueston sent into Ireland. trarie to the kings mind) he was banished by the lords of England, and about the natiuitie of our ladie he came ouer into Ireland, being sent thither by the king with manie iewels: and beside the letters which he brought of recommendation from the king, he had assigned to him the cōmodities roiall of that realme, which bred some trouble and bickerings there, betwixt Richard Burgh earle of Vlster, and the said Gaueston, who notwithstanding bought the good willes of the souldiers with his liberalitie, slue Dermot Odempsie, subdued Obren, edified sundrie castels, causeies, and bridges, but the next yeare he was reuoked home by the king, as in the historie of England it maie appeare.

In the vigill of Simon and Iude, the lord Roger Mortimer landed in Ireland with Lord Roger Mortimer. 1309 his wife, right heire to the seigniorie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Genuill, that was sonne to the lord Geffreie Genuill, which Geffreie became a frier at Trim of the order of the preachers: by reason whereof, the lord Mortimer and his wife entered into possession of the lands of Meth. In the yeare 1309, on Candlemas day, the lord Iohn Bonneuill was slaine néere to the towne of Ardscoil, by the lord Lord Iohn Bonneuill slaine. 1310 Arnold Powre and his complices, his bodie was buried at Athie in the church of the friers preachers. In the yere following, at a parlement holden at Kildare, the lord Arnold Powre was acquit of that slaughter, for that it was prooued it was doone in his owne defense. In the yeare 1311, or (as some bookes haue) the yeare 1309, 1311 Wogan lord iustice summoned a parlement at Kilkennie, where diuerse wholesome A parlement at Kilkennie. Gampion. lawes were ordeined, but neuer executed. There fell the bishops in contention about their iurisdictions, namelie the bishop of Dublin forbad the primat of Armagh to raise his croisier within the prouince of Leinster.

Shortlie after, Rowland Ioice the primat stale by night (in his pontificals) from Howth to the priorie of Grace Dieu, where the bishops seruants met him, & with force chased him out of the diocesse. This bishop was named Iohn a Léekes, and was consecrated not long before he kept this sturre. Richard earle of Vlster with a great armie came to Bonrath in Thomond, where as sir Robert or rather sir Richard de Clare discomfited his power, tooke sir William de Burgh prisoner, or (as some Sir Richard de Clare. Iohn Lacie slaine. bookes haue) the earle himselfe. Iohn Lacie the sonne of Walter Lacie, and diuerse others were slaine. The twelfe of Nouember this yere, Richard de Clare slue six hundred Galloglasses, and Iohn Morgoghedan was slaine by Omolmoie. Also Donat Obren was murdered by his owne men in Thomond.

The one and twentieth of Februarie began a riot in Argile by Robert Verdon, for 1312 the appeasing wherof an armie was lead thither by Iohn Wogan lord chiefe iustice Robert Verdon raiseth a riotous tumult. Iohn Wogan lord iustice. in the beginning of Iulie, but the same was discomfited, and diuerse men of account slaine, as sir Nicholas Auenell, Patrike de Roch, & others. At length yet the said sir Robert Verdon, and many of his complices came and submitted themselues to prison within the castell of Dublin, abiding there the kings mercie. The lord Edmund Butler was made deputie iustice vnder the lord Iohn Wogan, who in the Lent next insuing besieged the Obrens in Glindelow, and compelled them to yeeld themselues to the kings peace. Also in the yeare abouesaid 1312, Maurice Fitzthomas married the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Vlster at Gréene castell, and Thomas Fitziohn married an other of the said earles daughters in the same place, but not on the same daie: for the first of those two mariages was celebrated the morrow after saint Dominikes daie, and this second mariage was kept the

the morrow after the feast of the assumption of our ladie. Also Robert de Bruse ouerthrew the castell of Man, and tooke the lord Donegan Odowill on saint Barnabys daie.

1313
Campion.

The earle of
Vlsters sonne
and heire de-
ceaseth.

1314

In the yeare 1313, Iohn a Leekes archbishop of Dublin departed this life: after whose decease were elected in schisme and diuision of sides two successors, Walter Thorneburie lord chancellor, and Alexander Bignor treasurer of Ireland. The chancellor to strengthen his election, hastilie went to sea, and together with an hundred and fiftie and six persons perished by shipwracke. The other submitting his cause to the processe of law, taried at home and sped. Moreouer, the lord Iohn de Burgh, sonne and heire to the earle of Vlster, deceased at Galbie on the feast daie of saint Marcell & Marcelline. Also the lord Edmund Butler created thirtie knights in the castle of Dublin on saint Michaels daie being sundaie. The knights hospitalers or of saint Iohns (as they were called) were inuested in the lands of the Templers in Ireland. The same yeare was the lord Theobald Verdon sent lord iustice into Ireland,

1315
Edward Bruse
inuadeth Ireland.

Captains of
name with
Bruse.

Dundalke taken
and burnt.

Edmund Butler
lord iustice.

In the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Edward Bruse, brother to Robert Bruse king of Scots, entered the north part of Ireland with six thousand men. There were with him diuerse capteins of high renowme among the Scottish nation, of whome the chiefe were these: the earles of Murrie and Mentith, the lord Iohn Steward, the lord Iohn Campbell, the lord Thomas Randolfe, Fergus de Andressan, Iohn Wood, and Iohn Bisset. They landed néere to Cragfergus in Vlster the fife & twentieth of Maie, and ioining with the Irish, conquered the earledome of Vlster, and gaue the English there diuerse great ouerthrowes, tooke the towne of Dundalke, spoiled & burnt it, with a great part of Vrgile: they burnt churches & abbeies, with the people whom they found in the same, sparing neither man, woman nor child. Then was the lord Edmund Butler chosen lord iustice, who made the earle of Vlster and the Giraldines friends, and reconciled himselfe with sir Iohn Mandeuill, thus seeking to preserue the residue of the realme which Edward Bruse meant wholie to conquer, hauing caused himselfe to be crowned king of Ireland. The lord iustice assembled a great power out of Mounster, and Leinster, and other parts therabouts, and the earle of Vlster with another armie came vnto him néere vnto Dundalke, where they consulted together how to deale in defending the countrie against the enimies: but hearing the Scots were withdrawne backe, the earle of Vlster folowed them, and fighting with them at Coiners, hee lost the field.

Thére were manie slaine on both parts, and William de Burgh the earls brother, sir Iohn Mandeuill, and sir Alane Fitzalane were taken prisoners. Herewith the Irish of Connagh and Meth began foorthwith to rebell against the Englishmen, and burnt the castell of Athlon and Randon. And the Bruse comming forward burnt Kenlis in Meth, and Granard, also Finnagh, and Newcastle, and kept his Christmas at Loghsudie. From thense he went through the countrie vnto Rathimegan and Kildare, and to the parties about Tristeldermot and Athie, then to Raban, Sketlier, & néere to Ardsboll in Leinster: where the lord iustice Butler, the lord Iohn Fitzthomas, the lord Arnold Powre, and other the lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Mounster came to incounter the Bruse: but through discord that rose among them, they left the field vnto the enimies, sir William Pendergast knight, and Heimond le Grace a right valiant esquier were slaine there. And on the Scottish side sir Fergus Andressan and sir Walter Murreie, with diuerse other that were buried in the church of the friers preachers at Athie.

After this the Bruse in his returne towards Meth burnt the castell of Leie, and so passed foorth till hee came to Kenlis in Meth. In which meane time Roger lord Mortimer, trusting to win himselfe fame if he might ouerthrow the enimies, called forth

forth fiftéene thousand men, and vnderstanding that the Scots were come to Kenlis, made thitherwards, and there incountering with them, was put to the woorse, his men (as was supposed) wilfullie shrinking from him, as those that bare him hollow hearts. With the newes of this ouerthrow, vpstart the Irish of Mounster, the Otoolies, Obrens, Omores, and with fire and sword wasted all from Arclow to Leix. With them coped the lord iustice, and made of them a great slaughter, fourescore of their heads were sent to the castell of Dublin.

The lord Mor-
timer discomfited
by the Scots.

In time of these troubles and warres in Ireland by the inuasion thus of the Scots, certeine Irish lords, faithfull men and true subiects to the king of England, did not onelie promise to continue in their loiall obeisance towards him, being their souereigne prince; but also for more assurance deliuered hostages to be kept within the castell of Dublin. The names of which lords that were so contented to assure their allegiance were these, Iohn Fitzthomas lord of Offalie, Richard de Clare, Morice Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitziohn le Power baron of Donoille, Arnold le Power, Morice de Rochford, Dauid de la Roch, and Miles de la Roch. These and diuerse other resisted with all their might and maine the iniurious attempts of the Scots, although the Scots had drawne to their side the most part of the wild Irish, and no small number also of the English Irish, as well lords, as others of meaner calling: so that the countrie was miserable afflicted, what by the Scots on the one part, and the Irish rebels on the other, which rebels notwithstanding were ouerthrowne in diuerse particular conflicts. But yet to the further scattering of the English forces in Ireland, there rose foure princes of Connagh, but the Burghes and Birminghams discomfited them, and slue eleuen thousand of them beside Athenrie. Amongst

Assurance giuen
by the lords of
Ireland for their
loialtie.

other were slaine in this battell Fedelmicus, Oconhur king of Connagh, Okellie, and diuerse other great lords and capteins of Connagh and Meth. The lord Richard Birmingham had an esquier that belonged to him called Iohn Husseie, who by the commandement of his maister went foorth to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring him word whether Okellie his mortall fo were slaine among the residue. Husseie comming into the field with one man to turne vp and surueie the dead carcasses, was streight espied by Okellie, that laie lurking in a brake bush thereby, who hauing had good prooffe of Husseie his valiancie before that time, longed sore to traine him from his capteine, and presuming now vpon his good oportunitie, discovered himselfe, not doubting, but either to win him with courteous persuasions, or by force to worke his will of him, and so comming to him said: "Husseie, thou séest that I am at all points armed, & haue mine esquire here likewise furnished with armour & weapon readie at mine elbow; thou art naked with thy page, a yoongling, & not to be accounted of: so that if I loued thee not, and meant to spare thee for thine owne sake, I might now doo with thee what I would, and slea thee for thy maisters sake. But come & serue me vpon this request here made to thee, and I promise thee by saint Patrikes staffe to make thee a lord in Connagh, of more possessions than thy maister hath in Ireland." When these words might nothing weie him, his owne man (a great stout lubber) began to reprove him of follie, for not consenting to so large an offer, which was assured with an oth, wherevpon he durst gage his soule for performance.

A great ouer-
throw.
The king of
Connagh slaine.

Now had Husseie thrée enimies, and first therefore turning to his knaue, he dispatched him. Next he raught vnto Okellies esquier such a knocke vnder the pit of the eare, that downe he came to the ground and there he laie. Thirdlie, he laid so about him, that yer anie helpe could be looked for, he had also slaine Okellie, and perceuing the esquier to be but astonied he recouered him, and holpe him vp againe, and after he was somewhat come to himselfe, he forced him vpon a trunchion, to beare his lords head into the high towne before him, who did so; and

Okellie slaine.

Sir Thomas
Mandeuill
slaine.

and Husseie presented it to Birmingham, who after the circumstances declared, he dubbed Husseie knight, aduancing him to manie preferments. The successors of that familie afterwards were barons of Galtrim. Sir Thomas Mandeuill and others in this meane while made oftentimes enterprises against the Scots, and slue diuerse of them in sundrie conflicts. But howsoeuer it chanced, we find recorded by Henrie Marlburrow, that either the said sir Thomas Mandeuill (that thus valiantlie behaued himselfe against the Scots) or some other bearing the same name, and his brother also called Iohn Mandeuill were both slaine shortlie after at Downe, vpon their comming foorth of England, by the Scots that were readie there to assaile them.

Campion.
1316
The king of
Scots in Ireland.

Thus may we see, that those lords and knights, which had giuen pledges for their loialtie to the king of England, sought by all waies and meanes how to beat backe the enimies: which they might haue doone with more ease, if the Irish had not assisted the Scots, and presuming of their aid, rebelled in sundrie parts of the countrie; who neuerthelesse were oftentimes well chastised for their disloiall dealings, as partlie we haue touched; although we omit diuerse small ouerthrowes and other particular matters, sith otherwise we should increase this booke further than our first purposed intent would permit. Whilest the Scots were thus holden vp in Ireland, that they could not in all things worke their wils, Robert le Bruse king of Scots came ouer himselfe, landed at Cragfergus to the aid of his brother, whose souldiors most wickedlie entred into churches, spoiling and defacing the same of all such toomes, monuments, plate, copes, & other ornaments which they found, and might laie hands vpon.

Cragfergus
deliuered vp to
the Scots.
Men eaten.

The castell of Cragfergus, after it had béene strictlie besieged a long time, was surrendred to the Scots, by them that had kept it, till they for want of other vittels were driuen to eate leather, and eight Scots (as some write) which they had taken prisoners. The lord Thomas, sonne to the earle of Vlster departed this life. And on the sundaie next after the natiuitie of our ladie, the lord Iohn Fitzthomas deceased at Laragh Brine néere to Mainoth, and was buried at Kildare, in the church of the friers preachers. This Iohn Fitzthomas, a little before his death, was created earle of Kildare; after whome succéeded his sonne Thomas Fitziohn a right wise and prudent personage. The fourtéenth of September, Conhor Mac Kele, & five hundred Irishmen were slaine by the lord William de Burgh, and lord Richard Birmingham in Connagh. Also on the mondaie after the feast of All saints, Iohn Loggan and sir Hugh Bisset slue a great number of Scots, among the which were one hundred with double armors, and two hundred with single armors: so that of their men of armes there died thrée hundred beside footemen.

Iohn Fitzthomas
the first earle of
Kildare de-
ceaseth.

Scots ouer-
throwne.

A great tempest.

1317

The fiftéenth of Nouember chanced a great tempest of wind and raine; which threw downe manie houses, with the stéeple of the Trinitie church in Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and water. On the fift of December, sir Alane Steward that had béene taken prisoner in Vlster by Iohn Loggan, and sir Iohn Sandale, was brought to the castell of Dublin. After Canlemas, the Lacies came to Dublin, & procured an inquest to be impanelled to inquire of their demeanor, for that they were accused to haue procured the Scots to come into Ireland: but by that inquest they were discharged, and therewith tooke an oth to keepe the kings peace, and to destroie the Scots to the vttermost of their power. In the beginning of Lent, the Scots came in secret wise vnto Slane, with twentie thousand armed men: and with them came the armie of Vlster, destroieng all the countrie before them. Moreouer, on mondaie before the feast of S. Matthias the apostle, the earle of Vlster lieng in the abbeie of S. Marie néere to Dublin, Robert Notingham maior of that citie, with the communalitie of the same went thither, tooke the earle, and put him in prison within the castell of Dublin, slue seuen of his men, and spoiled the abbeie.

The earle of
Vlster appre-
hended.

The

The same wéeke, Edward Bruse marched towards Dublin, but herewith, turning to the castell of Knoke, he entred the same, and tooke Hugh Tirrell the lord thereof, together with his wife, and ransomed them for a summe of monie. The citizens of Dublin burnt all their suburbs for feare of a siege, and made the best purueiance they could to defend their citie, if the Bruse had come to haue besieged them: but he turning another waie, went vnto the towne of Naas, and was guided thither by the Lacies, contrarie to their oth. From thense he passed vnto Tristeldermot, and so to Baliganam, and to Callan, at length he came to Limerike, and there remained till after Easter. They of Vlster sent to the lord iustice lamentable informations of such crueltie as the enimies practised in those parts, beséeching him to take some order for their reliefe in that their so miserable estate. The lord iustice deliuered to them the kings power with his standard, wherewith vnder pretense to expell the Scots, they got vp in armor, and ranging through the countrie, did more vexe and molest the subiects, than did the strangers. The Scots procéded and spoiled Cashels, & wheresoeuer they lighted vpon the Butlers lands, they burnt and spoiled them vnmercifullie.

Hugh Tirrell
taken by the
Scots.

The kings stand-
ard deliuered to
them of Vlster.

In this meane while had the lord iustice and Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare, and Arnold le Powre baron of Donnoill leuied an armie of thirtie thousand men, readie to go against the enimies, and to giue them battell, but no good was doone. For about the same time the lord Roger Mortimer was sent into Ireland as lord iustice, and landing at Yoghall, wrote his letters vnto the lord Butler, & to the other capteins, willing them not to fight till he came with such power as he had brought ouer with him. Whereof the Bruse being warned, retired first towards Kildare. But yet after this he came within foure miles of Trim, where he laie in a wood, and lost manie of his men through famine, and so at length about the beginning of Maie he returned into Vlster.

Roger Mor-
timer iustice of
Ireland.

The lord Edmund Butler made great slaughter of the Irish néere to Tristeldermot, and likewise at Balithan he had a good hand of Omorch, and slue manie of his men. The lord Mortimer pacified the displeasure and variance betwixt Richard earle of Vlster, and the nobles that had put the said earle vnder safe kéeping within the castell of Dublin, accusing him of certeine riots committed to the préiudice and losse of the kings subiects, whereby the Scots increased in strength and courage, whose spoiling of the countrie caused such horrible scarsitie in Vlster, that the soldiours which the yeare before abused the kings authoritie, to purueie themselves of ouer fine diet, surfetted with flesh and *Aquavitæ* all the Lent long, prolled and pilled insatiablie wheresoeuer they came without need, and without regard of the poore people, whose onelie prouision they deuoured. These people now liuing in slauerie vnder the Bruse, starued for hunger, hauing first experienced manie lamentable shifts, euen to the eating of dead carcasses.

Slaughter of
Irishmen.
1317

The earle of
Vlster deli-
uered out of
prison.

Scarsitie of
vittels in Vlster.

The earle of Vlster was deliuered by maineprise and vpon his oth, by the which he vndertooke neuer to seeke reuenge of his apprehension otherwise than by order of law, and so had daie giuen him vnto the feast of the natiuitie of saint Iohn baptist: but he kept not his daie, whether for that he mistrusted to stand in triall of his cause, or through some other reasonable let, I cannot tell. A great dearth this yeere afflicted the Irish people: for a measure of wheat called a chronecke was sold at foure and twentie shillings, & a chronecke of otes at sixteene shillings, and all other vittels likewise were sold according to the same rate; for all the whole countrie was sore wasted by the Scots and them of Vlster, insomuch that no small number of people perished through famine.

The earle of
Vlster deliuered.

Great dearth.

About the feast of Pentecost the lord iustice Mortimer tooke his iornie towards Drogheda, and sent to the Lacies, commanding them to come vnto him, but they refused so to do. Whervpon he sent sir Hugh Crofts vnto them, to talke with them

Sir Hug Crofts
same.

The Lacies
renot to the
Scots.

1318

Bignor con-
secrated arch-
bishop of
Dublin.

Walter Islep
treasurer of
Ireland.

The lord
Richard de
Clare slaine.

The lord Bir-
mingham and
other capteins
against the
Scots.

The primat of
Armagh.

about some agrément of peace: but they slue the messenger, for whome great lamentation was made, for that he was reputed & knowne to be a right woorthie knight. The lord iustice sore offended herewith, gathereth an armie, & goeth against the Lacies, whome he chased out of Connagh, so that Hugh Lacie withdrew to Vlster, & there ioined himselfe with Edward Bruse. Wherevpon, on the thursdaie next before the feast of saint Margaret, the said Hugh Lacie and also Walter Lacie were proclamed traitors. This yeare passed verie troublesome vnto the whole realme of Ireland, as well through slaughter betwixt the parties enimies one to another, as by dearth and other misfortunes. Hugh Canon the kings iustice of his bench was slaine by Andrew Birmingham betwixt the towne of Naas and castell Marten. Also in the feast of the purification, the popes bulles were published, whereby Alexander Bignor was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. About the same time was great slaughter made of Irishmen, through a quarrell betwixt two great lords in Connagh: so that there died in fight to the number of foure thousand men on both parties.

After Easter Walter Islep treasurer of Ireland was sent ouer into that realme, who brought letters to the lord Mortimer, commanding him to returne into England vnto the king: which he did, and departing foorth of Ireland, remained indebted to the citizens of Dublin for his prouision of vittels in the summe of a thousand pounds, wherof he paid not one farthing, so that manie a bitter cursse he carried with him to the sea, leauing William archbishop of Cashell lord chancellor gouernor of the land in his place: and so by this meane was the said archbishop both chancellor and iustice, and so continued till the feast of saint Michaell. At what time Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin arriued at Yoghall, being constituted lord iustice, and came to Dublin on saint Denise daie, being the seauenth of October. But here is to be remembred, that a little before the departure of the lord Mortimer foorth of Ireland, to wit, the fift of Maie, the lord Richard de Clare with foure knights, sir Henrie Capell, sir Thomas de Naas, sir Iames Caunton, and sir Iohn Caunton; also Adam Apilgard and others (to the number of foure score persons) were slaine by Obren and Mac Arthie. It was said that the enimies in despite caused the lord Richards bodie to be cut in pièces, so to satisfie their malicious stomachs; but the same pièces were yet afterwards buried in the church of the friers minors at Limerike. Also before the lord Mortimers returne into England, Iohn Lacie was had foorth of the castell of Dublin, and carried to Trim, where he was arreigned and adiudged to be pressed to death, and so he died in prison.

But now to returne vnto the dooings in time of Bignors gouernment. Immediatlie vpon his arriuall, the lord Iohn Birmingham being generall of the field, and hauing with him diuerse capteins of worthie fame, namelie sir Richard Tute, sir Miles Verdon, sir Hugh Trippetton, sir Herbert Sutton, sir Iohn Cusacke, sir Edmund Birmingham, sir William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the primat of Armagh, sir Walter de la Pulle, and Iohn Maupas led forth the kings power, to the number of one thousand thrée hundred foure and twentie able men against Edward Bruse, who being accompanied with the lord Philip Mowbraie, the lord Walter de Soules, the lord Alaine Steward, with his thrée brethren, sir Walter, and sir Hugh, sir Robert, and sir Aimerie Lacies, and others, was incamped not past two miles from Dundalke with thrée thousand men, there abiding the Englishmen, to fight with them if they came forward: which they did with all conuenient speed, being as desirous to giue battell as the Scots were to receiue it.

The primat of Armagh personallie accompanieng the English power, & blessing their enterprise, gaue them such comfortable exhortation, as he thought serued the time yer they began to incounter. And herewith buckling together, at length the Scots

Scots fullie and wholie were vanquished, and two thousand of them slaine, together with their capteine Edward Bruse. Maupas that pressed into the throng to incounter with Bruse hand to hand, was found in the search dead aloft vpon the slaine bodie of Bruse. The victorie thus obtained vpon saint Calixtus daie, made an end of the Scottish kingdome in Ireland, & lord Birmingham sending the head of Bruse into England, or as Marlburrow hath, being the messenger himselfe, presented it to king Edward, who in recompense gaue to him and his heires males the earldome of Louth, and the baronie of Ardich and Athenrie to him and his heires generall for euer. Shortlie after sir Richard de Clare with foure other knights of name, and manie other men of warre were slaine in Thomond. The lord Roger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne as lord iustice there now the second time, and the townes of Athessell and Plebs were burned by the lord Fitzthomas brother to the lord Maurice Fitzthomas. And about this season the bridge of Kilcolin was builded by Maurice Iakis.

The battell of Armagh.
The Scots vanquished.
Edward Bruse slaine.

Birmingham made earle of Louth.
Sir Richard de Clare slaine.
1319

In the yeare following, to wit, one thousand thrée hundred and twentie, which was the fouretéenth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare was made lord iustice of Ireland. Here is to be remembred, that about this time also Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin sent to pope Iohn the two and twentieth, for a priuilege to institute an vniuersitie within the citie of Dublin, and his sute tooke effect: and the first thrée doctors of diuinitie did the said archbishop himselfe creat, William Harditie a frier preacher, Henrie Cogie a frier minor, and frier Edmund Bernerden: and beside these one doctor of canon law, to wit, Richard archdeacon of saint Patrikes that was chancellor of the same vniuersitie, who kept their terms and commensements solemnlie: neither was this vniuersitie at anie time since disfranchised, but onlie through change of times discontinued, and now since the dissolving of monasteries vtterlie decayed.

1320
The earle of Kildare lord iustice.
An vniuersitie erected at Dublin.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a parlement holden there, whilst sir Henrie Sidneie was the quéenes lieutenant, to haue it againe erected, by waie of contributions to be laid together: the said sir Henrie offering twentie pounds lands, and an hundred pounds in monie. Other there were also, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuised; A worthie plantation of Plantagenet & Bullogne. But while they disputed of a conuenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principall.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and one, there was a great slaughter made of the Oconhurs at Balibagan, by the English of Leinster and Meth. And Iohn Birmingham earle of Louth was lord iustice of Ireland. Vnto this man, whilst he was lord iustice, the king wrote, commanding him to be with him at Carleill in the octaues of the Trinitie, in the fiftéenth yeare of his reigne, with thrée hundred men of armes, one thousand hobellars, and six thousand footmen, ech of them armed with an aketon, a sallet, and gloues of maill, which number was to be leuied in that land: besides thrée hundred men of armes which the earle of Vlster was appointed to serue within that iournie, which the king at that time intended to make against the Scots. The date of the letter was the third of Aprill. In the yeare one thousand thrée hundred twentie and two, diuerse nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the lord Richard Birmingham, the lord Edmund Butler, and the lord Thomas Persiuall. Moreouer, the lord Andrew Birmingham, and sir Richard de la Lond were slaine by Onolan. In the eighteenth yéere of king Edward the second his reigne, the lord Iohn Darcie came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and the kings lieutenant there. In these daies liued in the diocesse of Ossorie the ladie Alice Kettle, whome the bishop ascited to purge hir selfe of the fame of inchantment and witchcraft imposed vnto hir, and to one Petronill and Basill hir complices. She was charged to haue nightlie conference with a spirit called

1321
Rec. Turris.

1322
1323
Iohn Darcie lord iustice.

The ladie Alice Kettle accused of sorcerie.

called Robin Artisson, to whome she sacrificed in the high waie nine red cocks, and nine peacocks eies. Also that she swept the streets of Kilkennie betwene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of hir sonne William Outlaw, murmuring & muttering secretlie with hir selfe these words:

To the house of William my sonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie towne.

At the first conuiction they abiured & did penance, but shortlie after they were found in relapse, & then was Pentronill burnt at Kilkennie, the other twaine might not be heard of. She at the houre of hir death accused the said William as priuie to their sorceries, whome the bishop held in durance nine wéeks, forbidding his keepers to eat or to drinke with him, or to speake to him more than once in the daie. But at length, thorough the sute and instance of Arnold le Powre then seneschall of Kilkennie, he was deliuered, and after corrupted with bribes the seneschall to persecute the bishop; so that he thrust him into prison for thrée moneths. In rifling the closet of the ladie, they found a wafer of sacramentall bread, hauing the diuels name stamped thereon in stéed of Iesus Christ, and a pipe of ointment, wherewith she greased a staffe, vpon the which she ambled and gallopped thorough thicke and thin, when and in what maner she listed. This businesse about these witches troubled all the state of Ireland, the more; for that the ladie was supported by certeine of the nobilitie, and lastlie conueied ouer into England, since which time it could neuer be vnderstood what became of hir. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and six, & last of king Edwards the seconds reigne, Richard Burgh earle of Vlster departed this life.

Edward the third.

1326

VNNETH was the businesse about the witches at an end, when it was signified, that a gentleman of the familie of the Otoolies in Leinster, named Adam Duffe, possessed by some wicked spirit of error, denied obstinatelie the incarnation of our sauior, the trinitie of persons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the resurrection of the flesh; as for the holie scripture, he said it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affirmed to be a woman of dissolute life, and the apostolike see erroneous. For such assertions he was burnt in Hogging greene beside Dublin. About the same time, Fitzarke Macmorch, and sir Henrie Traherne were taken prisoners. In the yeare following, the lord Thomas Fitziohn erle of Kildare, and the lord Arnold Powre & William earle of Vlster were sent ouer into Ireland, & Roger Outlaw prior of saint Iohns of Ierusalem in Ireland, commonlie called the prior of Kilmainan, was made lord iustice. This man by reason of variance that chanced to rise betwixt the Geraldins, the Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one side; and the Powres & Burghs on the other, for terming the earle of Kildare a rimer, to pacifie the parties called a parlement, wherein he himselfe was faine to make his purgation of a slander imposed to him, as suspected of heresie.

Adam Duffe an
heretike.

The prior of
Kilmainan lord
iustice.

Arnold Powre
accused of
heresie.

The bishop of Ossorie had giuen an information against Arnold le Powre, conuented & conuicted in his consistorie of certeine hereticall opinions, but bicause the beginning of Powres accusation concerned the iustices kinsman, and the bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person of the man rather than the fault: a daie was limited for the iustifieng of the bill, the partie being apprehended and respited therevnto. This dealing the bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkennie

Kilkennie to prosecute his accusation) was reputed parcial: and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in suspense, he infamed the said prior as an abbettor and fauourer of Arnolds heresie. The prior submitted himselfe to the triall, and there-vpon were seuerall proclamations made in court, that it should be lawfull to anie man to come into the court, and to inferre, accuse, and declare what euidence he could, against the lord iustice: but none came. Then passed a decree by the councell, commanding all bishops, abbats, priors, and the maiors of Dublin, Corke, Limerike, Waterford, and Droghedagh, the shirifs, knights, & seneschals of euerie shire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongst all these, they appointed six inquisitors, which examining the bishops and other persons aforesaid singularlie one by one, found that with an vniuersall consent they deposed for the prior, affirming that (to their iudgements) he was a zelous and a faithfull child of the catholike church. In the meane time, Arnold le Powre the prisoner deceased in the castell, & bicause he stood vnpurged, long he laie vnburied.

In the yeare one thousand threé hundred twentie and nine, Iohn de Birmingham earle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that surname, and Richard Talbot of Malahide were slaine on Whitsun euen at Balibragan by men of the countrie. Also the lord Thomas Butler, and diuerse other noblemen were slaine by Mac Gogoghdan & other Irishmen néere to Molinger. For the Irish as well in Leinster as in Meth made insurrections in that season, and so likewise did they in Mounster vnder the leading of Obren, whom William earle of Vlster and Iames earle of Ormond vanquished. So outragious were the Leinster Irish, that in one church they burnt foure score innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their priest then at masse, whome they notwithstanding sticked with their iauelins, spurned the host, and wasted all with fire: neither forced they of the popes interdiction, nor anie ecclesiasticall censures denounced against them (matters of no small consideration among them namelie in those daies) but maliciouslie perseuered in the course of their furious rage, till the citizens of Wexford somewhat tamed them, and slue foure hundred of them in one skirmish, the rest flieng were all drenched in the water of Slane. In the yeare one thousand threé hundred and thirtie, the earle of Vlster with a great armie made a iournie against Obren, and the prior of Kilmainan lord iustice put Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond in prison in the marshalseie, out of the which he fréelie escaped, and the lord Hugh Lacie returned into Ireland, and obtained the kings peace and fauour.

In the yeare one thousand threé hundred thirtie and one, the earle of Vlster passed ouer into England, and great slaughter was made vpon the Irish in Okenlie. Also the castell of Arclo was taken by the Irishmen, and great slaughter made of the English in the Cowlagh by Otothell and others. Also the lord Anthonie Lucie was sent ouer lord iustice into Ireland, and great slaughter was made of the Irish at Thurlis by the knights of the countrie, & at Finnath in Meth, there were manie of them slaine by the English; but yet was the castell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Irish. On the feast daie of the assumption of our ladie, which falleth on the fiftéenth of August, Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond was apprehended at Limerike by the lord iustice, and sent vnto the castell of Dublin. Moreouer, the lord iustice tooke sir William Birmingham at Clomell by a wile, whilest he was sicke in his bed, & sent him (together with his sonne Walter Birmingham) vnto the castell of Dublin, the thirtieth of Aprill. In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two the said sir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reason he was within orders.

Campion following such notes as he hath séene, writeth that the death of this William Birmingham chanced in time of the gouernement of William Outlaw prior of

1329

The earle of
Louth slaine.The lord Butler
slaine.

1330

The prior of
Kilmainan lord
iustice.

1331

Anthonie Lucie
lord iustice.The earle of
Desmond
apprehended.

1332

William Bir-
mingham exe-
cuted.

of Kilmainan, being lieutenant vnto Iohn lord Darcie, that was made lord iustice (as the said Campion hath noted) in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred twentie and nine. Although Marlburrow affirmeth that he came thither to beare that office, in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and two, after the lord Lucie was discharged, as hereafter shall be recited. But whensoever, or vnder whome soeuer Birmingham was executed, he was accounted an od knight, and such a one as for his valiancie, his match was not lightlie to be anie where found. The castell of Clonmore was taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, and the castell of Bonrath was destroyed by the Irish of Thomond. Also Henrie de Mandeuill was taken and sent prisoner to be safelie kept in Dublin. Likewise Walter Burgh with two of his bretheren were taken in Connagh by the earle of Vlster, and sent to the castell of Norburgh.

This yeare the lord Antonie Lucie was discharged of his roome by the king, and so returned with his wife & children into England, and the lord Iohn Darcie was sent ouer lord iustice in Lucies place, and great slaughter was made vpon Bren Obren, and Mac Arthie in Mounster, by the English of that countrie. This Iohn Darcie (as should appeare by gifts bestowed vpon him by the king) was in singular fauour with him. Amongst other things which he had of the kings gift, we find that he had the manors of Louth, and Baliogarie, and other lands in Ireland which belonged to the earle of Ew. And for that the said earle was a Frenchman, and tooke part with Philip de Valois the kings enimie, they were seized into the kings hand. The earle of Desmond vpon suerties was set at libertie, and by the parlement holden at Dublin in this yeare 1333, was sent ouer into England vnto the king; and William erle of Vlster a yoong gentleman of twentie yeares of age, in going towards Knockfergus the seauenth of Iune, was slaine neere to the foords in Vlster, by his owne people, but his wife and daughter escaped into England: and the daughter was after married vnto the lord Lionell the kings sonne. She deceased afterwards at Dublin, and left a daughter behind hir that was his heire, married to Roger Mortimer earle of March, and lord of Trim.

This murther was procured by Robert Fitzmartine Mandeuill, who was the first that presumed to giue to the earle anie wound. To reuenge the death of this earle of Vlster (slaine as yee haue heard beside Knockfergus) the lord iustice Darcie with a great power went into Vlster, to pursue those that through Mandeuills seditious tumults had so traitorouslie murdered their lord. At his setting forward, the said iustice Darcie appointed sir Thomas Burgh treasurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his absence. When the lord iustice had punished the traitors in Vlster, he passed ouer into Scotland, there to make warrè against the Scots that were enimies at that present to the king of England, and on the feast daie of saint Margaret, great slaughter was made of the Scots by the Irishmen: and so what by the king in one part, and the lord iustice of Ireland in another, Scotland was in maner wholie conquered, and Edward Balioll was established king of Scotland. The lord iustice might haue possessed the Iles if they had béene worth the kéeping: into the which Iles, except the said Darcie and the earle of Sussex late lieutenant of Ireland, no gouernor at anie time yet aduentured. At Darcies comming backe into Ireland, and exercising the office of lord iustice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the castell of Dublin.

1336 In the yeare 1336, and tenth of Edward the thirds reigne, on S. Laurence daie, the Irish of Connagh were discomfited and put to flight by the Englishmen of the countrie there, with the losse of one Englishman, and ten thousand of the enimies.

1337 The lord Iohn Charleton baron came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and with him his brother Thomas bishop of Hereford lord chancellor, and John Rice lord treasurer, and

The lord Darcie
iustice.

The earle of Ew.

1333
A parlement.

The earle of
Vlster slaine.

Sir Thomas
Burgh.

The lord iustice
inuadeth
Scotland.

Sir Iohn Charle-
ton iustice.

and two hundred Welshmen souldiors. The bishop was ordeined afterward lord iustice, in whose time all the Irish of Ireland were at defiance with the English, and shortlie brought againe into quiet by the earles of Kildare and Desmond. The lord Iohn Darcie by the kings letters patents was (during life) ordeined lord iustice of Ireland, in the fourtéenth yeare of king Edward the thirds reigne, which king abused by evill counsell and sinister informers, called in vnder his signet roiall, the franchises, liberties and grants, whatsoever had béene deuised, made and ratified to the realme of Ireland, and to euerie each person thereof. This reuoking of liberties was displeasanthlie taken. The English of birth and the English of blood falling at words, were divided into factions about it, for which contention the Irish still waited, so as the realme was euen vpon the point to giue ouer all, and to rebell. For redresse whereof, the lord iustice called a parlement at Dublin, to the which the nobles refused to come, and in quiet wise assembled themselues together at Kilkennie, where they with the commons agreed vpon certeine questions to be demanded of the king by waie of supplication, signifieng in the same partlie their gréeses. Which questions were in effect as followeth.

1 How a realme of warre might be gouerned by one both vnskilfull and vnable in all warlike seruice? Articles or questions.

2 How an officer vnder the king, that entered verie poore, might in one yeare grow to more excessiue wealth, than men of great patrimonie and liuelihood in manie yeares?

3 How it chanced, that sith they were all called lords of their owne, that the souereigne lord of them all was not a pennie the richer for them?

The cheefe of them that thus seemed to repine with the present gouernment, was Thomas Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond, through whose maintenance and bearing out of the matter, the countrie was in great trouble; so as it had not lightlie béene séene, that such contrarietie in minds and disliking had appeared amongst those of the English race, in that realme at anie time before. Héerewith Rafe Vffort was sent ouer lord iustice, who bringing his wife with him, the countesse of Vlster arriued about the thirtéenth of Julie. This man was verie rigorous, and through persuasion (as was said) of his wife, he was more extreame and couetous than otherwise he would haue béene, a matter not to be forgotten. For if this ladie had béene as readie to mooue hir husband to haue shewed himselfe gentle and mild in his gouernement, as she was bent to pricke him forward vnto sharpe dealings and rigorous procéedings, she had beene now aswell reported of, as she is infamed by their pens that haue registred the dooings of those times. But to the purpose. This Vffort lord iustice, in paine of forfeiture of all his lands, commanded the earle of Desmond to make his personall appearance at a parlement, which he called to be holden at Dublin, there to begin the seuenth of Iune. And bicause the earle refused to come acording to the summons, he raised the kings standard, and with an armie marched into Mounster, and there seized the earles possessions into the kings hands, letting them forth to farme for an annuall rent vnto other persons.

And whilst he yet remained in Mounster, he deuised waies how to haue the earle of Desmond apprehended: which being brought to passe, he afterward deliuered him vpon mainprise of these suerties whose names insue. William de Burgh earle of Vlster, Iames Butler earle of Ormond, Richard Tute, Nicholas Verdon, Morice Rochford, Eustace le Powre, Gerald de Rochford, Iohn Fitzrobert Powre, Robert Barrie, Maurice Fitzgirald, Iohn Wellesleie, Walter le Fant, Richard Rokelleie, Henrie Traherne, Roger Powre, Iohn Lenfant, Roger Powre, Matthew Fitzhenrie, Richard Walleis, Edmوند Burgh sonne to the earle of Vlster, knights: David Barrie William,

1338
The bishop of
Hereford lord
iustice.

1340
Iohn Darcie lord
iustice during
life.
Calling in of li-
berties.

1343
Rafe Vffort lord
iustice.

The countesse of
Vlster.

The earle of
Desmond.

Suerties for the
earle of Des-
mond.

William Fitzgiralde, Foulke de Fraxinus, Robert Fitzmaurice, Henrie Fitzberkleie, Iohn Fitzgeorge de Roch, Thomas de Lees de Burgh. These (as yée haue heard) were bound for the earle. And bicause he made default, the lord iustice verelie tooke the aduantage of the bond against the mainpernours, foure of them onelie excepted, the two earles and two knights.

Vffort euill
spoken of.

The lord iustice is charged with strict dealing by writers in this behalfe, for that the same persons had assisted him in his warres against Desmond. But trulie if we shall consider the matter with indifferencie, he did no more than law and reason required. For if euerie suertie vpon forfeiture of his bond should be forborne, that otherwise dooth his duetie, what care would men haue either to procure suerties or to become suerties themselues? But such is the affection of writers, speciallie when they haue conceiued anie misliking towards those of whome they take occasion to speake, so as manie a worthie man hath béene defamed, and with slander greatlie defaced in things wherein he rather hath deserued singular commendation. But howsoeuer this matter was handled touching the earle of Desmond, vpon the death of the lord iustice, which insued the next yeare, bonfiers were made, and great ioy shewed through all the relme of Ireland. His ladie verelie (as should appeare) was but a miserable woman, procuring him to extortion and briberie. Much he abridged the prerogatiues of the church, and was so hated, that euen in the sight of the countrie he was robbed without rescue by Mac Cartie, notwithstanding he gathered power, and dispersed those rebels of Vlster. Robert Darcie was ordeined iustice by the councell till the kings letters came to sir Iohn Fitzmaurice, who released Fitzthomas earle of Kildare left in durance by Vffort at his death. Fitzmaurice continued not long, but was discharged, and the lord Walter Birmingham elected to succeed in that roome, who procured a safe conduct for Desmond to plead his cause before the king, by whom he was liberallie intreated, and allowed towards his expenses there twentie shillings a day at the princes charge. In consideration of which courtesie shewed to his kinsman, the earle of Kildare, accompanied with diuerse lords, knights, and chosen horssemen, serued the king at Calis, a towne thought impregnable, & returned after the winning thereof in great pompe and iollitie.

1346
Robert Darcie
lord iustice.
Iohn Fitzmaurice
iustice.
L. Birmingham
iustice.

1347
Record. Tur.

1348
The prior of
Kilmannan.
Baron Carew
iustice.
Sir Thomas
Rokesbie iustice.
Record. Tur.

1349
Iohn de S. Paule
bishop of
Dublin.
1350
Kemwrike
Shereman.

Sir Robert Sa-
uage.

We find that Thomas Berkeleie, and Reinold lord Cobham, and sir Morice Berkleie became mainpernours for the said earle of Desmond, that he should come into England, and abide such triall as the law would award. Iohn Archer prior of Kilmannan was substituted lieutenant to the lord iustice. To whom succeeded Baron Carew, and after Carew followed sir Thomas Rokesbie knight, vnto whom was assigned aboue his ordinarie retinue of twentie men of armes, a supplie of ten men of armes, and twentie archers on horsebacke, so long as it should be thought néedfull. Great mortalitie chanced this yeare, as in other parts of the world, so especiallie in places about the seacoasts of England and Ireland. In the yeare following departed this life Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin. And the same yeare was Iohn de saint Paule consecrated archbishop of that see. This yeare deceased Kemwrike Shereman sometime maior of Dublin, a great benefactor to euerie church and religious house within twentie miles round about the citie. His legacies to the poore and others, beside his liberalitie shewed in his life time, amounted to thrée thousand marks.

In this season dwelled in Vlster a welthie knight one sir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preserue his owne, began to wall and fortifie his manor houses with castels and piles against the Irish enemy, exhorting his heire Henrie Sauage to applie that worke so beneficiall for himselfe & his posteritie. "Father (quoth yong Sauage) I remember the prouerbe 'Better a castell of bones than of stones.' Where strength & courage of valiant men are prest to helpe vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) cumber

cumber my selfe with dead walles. My fort shall be where soeuer yong blouds be stirring, & where I find roome to fight." The father in a fume let lie the building, and forswore to go anie further forward in it. But yet the want therof and such like hath beene the decaie as well of the Sauages, as of all the English gentlemen in Ulster: as the lacke also of walled townes is one of the principall occasions of the rude wildnesse in other parts of Ireland.

This Sauage, having prepared an armie against the Irish, allowed to euerie souldier before they should buckle with the enimie, a mightie draught of *Aqua vitæ*, wine, or old ale, and killed in prouision for their returne, béeefe, venison, and fowle, great plentie: which dooings diuerse of his capteins misliked, bicause they considered the successe of warre to be vncertaine, and therefore estéemed it better policie to poison the cates, or to doo them awaie, than to kéepe the same; and hapilie to féeed a sort of roges with such princelie food, if ought should happen to themselves in this aduventure of so few against so manie. Herat smiled the gentleman and said, "Tush ye are too full of enuie: this world is but an in, to the which ye haue no speciall interest, but are onelie tenants at will of the Lord. If it please him to command vs from it as it were from our lodging, and to set other good fellowes in our roomes, what hurt shall it be for vs to leaue them some meat for their suppers? Let them hardlie win it & weare it. If they enter our dwellings, good maner would no lesse but to welcome them with such fare as the countrie bréedeth, and with all my heart much good may it doo them. Notwithstanding I presume so far vpon your noble courages, that verelie my mind giueth me we shall returne at night, & banket our selues with our owne store. And so did, hauing slain 3000 Irishmen.

In the yeare 1355 deceased Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond lord iustice of Ireland, who had that office of the kings grant for terme of life. After him succeeded in that roome Thomas de Rokesbie, a knight, sincere and vpriight of conscience, who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be serued in tréene cups, answered: "Those homelie cups & dishes paie trulie for that they contene: I had rather drinke out of tréene cups & paie gold and siluer, than drinke out of gold & make wooden paiement. This yeare began great variance betwixt Richard Rafe primat of Armagh, & foure orders of begging friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the said Richard Rafe, and Richard Kilminton, in the yeare 1360: Rafe deceasing in the popes court, and Kilminton in England. Almerike de S. Amand, Iohn or (as other haue) Iames Butler earle of Ormond, and Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, were appointed lord iustices of Ireland by turnes. In Ormonds time, and in the thrée and twentieth yeare of king Edward the thirds reigne, order was taken that the Irish lords should remaine and dwell in their houses on the marches, to defend the subiects from inuasions of enimies. And further, proclamation went forth, that no méere Irish borne should be made maior, bailiffe, porter, officer, or minister in anie towne or place within the English dominions: nor that anie archbishop, abbat, prior, or anie other being of the kings allegiance, vpon forfeiture of all that he might forfeit, should aduance anie that was méere Irish borne to the roome of a canon, or to haue anie other ecclesiasticall benefice that laie among the English subiects.

To Maurice Thomas earle of Kildare, when he was ordeined lord iustice, the kings letters assigned in yearelie fee for his office 500 pounds, with condition, that the said gouernour should find twentieth great horsse to serue in the field, he himselfe to be the twentieth man in going against the enimie: which allowance and conditions in those daies (so farre as I can gesse) should séeme to be ordinarie to the office. Lionell duke of Clarence sonne to king Edward the third, came ouer into Ireland to

1355
The earle of Desmond lord iustice deceased. Thomas Rokesbie lord iustice his saing.

1357
Dissention betwixt the primat of Armagh, & the foure orders of friers. Thre lord iustices. Record. Tur.

The earle of Kildare lord iustice.

Lionell duke of Clarence.

be lord justice there, and was in right of his wife earle of Vlster. He published an inhibition to all of the Irish birth not once to approach his armie, nor to be in anie wise imploied in service of the wars. He vanquished Obren, but yet sudenlie (no man vnderstanding how) an hundred of his souldiers were wanting as they laie in garrison, the losse of whom was thought to be occasioned by that displeasent decree afore rehearsed. Wherevpon he tooke better aduise, and receiued the Irish into like fauour, as other lieutenants had them in before that present, shewing a tender loue towards them all, and so euer after prospered in his affaires. He created diuerse knights, as Preston, now knowne by the name of the familie of Gormanston, Holiewood, Talbot, Cusac, de la Hide, Patrike, Robert and Iohn de Fraxinis: all these being gentlemen of worthe fame in chiuallrie. The excheker he remooued to Catherlagh, & bestowed in furnishing that towne fife hundred pounds.

1362

In the yeare 1362 Iohn de S. Paule archbishop of Dublin departed this life the fift ides of September. And in the yeare following was Thomas Minot consecrated archbishop of that place. Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond was appointed lord iustice, vntill the comming of the lord Windsor, the first lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the yeare 1369. This Windsore called a parlement at Kilkennie, in the which was granted to the king a subsidie of three thousand pounds to be leuied of the people, subjects to the king in that land. And in an other parlement holden by him at Balidoill they granted two thousand pounds to be likewise leuied. Which said sums were granted of the méere and frée good wils of the nobles and communitie of the land, towards the maintenance of the kings expenses in his warres. Yet the king in the three and fortith yeare of his reigne, directing his letters vnto the said lord Windsor, cōmanded him to surcease from leuieng the foresaid monie, although afterwards he commanded againe that the arrerages should be leuied and paid to his lieutenant the said Windsor.

1367
The lord Windsor lieutenant.
1369
Record. Turris.
A parlement.
A subsidie.

Mortalitie of
people.

1370

Conhur.

1372
Sir Richard
Ashton lord
iustice.

1373
Slaughter.

1375

The third pestilence in Ireland made awaie a great number of people. In the yeare 1370 the lord Gerald Fitzmorice earle of Desmond, and the lord Iohn Fitzrichard, and the lord Iohn Fitziohn, and manie other noble men were slaine by Obren, and Mac Connard of Thomond in the moneth of Iulie. In the yeare 1372 sir Richard Ashton was sent ouer to be lord iustice in Ireland. In the yeare following great warre was raised betwixt the English of Meth, and Offeroll, in the which manie vpon both sides were slaine. In Maie, the lord Iohn Husseie baron of Galtrim, Iohn Fitzrichard shiriffe of Meth, and William Dalton were slaine in Kinaleigh. In the yeare 1375 Thomas archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert de Wikeford consecrated archbishop there.

Richard the second.

1381
The earle of
March the kings
lieutenant.
1383
1385

EDMUND Mortimer earle of March & Vlster was made the kings lieutenant in Ireland. In the yeare 1383 a great mortalitie reigned in that countrie. This was called the fourth pestilence. In the yeare 1385 Dublin bridge fell. Beside Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Campion affirmeth, that in this Richard the seconds daies, there are iustices and lieutenants of Ireland speciallic recorded; Roger Mortimer sonne to the said Edmund, Philip Courtneie the kings cousine, Iames earle of Ormond, and Robert Vere earle of Oxford, marquesse of Dublin lord chamberleine, who was also created duke of Ireland by parlement, and was credited with the whole dominion of the realme by grant for tearme of life, without paieng anie thing therefore, passing all writs, and placing all officers, as chancellor, treasurer, chiefe iustice, admerall, his owne lieutenant, and other inferiour charges under his owne Teste. In the

the yeare 1390, Robert de Wikeford archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert Waldebie translated vnto the archbishop of Dublin an Augustine frier.

1390

In the yeare 1394, king Richard sore afflicted and troubled in mind with sorrow for the decease of his wife quéene Anne, that departed this life at Whitsuntide last past, not able without teares to behold his palaces and chambers of estate, that represented vnto him the solace past, & doubled his sorrow, sought some occasion of businesse: and now about Michaelmas passed ouer into Ireland, where diuerse lords and princes of Vlster renewed their homages, & placing Roger Mortimer erle of March his lieutenant, returned about Shrovetide. In the yeare 1397, Richard de Northalis archbishop of Dublin departed this life, that was the same yeare from another see remooued thither: he was a frier of the order of the Carmelites.

1394
King Richard
goeth ouer into
Ireland.

Roger Mortimer
lord lieutenant.
Thoms. Wals.
1397

The same yeare Thomas de Craulie was chosen and consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Also sir Thomas de Burgh, and sir Walter de Birmingham, slae six hundred Irishmen, with their capteine Macdowne. Moreouer, Edmund earle of March lord deputie of Ireland, with the aid of the erle of Ormond, wasted the countrie of an Irish lord called Obren; and at the winning of his chiefe house he made seuen knights, to wit, sir Christopher Preston, sir Iohn Bedlow, sir Edmund Londres, sir Iohn Londres, sir William Nugent, Walter de la Hide, and Robert Cadell. But after this it chanced, that on the Ascension daie, certeine Irishmen slue fortie Englishmen: and among them these were accounted as principall, Iohn Fitzwilliams, Thomas Talbot, and Thomas Cambrie. But shortlie after Roger Mortimer earle of March and Vlster the kings lieutenant was slaine, with diuerse other, by Obren and other Irishmen of Leinster at Kenlis. Then was Roger Greie elected lord iustice of Ireland.

Six hundred
Irishmen slaine.

Roger Greie
lord iustice of
Ireland.

The same yeare on the feast daie of saint Marke the pope, the duke of Surreie landed in Ireland, and with him came sir Thomas Craulie the archbishop of Dublin. King Richard informed of the vnrule parts and rebellious sturres of the Irishmen, minded to appease the same, and speciallie to reuenge the death of the earle of March: wherevpon with a nauie of two hundred sails he passed ouer into Ireland, and landed at Waterford on a sundaie, being the morrow after saint Petronilla the virgins day. The fridaie after his arriual at Ford in Kenlis within the towne of Kildare, there were slaine two hundred Irishmen by Ienicho de Artois a Gascoigne, and such Englishmen as he had with him: and the morrow after, the citizens of Dublin brake into the countrie of Obren, slue thirtie & threé of the enimies, and tooke fourescore men with children.

1398
King Richard
passeth the se-
cond time ouer
into Ireland.

The fourth kalends of Iulie, king Richard came to Dublin, and remained there for a time; during the which diuerse lords and princes of the countrie came in and submitted themselues vnto him, by whome they were courteouslie vsed, and trained to honourable demeanor and ciuilitie, as much as the shortnes of time would permit, as in the English historie you maie find set foorth more at large. Whilest king Richard thus laie in Dublin to reduce Ireland into due subiection, he was aduertised that Henrie duke of Lancaster, that latelie before had béene banished, was returned, & ment to bereaue him of the crowne. The sonne of which duke, together with the duke of Glocesters sonne, the king shut vp within the castell of Trim, and then taking the seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he found his defense so weake, and vnure, that finallie he came into his aduersaries hands, and was deposed by authoritie of parlement, and then was the said duke of Lancaster admitted to reigne in his place.

The king com-
meth to Dublin.

See more hereof
in England.

Henrie the fourth.

- 1400 AT Whitsuntide in the yeare 1400, which was the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the fourth, the constable of Dublin castell, and diuerse other at Stanford in Vlster, fought by sea with Scots, where manie Englishmen were slaine and drowned. In the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, sir John Stanleie the kings lieutenant in Ireland returned into England, leauing his vnder lieutenant there sir William Stanleie. The same yeare on Bartholomew éenen, sir Stephan Scroope, deputie vnto the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings brother, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arriued there to supplie the roome of Alexander bishop of Meth, that exercised the same office vnder the said lord Thomas of Lancaster, before the comming of this sir Stephan Scroope; which sir Stephan for his violence and extortion before time vsed in the same office vnder king Richard, was sore cried out vpon by the voices of the poore people, insomuch that the ladie his wife hearing of such exclamations, would in no wise continue with him there, except he would receiue a solemne oth on the bible, that wittinglie he should wrong no christian creature in that land, but dulia and trulie he should see paiment made for all expenses: and hereof (she said) she had made a vow to Christ so determinatlie, that vnlesse it were on his part firmelie promised, she could not without perill of soule go with him. Hir husband assented and accomplished hir request effectualle, recouered a good opinion for his vpright deling, reformed his caters & purueiors, inriched the countrie, maintained a plentifull house, remission of great offenses, remedies for persons indangered to the prince, pardons of lands and liues he granted so charitablie and so discrétlie, that his name was neuer recited among them without manie blessings and praiers, and so chéerefullie they were readie to serue him against the Irish vpon all necessarie occasions. The lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arriued the same yeare at Dublin, vpon saint Brices daie.
- 1401 *Sir John Stanleie
lord lieutenant.
Sir Stephan
Scroope.* The maior of Dublin Iohn Drake, with a band of his citizens neere to Bre, slue foure thousand of the Irish outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Christs church) but Marlburrow speaketh onelie of 493, and these being all men of warre. The verie same daie that this victorie was atchiued, to wit, the eleuenth day of Iulie, the church of the friers prechers of Dublin was dedicated by the archbishop of that citie. The same yeare in September, a parlement was holden at Dublin, during the which in Vrgile sir Bartholomew Verdon knight, Iames White, Stephan Gernon, and other their complices, slue the shiriffe of Louth Iohn Dowdall.
- 1403 *The Irish ouer-
throwne by the
maior of Dublin.* In the yere 1403, in Maie, sir Walter Betterleie steward of Vlster, a right valiant knight was slaine, and to the number of thirtie other with him. The same yeare about the feast of saint Martin, the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne returned into England leauing the lord Stephan Scroope his deputie there: who also in the beginning of Lent sailed ouer into England, and then the lords of the land chose the earle of Ormond to be lord iustice.
- 1404 *Stephan Scroope.
The earle of
Ormond lord
iustice.* In the fift yere of Henrie the fourth, Iohn Colton archbishop of Armagh the seuen & twentieth of Aprill departed this life, vnto whom Nicholas Stoning succeeded. The same yeare on the daie of saint Vitale the martyr, the parlement of Dublin began before the earle of Ormond then lord iustice of Ireland, where the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were confirmed, and likewise the charter of Ireland.
- 1405 *The archbishop
of Armagh de-
ceased.* In the sixt yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the moneth of Maie, thrée Scottish barks were taken, two at Green castell, and one at Alkeie, with capteine Macgolagh. The same yeare the merchants of Brodagh entered Scotland, and tooke preies and pledges. Also on the éeuen of the feast day of the seuen brethren, Oghgard was burnt

burnt by the Irish. And in Iune sir Stephan Scroope that was come againe into Ireland, returned eftsoones into England, leauing the earle of Ormond lord iustice of Ireland. About the same time they of Dublin entered Scotland at saint Ninian, and valiantlie behaued themselues against the enimies, and after crossing the seas, directed their course into Wales, and did much hurt to the Welshmen, bringing from theuse the shrine of saint Cubins, & placed it in the church of the Trinitie in Dublin. Iames Butler earle of Ormond died at Baligam, whilst he was lord iustice, vnto whom succeeded Gerald earle of Kildare.

The citizens of
Dublin invade
Scotland.
They muade
Wales.

The earle of Or-
mond deceased.

In the seuenth yeare of king Henrie on Corpus Christi day, the citizens of Dublin with the countrie people about them, manfullie vanquished the Irish enimies, and slue diuerse of them, and tooke two ensignes or standards, bringing with them to Dublin the heads of those whom they had slaine. The same yeare the prior of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfullie with the Irish, & vanquished two hundred that were well armed, slaieng part of them, and chasing the residue out of the field, and the prior had not with him past the number of twentie Englishmen: but God (as saith mine author) assisted those that put their trust in him. The same yeare after Michaelmas, Stephan Scroope deputie iustice to the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Ireland. And in the feast of saint Hilarie was a parlement holden at Dublin, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Meiler de Birmingham slue Cathole Oconhur about the end of Februarie. In the yere 1407, a certeine false and heathenish wretch an Irishman, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmore, that had caused fortie churches to be destroyed, as he that was neuer christened, and therefore called Corbi, chanced to take prisoner one Patrike Sauage, and receiued for his ransome two thousand markes, though afterwards he slue him, together with his brother Richard.

Hen. Marib.

A parlement at
Dublin.

1407

Corbi what it
signifieth.

The same yeare in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse, Stephan Scroope deputie to the lord Thomas of Lancaster, with the earles of Ormond and Desmond, and the prior of Kilmainan, and diuerse other capteins and men of warre of Meth, set from Dublin, and invaded the land of Mac Murch, where the Irish came into the field and skirmished with them, so as in the former part of the daie they put the English power to the woorse; but at length the Irish were vanquished and chased, so that Onolan with his son and diuerse others were taken prisoners. But the English capteins aduertised here, that the Burkens and Okeroll in the countie of Kilkennie, had for the space of two daies together doone much mischief, they rode with all speed vnto the towne of Callan, and there incountring with the aduersaries, manfullie put them to flight, slue Okeroll, and eight hundred others. There went a tale, and beleueed of manie, that the sunne stood still for a space that daie, till the Englishmen had ridden six miles: so much was it thought that God fauoured the English part in this enterprise, if we shall beleue it.

Okeroll slaine.

The same yeare the lord Stephan Scroope passed once againe ouer into England, and Iames Butler earle of Ormond was elected by the countrie lord iustice of Ireland. In the daies of this K. Henrie the fourth, the inhabitants of Corke being sore afflicted with perpetuall oppressions of their Irish neighbors, complained themselues in a generall writing directed to the lord Rutland and Corke, the kings deputie there, and to the councell of the realme then assembled at Dublin: which letter because it openeth a window to behold the state of those parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in those daies, we haue thought good to set downe here, as it hath beene enterd by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard esquire, one of the queenes maiesties priue councell in Ireland.

A letter

A letter from Corke out of an old record that beareth no date.

*Y. shalke rather
sayne castell.*

“IT may please your wisdomes to haue pittie on vs the kings poore subiects within the countie of Corke, or else we are cast awaie for euer. For where there are in this countie these lords by name, beside knights, esquiers, gentlemen, and women, to a great number that might dispend yearelie eight hundred pounds, sixe hundred pounds, foure hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, one hundred pounds, an hundred markes, twentie markes, twentie pounds, ten pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great numbers, besides these lords. First the lord marques Caro, his yearelie reuenues was beside Dorseie hauens and othèr crèekes, two thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barneuale of Bèerhauen, his yearelie reuenuer was beside Boire hauens and othèr crèekes, one thousand six hundred pounds sterling. The lord Wogan of the great castell, his yearelie reuenuer beside his hauens and crèekes, thirtene thousand pounds. The lord Boltram of Enfort, his yearelie reuenuer beside hauens and creekes, one thousand threè hundred pounds sterling. The lord Curcie of Kelbretton, his yearelie reuenuer beside hauens and crèekes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Mandenile of Barenstellie, his yearelie reuenuer beside hauens and creekes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Arundell of the Strand, his yearelie reuenuer beside hauens and crèekes, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barod of the gard, his yearelie reuennes beside hauens & crèekes one thousand one hundred pounds sterling. The lord Steineie of Baltimore, his yearelie reuenuer beside hauens and crèekes, eight hundred pounds sterling. The lord Roch of Poole castell, his yearelie reuenues besides hauens and creekes, ten thousand pounds sterling. The kings maiestie hath the lands of the late yoong Barrie by forfeiture, the yearelie reuenuer whereof, besides, two riuers and crèekes, and all other casualties, is one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling.

“And that at the end of this parlement, your lordship, with the kings most noble councell may come to Corke, & call before you all these lords, and other Irishmen, and bind them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that neuer one of them doo make warre vpon an other, without licence or commandement of you my lord deputie, and the kings councell; for the vtter destruction of these parts is that onelic cause. And once all the Irishmen, and the kings enimies were driuen into a great vallie called Clane onight, betwixt two great mountaines called Maccort, or the leprous Iland: and there they liued long and manie yeares with their white meat, till at the last these English lords fell at variance amongst themselues, and then the weakest part tooke certeine Irishmen to take their part, and so vanquished their enimies. And thus fell the English lords at warre among themselues, till the Irishmen were stronger than they, and draue them awaie, and now haue the countie whole vnder them; but that the lord Roch, the lord Barrie, and the lord Curcie onelic remaine with the least part of their ancestors possessions: and yoong Barrie is there vpon the kings portion, paieng his grace neuer a pennie rent. Wherefore we the kings poore subiects of the citie of Corke, Kinsale, and Yoghall, desire your lordship to send hither too good iustices to see this matter ordred, and some English capteins with twentie Englishmen that may be capteins ouer vs all: and we will rise with them to redresse these enormities all at our owne costs. And if you will not come nor send, we will send ouer to our liege lord the king, and complaine on you all.” Thus far that letter.

*The citie of
Corke.*

And (as saith Campion) at this daie the citie of Corke is so incumbred with vnquiet neighbors

neighbors of great power, that they are forced to gard their gates continuallie, & to kéepe them shut at seruice times, at meales, and from sun setting to sun rising, not suffering anie stranger to enter the towne with his weapon, but to leaue the same at a lodge appointed. They dare vnneth at anie time walke abroad far from the towne for their recreation, except at seasons; and then with strength of men furnished with armor and weapon for their safegard. They match in wedlocke among themselues, so that welnéere the whole citie is alied and ioined together in consanguinitie. But now to retorne vnto the dooings of the earle of Ormond that was placed lord iustice in Scroops roome. We doo find that in the yeare 1408 he called a parlement at Dublin, in which the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were eftsoones reuiued, and certeine ordinances established vnder the great seale of England against purueiers. The same yeare, the morrow after Lammas daie, the lord Thomas of Lancaster somme to king Henrie the fourth, lord lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Carlingford, and in the wéeke following he came vnto Dublin, and put the earle of Kildare vnder arrest, comming to him with three of his familie. He lost all his goods, being spoiled & rifled by the lord lieutenant his seruants, & himselfe kept still in prison in the castell of Dublin, till he had paid 300 marks fine.

1408

A parlement at Dublin.

The lord Thomas of Lancaster commeth ouer into Ireland.

On the daie of saint Marcell the martyr decessed the lord Stephan Scroope at Tristeldermot. The same yeare also was the lord Thomas of Lancaster at Kilmainan wounded (I know not how) and vnneth escaped with life, and after caused summons to be giuen by proclamation, that all such as ought by their tenures to serue the king, should assemble at Rosse. And after the feast of saint Hilarie, he held a parlement at Kilkennie for a tallage to be granted. And after the thirteenth of March, he returned into England, leauing the prior of Kilmainan for his deputie in Ireland. This yeare also Hugh Macgilmore was slaine in Cragfergus within the church of the friers minors, which church he had before destroyed, and broken downe the glasse windowes to haue the iron bars, thorough which his enimies the Sauages entred vpon him. This yeare being the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in Iune, Ianico de Artois with the Englishmen slue foure score of the Irish in Vlster. This yeare king Henrie gaue the sword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was first gouerned (as appeareth by their ancient seale called *Signum prapositionis*) by a prouost: and in the thirteenth of Henrie the third by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes, by charter granted by Edward the sixth, 1547.

The lord Scroope decesseth.

The lord Thomas returneth into England.

1409

James de Artois. The sword giuen to the citie of Dublin.

Bailiffes changed into shiriffes.

This maioraltie, both for state and charge of office, and for bountifull hospitalitie, exceedeth anie citie in England, London excepted. In the yeare following, the one and twentieth daie of Maie, a parlement began at Dublin, which lasted three wéeke, the prior of Kilmainan sitting as lord iustice. The same yeare, the two and twentieth of Iune, the same iustice tooke the castels of Mibraclide, Oferoll, and de la Mare. Ireland this yeare was sore afflicted for want of corne. The lord iustice entred into the land of Obren with 1500 Kernes, of which numbereight hundred reuolted to the Irish, so that if the power of Dublin had not beene there, it had gon euil with the lord iustice: and yet he escaped not without losse, for Iohn Derpatrike was slaine there. In the yeare 1411, mariages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Ireland. William Preston married the daughter of Edward Paris, and Iohn Wogan matched with the eldest daughter of Christopher Preston; and Walter de la Hide with the second daughter of the same Christopher. In the yeare 1412, about the feast of Tibertius and Valerianus, which falleth on the tenth of April, Oconthir did much mischief in Meth, and tooke 160 Englishmen. The same yeare Odoles a knight, and Thomas Fitzmorice fought together, and either slue other. The foure and twentieth of Maie, Robert Mounteine bishop of Meth departed this life, to

1410

A iournie made by the lord iustice.

1411

Mariages.

1412

Oconthir.

The bishop of Meth decesseth.

whome

The death of
Henrie the
fourth.

whome succéded Edward de Audiscie sometime archdecon of Cornwall. This yeare on saint Cutberts daie king Henrie the fourth departed this life.

Henrie the fift.

1413.
John Stanleie
the kings lieute-
nant in Ireland.

Thomas Crau-
leie archbishop
of Dublin.

A parlement.

1414

Englishmen
slaine.

John lord Talbot
of Sherfield.
1415
Robert Talbot
deceaseth.

1416
The archbishop
of Armagh de-
ceaseth.

The parlement
remouued to
Trim.

A subsidie.

1417
The archbishop
of Dublin
deceased.
His praise.

1418

In the first yeare of this king, the five and twentieth of September, landed in Ireland at Clawcarfe, Iohn Stanlie the kings lieutenant of that land. He departed this life the 18 of Ianuarie next insuing at Athird, in Latine called *Atrium Dei*. After his decease, Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin was chosen lord iustice of Ireland. Ianico de Artois led foorth a power against Maginors, a great lord of Ireland, but néere to a place called Inor manie Englishmen were slaine. The morrow after saint Matthias daie, a parlement began againe at Dublin, which continued for the space of fiftéene daies, in which meane time the Irish did much hurt by inuasions made into the English pale, and burning vp all the houses afore them that stood in their waie, as their vsuall custome was in times of other parlements: wherevpon a tallage was demanded, but not granted. In the yeare 1414, the Englishmen fought with the Irish neere to Kilka, and slue an hundred of the enimies, whilst the archbishop being lord iustice in Tristeldermot, went in procession with his cleargie; praieng for the good spécd of his men and other of the countrie that were gone foorth to fight with the aduersaries. In the feast of saint Gordian and Epimachus, to wit the tenth of Maie, were the English of Meth discomfited by Oconthir and his Irish, where they slue Thomas Maureuar baron of Serin; and there were taken prisoners Christopher Fleming, John Dardis, and diuerse others, beside manie that were slaine.

On saint Martins éeuen sir Iohn Talbot of Holomshire, lord Furniuale landed at Dalkeie, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, a man of great honor. In the yeere one thousand foure hundred and fiftéene in Nouember, Robert Talbot, a right noble man that walled the suburbs of Kilkennie, departed this life. Also Patrike Baret bishop of Fernis deceased, and was buried among the canons at Kenlis. This yeare on the feast daie of Geruasius and Prothasius which falleth on the ninetéenth of Iune, the lord lieutenants wife the ladie Furniuall was brought to bed at Finglasse of a sonne named Thomas. About the same time also Stephan Fleming archbishop of Armagh departed this life, after whome succéded Iohn Suanig. On the daie of saint Laurence the lord Furniualls sonne Thomas Talbot that was borne at Finglasse in Nouember last past, departed this life, and was buried in the quéere of the friers preachers church in Dublin. About the same time the Irish fell vpon the Englishmen, and slue manie of them, among other Thomas Balimore of Baliquelan was one. The parlement which the last yeare had beene called and holden at Dublin, was this yeare remouued to Trim, & there began the eleuenth of Maie, where it continued for the space of eleuen daies, in the which was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie.

In the yeare following, the archbishop of Dublin passed ouer into England, and deceased at Faringdon, but his bodie was buried in the new college at Oxford. This man is greatlie praised for his liberalitie, he was a good almesman, a great clerke, a doctor of diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great builder, beautifull, tall of stature, and sanguine of complexion. He was foure score and ten yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the church of Dublin in good quiet for the space of twentie yeeres. This yeare shortlie after Easter, the lord deputie spoiled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Bethat. Also at Olane on the feast daie of saint Iohn and saint Paule, the erle of Kildare, sir Christopher Preston,

Preston, and sir Iohn Bedlow were arrested and committed to ward within the castell of Trim, because they sought to commune with the prior of Kilmainan.

The nine and twentieth of Iune Matthew Husseie baron of Galtrim deceased, & was buried at the friers preachers of Trim. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred & ninetēene a roiall councell was holden at Naas, where was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie. The same yeare vpon Cenethursdaie Othoell tooke foure hundred kine that belonged vnto Balimore, so breaking the peace contrarie to his oth. The fourth ides of Maie, Mac Murch cléefe capteine of his nation, and of all the Irish in Leinster was taken prisoner, and the same daie was sir Hugh Cokeseie made knight. The last of Maie the lord lieutenant, and the archbishop of Dublin with the maior rased the castell of Keninie. The morrow after the feast daie of Processus and Martinianus, that is the twentieth of Iune, the lord William de Burgh and other Englishmen slue siue hundred Irishmen, & tooke Okellie. On the feast daie of Marie Magdalen the lord lieutenant Talbot returned into England, leauing his deputie there the archbishop of Dublin. This yeare about saint Laurence daie, diuerse went foorth of Ireland to serue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was prior of Kilmainan, and manie others. Iohn Fitzhenrie succéded the said Butler in government of the priorie of Kilmainan. The archbishop of Dublin that remained as lord deputie slue thirtie Irishmen néere vnto Rodiston. Also the thirteenth of Februarie Iohn Fitzhenrie prior of Kilmainan departed this life, and William Fitzthomas was chosen to succéed in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after saint Valentines daie.

1419
A councell or
parlement
holden.

Mac Murch
taken prisoner.

Okellie taken.

The prior of
Kilmainan went
to serue the king
in France.

James Butler earle of Ormond appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland, in place of Iohn lord Talbot and Furniual, landed at Waterford about the fourth ides of Aprill: and shortlie after his comming ouer, he caused a combat to be fought betwixt two of his cousins, of whom the one was slaine in that place, and the other carried awaie sore wounded. On saint Georges daie, he held a councell in Dublin, & summoned a parlement to begin there the seuenth of Iune. In the meane while he fetcht great booties out of the countries of the Irish lords, Oralie, Mac Mahun, and Maginois. But first yer we go further to shew what Marlburrow hath noted of the dooings, whilst this earle of Ormond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Ireland, we haue thought good to set downe what Campion also writeth thereof, as thus.

1420
James Butler
erle of Ormond
lord lieutenant.

A parlement
summoned.

In the red moore of Athie (the sunne almost lodged in the west, and miraculously standing still in his epicicle by the space of thrée houres, till the feat was accomplished, and no hole nor quakemire in all that bog annoieng either horse or man of his part) he vanquished Omore and his terrible armie with a few of his owne meinie, and with the like number he ouercame Arthur Mac Morogh, at whose might & puissance all Leinster trembled. To the instruction of this mans worthinesse, the compiler of certeine precepts touching the rule of a common-wealth exciteth his lord the said earle in diuerse places of that worke incidentlie, eftsoons putting him in mind that the Irish are false by kind, that it were expedient, and a worke of charitie to execute vpon them wilfull and malicious transgressors the kings lawes somewhat sharplie, that Odempsie being winked at a while, abused that small time of sufferance to the iniurie of the earle of Kildare, intruding vniustlie vpon the castell of Leie, from whence the said deputie had iustlie expelled him, and put the earle in possession thereof, that notwithstanding their oths and pledges, they are yet no longer true than they feele themselves the weaker. This deputie tamed the Brens, the Burghs, Mac Banons, Oghaghucaght, Moris Mac Mahun, all the capteins of Thomond: & all this he did in thrée months; the clergie twice euerie weeke in solemne procession praieng for his good succes against those disordered persons, which now in euerie part of Ire-

James Young an
author alleaged
by Campion.
The sunne
staieth his
course.

land degenerated from the English civilitie, to their old trade of life vsed in that countrie, repined at the English maner of gouernment. So far Champion.]

1420.
The parlement
began.

Diuerse parlements vpon prorogations were holden in time that this earle of Ormond was gouernor. The first began at Dublin the seauenth of Iune in this yeare one thousand foure hundred and twentie, which continued about sixtéene daies. At this parlement was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie of seauen hundred marks. At the sixtéene daies end this parlement was adiorned till the mondaie after saint Andrews daie. In the same parlement the debts of the lord Iohn Talbot, which were due to certeine persons for vittels and other things, taken vp whilst he was lord lieutenant there, were reckoned vp; which lord Talbot verelie, for that he saw not the creditors satisfied before his comming awaie, was partlie euill spoken of in the countrie. The morrow after the feast of Simon and Iude, the castell of Colmolin was taken by Thomas Fitzgiralde. And on saint Katharins eeven, the sonne and heire of the earle of Ormond lord lieutenant was borne, for the which there was great reioising. In the parlement begun againe at Dublin the mondaie after saint Andrews daie, an other subsidie of thrée hundred marks was granted vnto the lord lieutenant. And after they had sat thirtéene daies, it was eftsoons adiorned vntill the mondaie after saint Ambrose daie. Then rumors were spred abroad, that Thomas Fitz-Iohn earle of Desmond was departed this life at Paris vpon saint Laurence daie, after whome succéded his vnle Iames Fitzgiralde, whome he had three seuerall times renounced, as one that was a waster of his patrimonie both in England and Ireland, and not like to come to anie good prooffe.

The castell of
Colmolin.
The earle of
Ormonds son
and heire borne.

1421.
A parlement.

In the yeare one thousand foure hundred twentie and one, the parlement began againe vpon the last prorogation, the mondaie after saint Ambrose daie: in which parlement it was ordeined that certeine persons should be sent to the king, to sue that a reformation might be had in matters touching the state of the land. The chéefe of those that were thus sent, were the archbishop of Armagh, and sir Christopher Preston knight. Moreouer Richard Ohedian bishop of Cashill was accused by Iohn Gese bishop of Lismore and Waterford, who laid thirtie articles vnto his charge. Amongst other, one was for that he loued none of the English nation, and that he bestowed not one benefice vpon anie Englishman, and counselled other bishops that they should not bestow anie within their diocesse vpon anie Englishman. Moreouer, another article was for counterfeting the kings seale. And another, for that he went about to make himselfe king of Mounster, and had taken a ring from the image of saint Patrike (which the earle of Desmond had offered) and giuen it to his lemman. Manie other crimes were laid to him by the said bishop of Lismore and Waterford, which he exhibited in writing. Also in the same parlement there rose contention betwixt Adam Paine bishop of Clone, and another prelat, whose church he would haue annexed vnto his see. At length, after the parlement had continued for the space of eightéene daies, it brake vp. Herewith came news of the slaughter of the lord Thomas of Lancaster duke of Clarence, that had béene lord lieutenant of Ireland. And vpon the seuenth of Maie certeine of the earle of Ormonds men were ouerthrowen by the Irish, néere to the abbeie of Leis, and seuen and twentie Englishmen were slaine there: of whom the cheefe were two gentlemen, the one named Purcell, & the other Grant. Also ten were taken prisoners, and two hundred escaped to the foresaid abbeie, so sauing themselues. About the same time Mac Mahon an Irish lord did much hurt within the countrie of Vrgile, by burning & wasting all afore him. Also vpon the morrow after Midsummer daie, the earle of Ormond lord lieutenant entred into the countrie about Leis

The bishop of
Cashill accused.

The duke of
Clarence slaine
in France.

Mac Mahon.

vpon

upon Omordris, and for the space of foure daies togetherdid much hurt, in slaieng and spoiling the people, till the Irish were glad to tye o peace.

Henrie the sixt.

LIEUTENANTS to Henrie the sixt ouer the relme of Ireland were these, Edmund earle of March, and Iames earle of Ormond his deputie; Iohn Sutton, lord Dudleie, and sir Thomas Strange knight his deputie; sir Thomas Stanleie, and sir Christopher Plunket his deputie. This sir Thomas Stanleie on Michaelmasse daie, in the twelwe yeare of king Henrie the sixt, with all the knights of Meth & Irrell, fought against the Irish, slue a great number, & tooke Neill Odonell prisoner.]

Here endeth
Murtherous,
and all that fol-
loweth is taken
out of *Campion*.

Lion lord Wels, and the earle of Ormond his deputie. Iames earle of Ormond by himselfe, Iohn earle of Shrewesburie, and the archbishop of Dublin lord iustice in his absence. Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king Edward the fourth & earle of Vlster, had the office of lieutenant by the kings letters patents during the terme of tenne yeares, who appointed to rule vnder him as his deputies at sundrie times the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzestace knight, Iames earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmorice earle of Kildare. To this Richard duke of Yorke and Vlster then resident in Dublin, was borne within the castell there his second sonne the lord George that was after duke of Clarence. His godfathers at the fontstone were the earles of Ormond and Desmond. Whether the commotion of Iacke Cade an Irishman borne, naming himselfe Mortimer, and so pretending cousinage to diuerse noble houses in this land, procèded from some intelligence with the dukes fréends here in Ireland, it is vncerteine: but surelie the duke was vehementlie suspected, and immediatelie after began the troubles, which through him were raised. Which broiles being couched for a time, the duke held himselfe in Ireland, being latelie by parlement ordeined protector of the realme of England: he left his agent in the court, his brother the earle of Salisburie, lord chancellor, to whom he declared the truth of the troubles then toward in Ireland: which letter exemplified by sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, a great searcher and preseruer of antiquties, as it came to Campions hands, and by him set downe we haue thought good likewise to present it here to your view.

Campion out of
the records of
Christs church.
George duke of
Clarence borne
at Dublin.
Iacke Cade.

“ To the right worshipfull, and withall mine heart entierelie beloued brother, the earle of Salisburie.

“ RIGHT worshipfull, & with all my hart entierelie beloued brother, I recommend me vnto you as heartilie as I can. And like it you to wit, sith I wrote last vnto the king our souereigne lord his highnesse, the Irish enimie, that is to saie Magoghigam, and with him thrée or foure Irish capteins, associat with a great fellowship of English rebels, notwithstanding that they were within the king our souereigne lord his peace, of great malice, and against all truth haue maligned against their legiance, and vengeablie haue brent a great towne of mine inheritance in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and brent both men, women, and children, withouten mercie: the which enimies be yet assembled in woods and forts, awaighting to doo the hurt and gréuance to the kings subiects, that they can thinke or imagine. For which cause I write at this time vnto the kings highnesse, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according vnto his letters of warrant now late directed vnto the treasurer of England, to the intent I may wage men in sufficient number for to resist

The copie of a
letter.

the malice of the same enimies, & punish them in such wise, that other which would doo the same for lacke of resistance, in time maie take example. For doubtlesse, but if my paiment be had in all hast, for to haue men of warre in defense and safeguard of this land; my power can not stretch to kéepe it in the kings obeisance: and verie necessitie will compell me to come into England to liue there vpon my poore liuelihood. For I had leauer be dead than anie inconuenience should fall thervnto by my default: for it shall neuer be chronicled nor remaine in scripture (by the grace of God) that Ireland was lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you right worshipfull brother, that you will hold to your hands instantlie, that my paiment maie be had at this time in eschewing all inconueniences. For I haue example in other places (more pitie it is) for to dread shame, and for to acquit my troth vnto the kings highnesse, as my dutie is. And this I praie and exhort you good brother, to shew vnto his good grace, and that you will be so good, that this language maie be inacted at this present parlement for mine excuse in time to come, and that you will be good to my seruant Roger Ro the bearer of these, and to my other seruants, in such things as they shall pursue vnto the kings highnes, and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of the said Roger, touching the said matters. Right worshipfull, and with all my heart entierlie beloued brother, our blessed Lord God preserue and keepe you in all honour, prosperous estate, and felicitie, & grant you right good life and long. Written at Dublin the fiftiēth daie of June.

Roger Ro.

“ Your faithfull true brother

“ RICHARD YORKE.”

Magoghigam
his power.

Of such power was Magoghigam in those daies, who as he wan and kept it by the sword, so now his successors in that state liue but as meane capteins, yéelding their winnings to the stronger. This is the miserie of lawlesse people, resembling the rudenesse of the rude world, wherein euerie man was richer and poorer than other, as he was in might and violence more or lesse inabled. Here began factions of the nobilitie in Ireland, fauouring diuerse sides that stroue for the crowne of England. For the duke of Yorke, in those ten yeares of his gouernement, excéedinglie wan the hearts of the noblemen and gentlemen of that land, of the which diuerse were slaine with him at Wakefield; as the contrarie part was the next yeare by his sonne Edward earle of March at Mortimers crosse in Wales. In which meane time the Irish grew hardie, & vsurped the English countries insufficientlie defended, as they had doone by like oportunitie in the latter end of Richard the second. These two seasons set them so aflote, that henseforward they could neuer be cast out from their forcible possessions, holding by plaine wrong all Vlster, and by certeine Irish tenures no small portions of Mounster and Connagh, least in Meth and Leinster, where the ciuill subiects of the English blood did euer most preuaile.

Edward the fourth and Edward the fift.

Lieutenants and
deputies in king
Edward the
fourth his
daies.

THOMAS Fitzmorice earle of Kildare, lord iustice till the third yeare of Edward the fourth, after which time the duke of Clarence, brother to the king, had the office of lieutenant while he liued, & made his deputies by sundry turnes, Thomas earle of Desmond, Iohn Tiptoft earle of Worcester the kings cousine, Thomas earle of Kildare, and Henrie lord Greie of Ruthin. Great was the credit of the Giraldin euer when the house of Yorke prospered, and likewise the Butlers thriued vnder the bloud

The Butlers.

of

of the Lancasters: for which cause the earle of Desmond remained manie yeres deputie to George duke of Clarence his good brother: but when he had spoken certeine disdainfull words against the late marriage of king Edward with the ladie Elizabeth Greie, the said ladie being now queene, caused his trade of life after the Irish maner, contrarie to sundrie old statutes inacted in that behalfe, to be sifted and examined by Iohn erle of Worcester his successor; so that he was atteinted of trea-
The earle of Worcester.
 son, condemned, and for the same beheaded at Droghedagh. 1467

James the father of this Thomas earle of Desmond, being suffered and not controlled, during the gouernment of Richard duke of Yorke his godecept, and of Thomas earle of Kildare his kinsman, put vpon the kings subiects within the countries of Waterford, Corke, Kerrie, and Limerike, the Irish impositions of quinto and liuerie, cartings, carriages, lodgings, cocherings, bonnaght, and such like, which customes are the verie bréeders, mainteiners, and vpholders of all Irish enormities, wringing from the poore tenants euerlasting sesse, allowance of meat and monie, whereby their bodies and goods were brought in seruice and thraldome, so that the men of warre, horsses, and their Galloglasses lie still vpon the farmers, eat them out, beggar the countrie, foster a sort of idle vagabonds, readie to rebell if their lord command them, euer nuzled in stealth and robberies.

These euill presidents giuen by the father, the son did exercise, being lord deputie, to whome the reformation of that disorder speciallie belonged. Notwithstanding the same fault being winked at in other, and with such rigor auenged in him, was manifestlie taken for a quarrell sought and procured. Two yeres after, the said earle of Worcester lost his head, whilst Henrie the sixt taken out of the tower was set vp againe, and king Edward proclaimed vsurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewise atteinted, they thought also to haue rid, and shortlie both the earles of Kildare & Desmond were restored to their bloud by parlement. Sir Rowland Eustace, sometime treasurer and lord chancellor, was lastlie also lord deputie of Ireland. He founded saint Francis abbeie beside Kilcollen bridge.
Campion out of Seruice in his collections.
Irish impositions.
 King Edward a yere before his death honored his younger sonne (Richard duke of Yorke) with the title of lieutenant ouer this land, which he inioied till his vnaturall vnkle bereft both him and his brother king Edward the fift of their naturall liues. 1469

Richard the third.

WHEN this monster of nature & cruell tyrant Richard the third had killed his two yong nephues, and taken vpon him the crowne & gouernement of England, he preferred his owne sonne Edward to the dignitie of lord lieutenant of Ireland, whose deputie was Girald earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of king Richard, and a while in Henrie the seuenth his daies.
Richard the third.

Henrie the seuenth.

TO which earle came the wilie priest sir Richard Simon, bringing with him a lad that was his scholer, named Lambert, whome he feined to be the sonne of George earle of Clarence, latelie escaped foorth of the tower of London. And the boie could reckon vp his pedigrée so readilie, & had learned of the priest such princelie behaviour, that he lightlie moooued the said earle, and manie others the nobles of Ireland (tendering as well the linage roiall of Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, and his
Henrie the seuenth.
Sir Richard Simon priest.
Lambert counterfeited to be the earle of Warwick.
 some

sonne George their countrieman borne, as also maligning the aduancement of the house of Lancaster in Henrie the seuenth) either to thinke or to faine, that the world might beléeue they thought verelie this child to be Edward earle of Warwike, the duke of Clarence his lawfull sonne.

The lord Louell.
Sir Thomas
Broughton.

And although king Henrie more than halfe marred their sport, in shewing the right earle through all the stréets of London, yet the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgongne, sister to Edward the fourth, hir nephue John de la Poole, the lord Louell, sir Thomas Broughton knight, and diuers other capteins of this conspiracie, deuised to abuse the colour of this yong earles name, for preferring their purpose: which if it came to good, they agréed to depose Lambert, and to erect the verie earle indéed, now prisoner in the tower, for whose quarrell had they pretended to fight, they déemed it likelie he should haue béene made awaie. Wherefore it was blazed in Ireland, that the king to mocke his subiects, had schooled a boie to take vpon him the earle of Warwikes name, and had shewed him about London, to blind the eies of the simple folke, and to defeat the lawfull inheritour of the good duke of Clarence their countriman and protector during his life, vnto whose linage they also deriued title in right to the crowne.

Lambert
crowned.

1469
Jasper duke of
Bedford lieutenant.

In all hast they assembled at Dublin, and there in Christs church they crowned this idoll, honoring him with titles imperiall, feasting and triumphing, raising mightie shouts and cries, carrieng him from thense to the castell vpon tall men's shoulders, that he might be seene and noted, as he was sure an honorable child to looke vpon. Heerewith assembling their forces together, they prouided themselves of ships, and imbarcking therein, they tooke the sea, and landing in Lancashire, passed forwards, till they came to Newarke vpon Trent. Therevpon insued the battell of Stoke, commonlie called Martin Swarts field, wherein Lambert and his maister were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed. The erle of Lincolne, the lord Louell, Martin Swart, the Almaine capteine, and Maurice Fitzthomas capteine of the Irish, were slaine, and all their power discomfited, as in the English historie it may further appeare. Jasper duke of Bedford, and earle of Pembroke lieutenant, and Walter archbishop of Dublin his deputie.

Perkin War-
becke.

1491
Sir Edward
Poinings lord de-
putie.
Perkin War-
becke taken.

In this time befell another like Irish illusion, procured by the duchesse aforesaid, and certeine nobles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull king of England, and vndoubted earle of Vlster, the counterfeit Richard duke of Yorke, preserued from king Richards crueltie (as the adherents faced the matter downe) and with this maigamelord, named indeed Peter, (in scorne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themselves manie yeares after. Then was sir Edward Poinings knight sent ouer lord deputie, with commission to apprehend Warbecks principall parteners in Ireland: amongst whom was named Girald Fitzgirald, whose purgation the king (notwithstanding diuerse surmising and auouching the contrarie) did accept. After much adoo, Perkin being taken, confessed by his owne writing the course of his whole life, and all his proceedings in this enterprise, whereof in the English historie, as we have borrowed the same foorth of *Halles* chronicles, yee may read more, and therefore héere we haue omitted to speake further of that matter.

1501
Henrie duke of
Yorke, after
king Henrie the
eighth, had lieut-
enant.

The hill of
Knocktow.

In the yeare 1501, king Henrie made lieutenant of Ireland his second sonne Henrie, as then duke of Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henrie the eight. To him was appointed deputie the foresaid Girald erle of Kildare, who accompanied with Iohn Blake maior of Dublin, warred vpon William le Burgh, Obren, and Mac Nemarre, Ocarroull, and fought with the greatest power of Irishmen that had béene together since the conquest, vnder the hill of Knocktow, in English the hill of the axes, six miles from Galowaie, and two miles from Belliclare Burghes manour towne.

towne. Mac William and his complices were there taken, his souldiers that escaped the sword were pursued fleeing, for the space of fiue miles: great slaughter was made of them, and manie capteins caught, without the losse of one Englishman. The earle of Kildare at his retorne was made knight of the noble order of the garter, and liued in worthie estimation all his life long, as well for this seruice, as diuerse other his famous exploits.

The earle of
Kildare, knight
of the garter.

Thus farre the Irish Chronicles continued and ended at Henrie the seauenth.



TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

Sir HENRIE SIDNEIE Knight,

LORD DEPUTIE OF IRELAND, LORD PRESIDENT OF WALES, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE
ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIR MAIESTIES PRIVE COUNCELL
WITHIN HIR REALME OF ENGLAND.

HOW cumbersome (right honorable) and dangerous a taske it is, to ingrosse and divulge the dooings of others, especially when the parties registred or their issue are living: both common reason sufficientlie acknowledgeth, and dailie experience infallible prooueth. For man by course of nature is so parcialle affected to himselfe and his bloud, as he will be more agreeued with the chronicler for recording a peeuish trespassse, than he will be offended with his friend for committing an heinous treason. Ouer this, if the historian be long, he is accompted a trifler: if he be short, he is taken for a summister: if he commend, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reprotoe, he is holden for a carper: if he be pleasant, he is noted for a iester: if he be graue, he is reckoned for a drooper: if he misdate, he is named a falsifier: if he once but trip, he is tearmed a stumbler: so that let him beare himselfe in his chronicle as vprightlie and as conscionable as he may possible, yet he shall be sure to find them that will be more prest to blab foorth his pelfish faults, than they will be readie to blaze out his good deserts. Others there be, that although they are not able to reprotoe what is written, yet they will be sure to cast in his dish what is forgotten. Heere, saie they, this exploit is omitted: there that policie is not detected: heere this saieng would haue beene interlaced: there that trecherie should haue beene displaied. These & the like discommodities, with which historiographers are vsuallie cloid, haue borne backe diuers and sundrie willing minds, who taking the waie to be thornie, the credit slipperie, the carpers to be manie, would in no case be medlers, choosing rather to sit by their owne fire obscurelie at home, than to be baited with enuious tooongs openlie abroad.

Others on the contrarie side, being resolute fellowes, and trampling vnder foot these curious faultfinders, would not sticke to put themselues foorth in presse, and maugre all their hearts, to buskle forward, and rush through the pikes of their quipping nips, and biting frumps. But I taking the meane betweene both these extremities, held it for better, not to be so faint and peeuish a meacocke, as to shrink and couch mine head for euerie mizeling shoure, nor yet to beare my selfe so high

in heart as to pranse and iet like a proud gennet through the street, not weighing the barking of currish bandogs. And therefore, if I shall be found in mine historie sometime too tedious, sometime too spare, sometime too fawning in commending the liuing, sometime too flat in reproouing the dead: I take God to witnesse, that mine offense therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of set wilfulnesse. But as for the passing ouer in silence of diuerse euent (albeit the law or rather the libertie of an historie requireth that all should be related, and nothing whusted) yet I must confesse, that as I was not able, vpon so little leasure, to know all that was said or doone; so I was not willing for sundrie respects, to write euerie trim tram that I knew to be said or doone. And if anie be ouerthwartlie waiwarded, as he will sooner long for that I haue omitted, than he will be contented with that I haue chronicled; I cannot deuise in my iudgement a better waie to satisfie his appetite, than with one Dolie, a peintor of Oxford, his answer: who being appointed to tricke out the ten commandements, omitted one, and pourtraied but nine. Which fault espied by his maister that hired him, Dolie answered, that in verie deed he peinted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderstood that his master had well obserued and kept the nine commandements that alreadie were drawne, he gave his word at better leisure throughlie to finish the tenth. And truelie so must I saie: I haue laid downe heere to the reader his view, a breefe discourse, wherof I trust he shall take no great surfet. And when I am aduertised, that he will digest the thin fare that heere is disht before him: it may be (God willing) heereafter, that he shall find my booke with store of more licorous deinties farsed and furnished; leauing to his choise, either nicelie to pickle, or greedilie to swallow, as much as to his contentation shall best beseeme him. Wherefore my good lord, sith I may not denie, but that the worke is painfull, and I doo forecast that the misconstruction may be perilous: the toilesomnesse of the paine I refer to my priuat knowledge, the abandoning of the perill, I commit to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby to be sheelded against the sinister glosing of malicious interpretors. Thus betaking your lordship to God, I craue your attentiuenes, in perusing a cantell or parcell of the Irish historie that heere insueth.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.

A CONTINUATION
OF THE
CHRONICLES OF IRELAND,
COMPRISING THE REIGNE OF
KING HENRIE THE EIGHT.

GIRALD Fitzgiralde earle of Kildare, son to Thomas Fitzgiralde, of whō mention hath béene made in the latter end of the former storie, a mightie man of stature, full of honor & courage, who had béene deputie & lord iustice of Ireland first & last 33 yéeres, deceased at Kildare the third of September, & lieth intoomed in the queere of Christes church at Dublin, in a chappell by him founded. Betwéene him & James Butler earle of Ormond (their owne gelousies fed with enuie & ambition, kindled with certeine lewd factious abettors of either side) as generallie to all noblemen, so especiallie to both these houses verie incident, euer since the ninth yeare of Henrie the seuenth, bredsome trouble in Ireland. The plot of which mutuall grudge was grounded vpon the factious dissention, that was raised in England betweene the houses of Yorke & Lancaster, Kildare cleauing to Yorke, and Ormond relieng to Lancaster. To the vpholding of which discord, both these noble men laboured with tooth and naile to ouercrow, and consequentlie to ouerthrow one the other. And for somuch as they were in honour peeres, they wrought by hooke and by crooke to be in authoritie superiours. The gouernement therfore in the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, being cast on the house of Kildare; James earle of Ormond a deepe and a farre reaching man, giuing backe like a butting ram to strike the harder push, deuised to inueigle his aduersarie by submission & courtesie, being not then able to ouermatch him with stoutnesse or preheminance. Wherevpon Ormond addressed his letters to the deputie, specifieng a slander raised on him and his, that he purposed to deface his gouernement, and to withstand his authoritie. And for the cleering of himselfe and of his adherents, so it stood with the deputie his pleasure, he would make his spéedie repaire to Dublin, & there in an open audience would purge himselfe of all such odious crimes, of which he was wrongfullie suspected.

1514

The occasion of
the dissention
betwéene
Kildare and Or-
mond.

To this reasonable request had the lord deputie no sooner condescended, than Ormond with a puissant armie marched towards Dublin, incamping in an abbeie in the suburbs of the citie, named saint Thomas court. The approaching of so great an armie of the citizens suspected, and also of Kildares councillors greatlie disliked, lastlie the extortion that the lawlesse souldiers vsed in the pale by seuerall complaints detected: these three points, with diuerse other suspicious circumstances laid and put together, did minister occasion rather of further discord, than of anie present agreement. Ormond persisting still in his humble sute, sent his messenger to the lord deputie, declaring that he was prest and readie to accomplish the tenour of his letters, and there did attend (as became him) his lordship his pleasure. And as for the companie,

Ormond march-
eth to Dublin.

he brought with him from Mounster, albeit suspicious braines did rather of a malicious craftinesse surmise the worst, than of charitable wisdomedid iudge the best; yet notwithstanding, vpon conference had with his lordship, he would not doubt to satisfie him at full in all points, wherewith he could be with anie colour charged, and so to stop vp the spring, from whence all the enuious suspicions gushed. Kildare with this mild message intreated, appointed the méeting to be at saint Patrike his church: where they were ripping vp one to another their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting the damages they susteined, than acknowledging the iniuries they offered: the citizens and Ormond his armie fell at some iar, for the oppression and exaction with which the souldiers surcharged them. With whom as part of the citizens bickered, so a round knot of archers rushed into the church, meaning to haue murdered Ormond, as the capteine and belwedder of all these lawlesse rabble. The earle of Ormond suspecting that he had béene betraied, fled to the chapter house, put to the doore, sparing it with might and maine. The citizens in their rage, imagining that euerie post in the church had beene one of the souldiers, shot hab or nab at randon vp to the roodloft and to the chancell, leauing some of their arrowes sticking in the images.

The citizens and
Ormond.

Kildare pursuing Ormond to the chapter house doore, vndertooke on his honor that he should receiue no villanie. Whervpon the recluse crauing his lordships hand to assure him his life, there was a clift in the chapter house doore, pearsed at a trise, to the end both the earles should haue shaken hands and be reconciled. But Ormond surmising that this drift was intended for some further treacherie, that if he would stretch out his hand, it had béene percase chopt off, refused that proffer; vntill Kildare stretcht in his hand to him, and so the doore was opened, they both imbraced, the storme appeased, and all their quarrels for that present rather discontinued than ended. In this garboile, one of the citizens, surnamed Blanchfield was slaine. This latter quarrell being like a greene wound, rather bunglerlie botcht than soundlie cured, in that Kildare suspected that so great an armie (which the other alledged to be brought for the gard of his person) to haue béene of purpose assembled, to outface him & his power in his owne countrie. And Ormond mistrusted, that this treacherous practise of the Dublinians was by Kildare deuised. These and the like surmises lightlie by both the noble men misdéemed, and by the continuall twatling of fliring clawbacks in their eares whispered, bred and fostered a malice betwixt them and their posteritie, manie yeeres incurable, which caused much stur and vnquietnesse in the realme, vntill the confusion of the one house and the nonage of the other ended and buried their mutuall quarrels.

The earles re-
conciled.

Blanchfield
slaine.

The description
of Ormond.
The description
of Kildare.

Ormond was nothing inferiour to the other in stomach, and in reach of policie far beyond him. Kildare was in gouvernement mild, to his enimies sterne, to the Irish such a scourge, that rather for despite of him than for fauor of anie part, they relied for a time to Ormond, came vnder his protection, serued at his call, performed by starts (as their manner is) the dutie of good subiects. Ormond was secret and of great forecast, verie staied in spéech, dangerous of euerie trifle that touched his reputation. Kildare was open and plaine, hardlie able to rule himselfe when he were moued to anger, not so sharpe as short, being easilie displeased and sooner appeased. Being in a rage with certeine of his seruants for faults they committed, one of his horssemen offered master Boice (a gentleman that reteined to him) an Irish hobbie, on condition, that he would plucke an haire from the earle his beard. Boice taking the proffer at rebound, stept to the earle (with whose good nature he was throughlie acquainted) parching in the heat of his choler, and said: "So it is, and if it like your good lordship, one of your horssemen promised me a choise horse, if I

Boice.

snip

snip one haire from your beard." "Well" quoth the earle, "I agree thereto, but if thou pucker anie more than one, I promise thee to bring my fist from thine eare."

The branch of this good nature hath beene deriued from him to an earle of his posteritie, who being in a chafe for the wrong sawcing of a partridge, arose suddenlie from the table, meaning to haue reasoned the matter with his cooke. Hauing entered the kitchen, drowning in obliuion his chalenge, he began to commend the building of the roome, wherein he was at no time before, & so leauing the cooke vncontroll'd, he returned to his ghests merilie. This old earle being (as is aforesaid) soone hot and soone cold, was of the English well beloued, a good iusticier, a suppressor of the rebels, a warriour incomparable, towards the nobles that he fansied not somewhat headlong and vnruilie. Being charged before Henrie the seuenth, for burning the church of Cashell, and manie witnesses prepared to aduouch against him the truth of that article, he suddenlie confessed the fact, to the great woondering and detestation of the councell. When it was looked how he wold iustifie the matter; "By Jesus (quoth he) I would neuer haue doone it, had it not beene told me that the archbishop was within." And bicause the same archbishop was one of his busiest accusers there present, the king merilie laughed at the plainnesse of the noble man, to see him alledge that thing for excuse, which most of all did aggrauate his offense.

The last article against him they conceiued in these tearmes; Finallie all Ireland can not rule this earle. "No?" quoth the king: "then in good faith shall this earle rule all Ireland." Thus was that accusation turned to a ieast. The earle returned to his countrie lord deputie, who (notwithstanding his simplicitie in peace) was of that valour and policie in war, as his name bred a greater terror to the Irish, than other mens armies. In his warres he vsed for policie a retchlesse kind of diligence, or a headie carelesnesse, to the end his souldiors should not faint in their attempts, were th'enemie of neuer so great power. Being generall in the field of Knocktow, where in effect all the Irish rebels of Ireland were gathered against the English pale, one of the earle his capteins presented him a band of kerns, euen as they were readie to ioine battell, and withall demanded of the erle in what seruice he would haue them imploied? "Marie (quoth he) let them stand by and giue vs the gaze." Such was his courage, that notwithstanding his enemies were two to one: yet would he set so good a face on the matter, as his souldiors should not once suspect, that he either needed, or longed for anie further helpe.

Hauing triumphantlie vanquished the Irish in that conflict, he was shortly after, as well for that, as other his valiant exploits, made knight of the garter: and in the fift yeare of Henrie the eight in that renowme & honour he died, wherein for the space of manie yeares he liued. No maruell if this successe were a corsie to the aduerse part, which the longer it held aloofe, and bit the bridle, the more egerlie it followed the course, hauing once got scope and roome at will, as shall be hereafter at full declared. Ormond bearing in mind the treacherie of the Dublinians, procured such as were the grauest prelats of his clergie, to intimate to the court of Rome the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in rushing into the church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the images, prostrating the relicks, rasing downe altars, with barbarous outcries, more like miscreant Saracens, than christian catholikes. Wherevpon a legat was posted to Ireland, bending his course to Dublin, where soone after hee was solemnelie receiued by Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, a graue prelat, for his lerning and wisdom chosen to be one of

Kildare returneth lord deputie.

Kildares policie in war.

1514

The Dublinians accused.

A legat sent from Rome.

Walter Fitzsimons.

king

king Henrie the seuenth his chapleins, in which vocation he continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be archbishop of Dublin.

Penance inioined
to the citizens of
Dublin.

The earle of Kildare
lord deputie.
A parlement
holden at Dublin.

The legat vpon his arriuell indicted the cite for his execrable offense: but at length, by the procurement as well of the archbishop as of all the cleargie, he was weighed to giue the citizens absolution with this caueat, that in detestation of so horrible a fact, and *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the maior of Dublin should go bare-footed thoroughout the cite in open procession before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi daie: which penitent satisfaction was after in euerie such procession duly accomplished. Girald Fitzgiralde, sonne and heire to the aforesaid erle of Kildare, was shortlie after his fathers decease constituted lord deputie of Ireland, before whome in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, wherein it was established, that all such as bring out of England the kings letters of priuat seale, for particular causes against anie of the king his subiects in Ireland, should find sufficient suerties in the king his chancerie in Ireland; to bee bound by recognisance, that the plaintife shall satisfie the defendand, that purgeth or acquiteth himselfe of the matter to him alledged, for his costs and damages sustained by such wrongfull vexation. This noble man being valiant and well spoken, was nothing inferior to his father in martiall prowesse, chasing in the time of his gouernment the familie of the Tooles, battering Ocarrell his castles, and bringing in awe all the Irish of the land.

Piers Butler and
Margaret Fitzgiralde
espoused.

This earle of good meaning, to vnite the houses in friendship, matched his sister Margaret Fitzgiralde with Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, whome he also helped to recouer the earldome of Ormond, into the which, after the decease of the earle Iames, a bastard Butler had by abatement intruded. Great and manifold were the miseries the ladie Margaret sustained, hir husband Piers Butler being so egerlie pursued by the vsurper, as he durst not beare vp hed, but was forced to houer and lurke in woods and forrests. The noble woman being great with child, and vpon necessitie constrained to vse a spare diet (for hir onelie sustenance was milke) she longed sore for wine, and calling hir lord, and a trustie seruant of his, Iames White vnto hir, she requested them both to helpe hir to some wine, for she was not able anie longer to indure so strict a life. "Trulie Margaret," quoth the earle of Ossorie, "thou shalt haue store of wine within this foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me."

Iames White.

The bastard
Butler slaine.

Kildare sent for
into England.

The next daie following, Piers hauing intelligence that his enimie the base Butler would haue trauelled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with six horsemen: yet Piers hauing none but his lackie, did forestall him in the waie, and with a couragious charge gored the bastard through with his speare. This prosperous calme succceding the former boisterous storme, the ladie Margaret began to take heart, hir naturall stoutnesse floted, as well by the remembrance of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match. Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithstanding the pushes giuen against him by secret heauers that enuied his fortune, and sought to nourish the old grudge, was at length by their priuie packing fetched vp to the court of England by commission, and caused him to be examined vpon diuerse interrogatories touching the affaires of Ireland.

Maurice Fitzthomas
lord iustice.
Surrie lord lieutenant
of Ireland.

He left in his roome Maurice Fitzthomas of Lackragh lord iustice: and shortlie after came ouer lord lieutenant Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, who was after duke of Norffolke, grandfather to the last duke, accompanied with two hundred yemen of the crowne: before whome, shortlie after his repaire thither, there was a parlement holden

holden at Dublin, in which there past an act, that all wilfull burning of corne, as well in réekes in the fields, as also in villages and townes, should be high treason. ¹⁵²¹ A parlement holden at Dublin. Item, an act against loding of woolles & flox, vpon paine of forfeiture of the double value of the same, the one halfe to the king, and the other halfe to him that will sue therefore. Item, that anie person seized of lands, rents, or tenements in possession or in vse, vnto the yearelie value of ten markes aboute the charges, in fee simple, fée taile, or for terme of life, copie hold, or ancient demeane, shall passe in euerie atteint. While the lord lieutenant sat at dinner in the castell, of Dublin, ^{The Moores in rebellion.} he heard news that the Moors with a maine armie were euen at the entrie of the borders, readie to invade the English pale. ^{John Fitzsimons.} Immediatlie men were leuied by Iohn Fitzsimons then maior of Dublin, and the next morrow ioining them vnto his band, the lieutenant marched towards the frontiers of Leix.

The Moores vpon the lieutenant his approach, seuered themselues into sundrie companies, and vnderstanding that the cariage was dragging after the armie, and slenderlie manned, certeine of them charged the lieutenant his seruants, and such of the citizens as were appointed to gard the cariage. ^{Patrike Fitzsimons.} Patrike Fitzsimons, a strong sturdie yoonker, kept the enemies such tacke, as he chased part of them awaie, rescued the cariage, slue two of the rebels, and brought the heads with him to maister maior his tent. The next morning, two of the lieutenant his men, that slunke awaie from Fitzsimons, thinking that the cariage had béene lost, aduertised their lord that Fitzsimons fled awaie; and the Moores were so manie in companie, as it had béene but follie for two to bicker with so great a number. The lieutenant posted in a rage to the maior his pauillion, telling him that his man Fitzsimons was a cowardlie traitor in running awaie, when he should haue defended the cariage.

“What am I, my lord” (quoth Patrike Fitzsimons) skipping in his shirt out of the tent, with both the heads in his hand? “My lord, I am no coward, I stood to my tacklings when your men gaue me the slip, I rescued the cariage, and haue here sufficient tokens of my manhood,” tumbling downe both the heads. “Saist thou so Fitzsimons?” quoth the lieutenant, “I crie thée mercie, and by this George, I would ^{A valiant wish.} to God it had beene my good hap to haue béene in thy companie in that skirmish.” So drinking to Fitzsimons in a boll of wine, and honourable rewarding him for his good seruice, he returned to his pauillion, where hauing knowledge of Omors his recule, he pursued him with atroope of horsmen. The lieutenant thus passing forwards, ^{The earle of Surreie in danger to haue béene slaine.} was espied a gunner of Omors, who lodged close in a wood side, and watching his time, he discharged his péece at the verie face of the lieutenant, strake the visor off his helmet, and pearsed no further, as God would.

This did he (retchlesse in maner what became of himselfe, so he might amaze the armie for a time) and surelie hereby he brake the swiftnesse of their following, & aduantaged the flight of his capteine, which thing he wan with the price of his owne bloud. For the souldiors would no further, till they had ransacked all the nookes of this wood, verelie suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in seuerall knots ferretted out this gunner, whome Fitzwilliams and Bedlow of the Roch were faine to mangle and to hew in péece, because the wretch would neuer yéeld. In the meane while, defiance was proclaimed with France and Scotland both at once, which ^{Fitzwilliams. Bedlow.} mooued the king to call home Surreie out of Ireland, that he might imploie him in those wars. His prowesse, integritie, good nature, and course of gouernment, the countrie much commended. ¹⁵²³ Surreie sent for home. Piers Butler earle of Ossorie was appointed lord deputie. ^{Piers Butler earle of Ossorie lord deputie.} In the meane time, Kildare attending the king his pleasure for his dispatch, recouered fauour through the instance of the marques Dorset, whose daughter dame Elizabeth Greie he espoused, and so departed home. Now was partaker of all the deputies ¹⁵²⁴ counsell

Robert Talbot
of Belgard.

counsell ore Robert Talbot of Belgard, whome the Giraldines deadlie hated: him they procured to kéepe a kalendar of all their dooings, who incensed brother against brother. In which rage, Iames Fitzgiralde méeting the said gentleman beside Ballimore, slue him euen then vpon his iourneie toward the deputie to kéepe his Christmas with him.

Margaret countesse
of Ossorie.

With this despitefull murther both sides brake out into open enimitie, and especially the countesse of Ossorie, Kildare his sister, a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a realme, had not hir stomach ouerruled hir knowledge. Here began informations of new treasons, passing to and fro, with complaints and replies. But the marques Dorset had wrought so for his sonne in law, that he was suffered to rest at home, and onelie commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the root of their griefes: wherein if they found Kildare anie thing at all purged, their instructions were to depose the plaintiffe, and to sweare the other lord deputie. Commissioners were these, sir Rafe Egerton, a knight of Cheshire, Anthonic Fitzherbert, second iustice of the common plées, and Iames Denton, deane of Litchfield; who hauing examined these accusations, suddenuie tooke the sword from the earle of Ossorie, sware Kildare lord deputie, before whome Con Oneale bare the sword that daie.

Commissioners
sent to Ireland.

Kildare sworne
lord deputie.

Cardinall Woolseie
enemie to
the Giraldines.

Concerning the murtherer whom they might haue hanged, they brought him prisoner into England, presented him to the cardinall Woolseie, who was said to hate Kildare his blood: and the cardinall intending to haue put him to execution, with more reproch and dishonor to the name, caused him to be led about the streets of London haltered, and hauing a taper in his hand: which asked so long time, that the deane of Lichfield stepped to the king, and begged his pardon. The cardinall was sore inflamed herewith, & the malice not hitherto so ranke, was throughlie ripened, and therefore henseforward Ossorie brought foorth diuerse proofes of the deputie his disorder, for that (as he alledged) the deputie should winke at the earle of Desmond, whome by vertue of the king his letters he ought to haue attached. Also, that he sought for acquaintance and affinitie with meere Irish enemies, that he had armed them against him, then being the king his deputie; he hanged and headed good subiects, whome he mistrusted to leane to the Butlers friendship. Kildare was therefore presentlie commanded to appeare, which he did, leauing in his roome his brother Fitzgiralde of Lexlip, whom they shortlie deposed, and chose the baron of Deluin, whome Oconor tooke prisoner, & then the earle of Ossorie (to shew his abilitie of seruice) brought to Dublin an armie of Irishmen, hauing captains ouer them Oconor, Omorc, and Ocarroll, & at S. Marie abbeie was chosen deputie by the kings counsell.

Pardon granted.

Kildare accused.
The articles.

Fitzgiralde lord
iustice.

The earle of
Ossorie chosen
lord deputie.

The Countesse
of Ossorie.

In which office, being himselfe (saue onelie in feats of armes) a simple gentleman, he bare out his honor, and the charge of gouernement verie worthilie, through the singular wisdom of his countesse, a ladie of such a port, that all estates of the realme crouched vnto hir; so politike, that nothing was thought substantiallie debated without hir aduise: manlike and tall of stature, verie liberall and bountifull, a sure friend, a bitter enemie, hardlie disliking where she fansied, not easilie fansieng where she disliked: the onelie meane at those daies whereby hir husband his countrie was reclaimed from sluttishnesse and slouenrie, to cleane bedding and ciuilitie. But to these vertues was linked such a selfe liking, such an ouerwéening, and such a maiestie about the tenure of a subiect, that for assurance thereof, she sticked not to abuse hir husbands honor against hir brothers follie. Notwithstanding, I learne not that shée practised his vndooing (which insued, and was to hir vndoubtedlie great heauinesse, as vpon whome both the blemish thereof, and the substance of the greater part of that

that familie depended after) but that she by indirect meanes lifted hir brother out of credit to aduance hir husband, the common voice, and the thing it selfe speaketh. All this while abode the earle of Kildare at the court, and with much adoo found shift to be called before the lords to answer suddenlie. They sat vpon him diuerslie affected, and namelie the cardinall lord chancellor misliking the earle his cause, comforted his accusers, and inforced the articles objected, in these words.

Kildare recounted before the councill.

The cardinall lord chancellor chargeth Kildare.

“I wot well (my lord) that I am not the méetest at this boord to charge you with these treasons, because it hath plesed some of your pufellows to report that I am a professed enimie to all nobilitie, & namelie to the Giraldines: but séeing euerie curst boy can say as much when he is controlled, and séeing these points are so weightie, that they should not be dissembled of vs; and so apparant, that they can not be denied of you; I must haue leave (notwithstanding your stale slander) to be the mouth of these honorable at this present, and to trumpe your treasons in your waie, howsoeuer you take me. First you remember, how the lewd earle of Desmond your kinsman (who passeth not whome he serueth, might he change his maister) sent his confederats with letters of credence vnto Francis the French king: and hauing but cold comfort there, went to Charles the emperor, proffering the helpe of Mounster and Connagh towards the conquest of Ireland, if either of them would helpe to win it from our king. How manie letters, what precepts, what messages, what threats haue bin sent you to apprehend him, and yet not doone? Why so? ‘Forsooth I could not catch him.’ Nay nay earle, forsooth you would not watch him. If he be iustlie suspected, why are you parciall in so great a charge? If not, why are you fearefull to haue him tried? Yea, for it will be sworne and deposed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfullie, shunned his sight, altered your course, warned his friends, stopped both eares and eies against his detectors, and when soeuer you tooke vpon you to hunt him out, then was he sure afore hand to be out of your walke.

“Surelie, this iugling and false plaie little became either an honest man called to such honor, or a noble man put in so great trust. Had you lost but a cow or a horsse of your owne, two hundred of your retainers would haue come at your whistle to rescue the preie from the vttermost edge of Vlster: all the Irish in Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But in pursuing so néedfull a matter as this was, mercifull God, how nice, how dangerous, how waieward haue you béene? One while he is from home, another while he kéepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the borders, where you dare not venture. I wish my lord, there be shrewd bugs in the borders for the earle of Kildare to feare: the earle nay the king of Kildare; for when you are disposed, you reigne more like than rule in the land: where you are malicious, the truest subiects stand for Irish enimies: where you are pleased, the Irish foe standeth for a iust subiect: hearts & hands lives & lands are all at your courtesie: who fauneth not thereon cannot rest within your smell, and your smell is so ranke that you trake them out at pleasure.” ¶ Whilest the cardinall was speaking, the earle chafed and changed colour, and at last brake out, and interrupted him thus.

“My lord chancellor, I beséech you pardon me, I am short witted, and you I perceiue intend a long tale: if you procéed in this order, halfe my purgation will be lost for lacke of carriage. I haue no schoole trickes, nor art of memorie: except you heare me while I remember your words, your second processe will hammer out the former.”

Kildare interrupted the cardinals tale.

The lords tender
Kildare.

He answereth
the cardinals
objection.

former." The lords associat, who for the most part tenderlie loued him, and knew the cardinall his manner of tawntssolothsome, as wherewith they were inured manie yeares ago, humbly besought his grace to charge him directlie with particulars, and to dwell in some one matter, vntill it were examined throughlie. "That granted, it is good reason, (quoth the earle) that your grace beare the mouth of this boord: but my lord, those mouths that put these things into your mouth, are verie wide mouths, such in déed as haue gaped long for my wracke; and now at length, for want of better stuffe, are faine to fill their mouths with smoke. What my cousine Desmond hath compassed, as I know not, so I beshrew his naked heart for holding out so long. If he can be taken by mine agents that presentlie wait for him, then haue mine aduersaries bewraied their malice; and this heape of heinous words shall resemble a scarecrow, or a man of straw that séemeth at a blush to carrie some proportion, but when it is felt and peised, discouereth a vanitie, seruing onelie to feare crows: and I verelie trust, your honors shall see the prooffe by the thing it selfe, within these few daies. But go to: suppose he neuer be had? What is Kildare to blame for it, more than my good brother of Ossorie, who notwithstanding his high promises, hauing also the kings power, is yet content to bring him in at leasure? Can not the erle of Desmond shift but I must be of counsell? Cannot he hide him except I winke? If he be close am I his mate? If he be freended am I a traitor? This is a doubtie kind of accusation, which they vrge against me, wherein they are stabled and mired at my first deniall. You would not see him (saie they.) Who made them so familiar with mine eiesight? Or when was the erle within my view? Or who stood by when I let him slip? Or where are the tokens of my wilfull hudwinke? But you sent him word to beware of you. Who was the messenger? Where are the letters? Conuince my negatiues, see how loose this idle geare hangeth together. Desmond is not taken. Well, you are in fault. Whie? Because you are. Who proueth it? No bodie. What coniectures? So it seemeth. To whome? To your enimies. Who told it them? They will sweare it. What other ground? None. Will they sweare it my lord? Whie then of like they know it, either they haue mine hand to shew, or can bring forth the messenger, or were present at a conference, or priue to Desmond, or some bodie bewraied it to them, or they themselues were my carriers or vicegerents therein: which of these parts will they choose, for I know them too well. To reckon my selfe conuict by their bare words or headlesse saiengs, or frantike othes, were but mere mockerie. My letter were soone read, were any such writing extant, my seruants & fréends are readie to be sifted: of my cousine of Desmond they may lie lowdly; since no man here can well contrarie them. Touching my selfe, I neuer noted in them much wit, or so fast faith, that I would haue gaged on their silence the life of a good hound, much lesse mine owne. I doubt not, may it like your honors to appose them, how they came to the knowledge of those matters, which they are so readie to depose: but you shall find their toongs chained to another man his trencher, and as it were knights of the post, suborned to saie, sweare and stare the vttermost they can, as those that passe not what they saie, nor with what face they saie it, so they saie no truth. But of another side it gréeueth me that your good grace whom I take to be wise and sharpe, and who of your blessed disposition wisheth me well, should be so farre gone in crediting these corrupt informers that abuse the ignorance of your state and countrie to my perill. Little know you (my lord) how necessarie it is, not onelie for the gouernor, but also for euerie noble man in Ireland to hamper his vnciuil neighbors at discretion, wherein if they waited for processe of law, and had not those liues and lands you speake of within their reach, they might hap to lose their owne liues and

and lands without law. You heare of a case as it were in a dreame, and féele not the smart that vexeth vs. In England there is not a meane subiect that dare extend his hand to fillip a pécre of the realme. In Ireland except the lord haue cunning to his strength, and strength to saue his crowne, and sufficient authoritie to take théenes & varlets when they stir, he shall find them swarme so fast, that it will be too late to call for iustice. If you will haue our seruice take effect, you must not tie vs alwaies to these iudiciall procéedings, wherewith your realme (thanked be God) is inured. Touching my kingdome, I know not what your lordship should meane thereby. If your grace imagine that a kingdome consisteth in seruing God, in obeieng the prince, in gouerning with loue the common-wealth, in shouldering subiects, in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in brideling blind affections, I would be willing to be inuested with so vertuous and roiall a name. But if therefore you terme me a king, in that you are persuaded that I repine at the gouernment of my souereigne, or winke at malefactors, or oppresse ciuill liuers, I vtterlie disclame in that odious terme, marueling greatlie that one of your grace his profound wisdom, would séeme to appropriat so sacred a name to so wicked a thing. But howsoeuer it be (my lord) I would you and I had changed kingdoms but for one moneth, I would trust to gather vp more crummes in that space, than twise the reuenues of my poore earledome: but you are well and warme, and so hold you, and vpbraide not me with such an odious terme. I slumber in an hard cabin, when you sléepe in a soft bed of downe: I serue vnder the king his cope of heauen, when you are serued vnder a canopie: I drinke water out of my skull, when you drinke wine out of golden cups: my cursor is trained to the field, when your genet is taught to amble: when you are begraced and belorded, & crouched and knéeled vnto, then find I small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees."

In what case stand the noble men of Ireland with rebels.

At these girds the councell would haue smiled, if they durst: but ech man bit his lip, & held his countenance, for howsoeuer some of them leaned to the erle of Ossorie, they all hated the cardinall, who perceiuing that Kildare was no babe, rose in a fume from the councell table, committed the erle, & deferred the matter till more direct probations came out of Ireland. The duke of Norfolke, who was late lieutenant in Ireland, perceiuing the cardinall to be sore bent against the nobleman, rather for the deadlie hatred he bare his house, than for anie great matter he had wherewith to charge his person, stept to the king, and craved Kildare to be his prisoner, offering to be bound for his foorth comming, ouer and aboue all his lands, bodie for bodie. Wherevpon, to the cardinall his great grieve, the prisoner was bailed, and honorablie by the duke interteined. During his abode in the duke his house, Oneale and Oconor, and all their fréends and alies, watching their time to annoie the pale, made open insurrection against the earle of Ossorie then lord deputie of Ireland, insomuch that the noble man mistrusting the ficklenesse of Desmond on the one side, & the force of these new start vp rebels on the other side, stood halfe amazed, as it were betwéene fire & water. For remedie whereof, letters thicke and thréefold were addressed to the councell of England, purporting that all these late hurlie burlies were of purpose raised by the meanes of Kildare, to the blemishing and staining of his brother Ossorie his gouernment. And to put the matter out of doubt, it was further added, that Kildare commanded his daughter Elice Fitzgiralde, wife to the baron of Slane, to excite in his name the aforesaid traitors to this open rebellion.

The cardinall not beloued.

The duke of Norfolke bound for Kildare.

1528
The Irish in rebellion.

Kildare afresh impeached.

The cardinall herevpon caused Kildare to be examined before the councell, where he pressed him so déepelie with this late disloialtie, that the presumption being (as

The earle of
Kildare commit-
ted.

A mandatum to
execute Kildare.

The cardinall
his presumptu-
ousness blamed
of the king.

1529
Sir William
Skeffington de-
putie of Ireland.

Edward Staples
bishop of Meth.

Thomas Fitzsi-
mons.

Skeffington his
answere.

He glanseth at
the cardinall
who was taken
to be a butcher
his sonne.

Kildare invadeth
the Tooles.

Meth his ques-
tion.

the cardinall did force it) vehement, the treason odious, the king suspicious, the enimie eger, the fréends faint (which were sufficient grounds to ouerthrow an innocent person) the earle was reprimed to the tower. The nobleman betooke himselfe to God & the king, he was hartilie beloued of the lieutenant, pitied in all the court, and standing in so hard a case, altered little of his accustomed hue, comforted other noble men prisoners with him, dissembling his owne sorrow. On a night when the lieutenant and he for their disport were plaieng at slidegrote or shoofleboord, suddenlie commeth from the cardinall a mandatum to execute Kildare on the morrow. The earle marking the lieutenants deepe sigh: "By saint Bride lieutenant (quoth he) there is somemad game in that scroll; but fall how it will, this throw is for an huddle." When the woorst was told him: "Now I praie thee (quoth he) doo no more but learne assuredlie from the king his owne mouth, whether his highnesse be witting thereto or not?" Sore doubted the lieutenant to displease the cardinall: yet of verie pure loue to his freend, he posteth to the king at midnight, and deliuered his errand: for at all houres of the night the lieutenant hath accesse to the prince vpon occasions. The king controlling the saucinesse of the priest (for those were his termes) deliuered to the lieutenant his signet in token of countermand, which when the cardinall had seene, he began to breath out vnseasoned language, which the lieutenant was loth to heare, & so left him pattring & chanting the diuell his *Pater noster*. Thus brake vp the storme for that time, & the next yeare Woolscie was cast out of fauour, and within few yeares sir William Skeffington was sent ouer lord deputie, and brought with him the erle pardoned and rid from all his troubles.

When it was bruted, that Skeffington, the earle of Kildare, and Edward Staples bishop of Meth landed néere Dublin, the maior and citizens met him with a solemne procession on saint Marie abbeis gréene, where maister Thomas Fitzsimons recorder of Dublin made a pithie oration to congratulate the gouernor and the earle his prosperous arriual, to whome Skeffington shaped an answer in this wise: "Maister maior and maister recorder, you haue at length this noble man here present, for whom you sore longed, whilest he was absent. And after manie stormes by him sustained, he hath now to the comfort of his fréends, to the confusion of his foes, subdued violence with patience, iniuries with sufferance, and malice with obedience: and such butchers as of hatred thirsted after his bloud, are now taken for outcast mastiues, littered in currish bloud. How well my master the king hath beene of his gracious inclination affected to the earle of Kildare (his backe fréend, being by his iust desert from his maiestie wéeded) the credit wherein this noble man at this present abideth, manifestlie declareth. Wherefore it resteth, that you thanke God and the king for his safe arriual. As for his welcomé, maister recorder his courteous discourse, your great assemblies, your chéerefull countenances, your willing meetings, your solemne processions doo so far shew it, as you minister me occasion on his lordship his behalfe, rather to thanke you for your courtesie, than to exhort you to anie further ceremonie."

Hauing ended his oration, they rode all into the citie, where shortlie after the earle of Ossorie surrendred the sword to sir William Skeffington. During the time that Kildare was in England, the sept of the Tooles making his absence their haruest, ceased not to molest and spoile his tenants, and therefore the erle meaning not to wrap vp so lightlie their manifold iniuries, was determined presentlie vpou his erriual to crie them quittance: to the spéedinesse of which seruice he requested the aid of the citizens of Dublin: & expecting in Christs church their answeere touching this motion, the maior & his brethren promised to assist him with two hundred archers. The late come bishop of Meth being then present, mooued question, whether the citizens were pardoned for crowning Lambert contrarie to their

their dutie of allegiance; and if they were not pardoned, he thought they might aduantage the king thereby. Whercat one of their sagest and expertest aldermen, named Iohn Fitzsimons, stept foorth and said: "My lord of Meth, may I be so bold as to craue what countrieman you are?" "Marie sir (quoth the bishop) I would you should know it, I am a gentleman and an Englishman." "My lord (quoth Fitzsimons) my meaning is to learne, in what shire of England you were borne?" "In Lincolnshire good sir" (quoth Staples.) "Whie then my lord (quoth Fitzsimons) we are no traitors, because it was the earle of Lincolne and the lord Louell that crowned him: and therefore if you be a gentleman of Lincolnshire, see that you be pardoned, for God and our king be thanked we haue néed of none." At this answer Meth was set, and such as were present were forced to smile, to see what a round fall he caught in his owne turne.

John Fitzsimons
answered
Meth.

In the second yeare of Skeffington his gouvernement, it happened that one Henrie White, seruant to Benet a merchant of Dublin, was pitching of a cart of haie in the high street; and hauing offered boies plaie to passengers that walked to and fro, he let a bottle of his haie fall on a souldiors bonet, as he passed by his cart. The souldior taking this knauish knacke in dudgeon, hurled his dagger at him, and hauing narrowlie mist the princocks, he stucked it in a post not farre off. White leapt downe from the cart, and thrust the souldior through the shoulder with his pike. Wherevpon there was a great vpror in the cite betwéene the souldiors and the apprentices, insomuch as Thomas Barbie being the maior, hauing the king his sword drawne, was hardlie able to appease the fraie, in which diuerse were wounded, and none slaine. The lord deputie issued out of the castell, and came as farre as the pillorie, to whome the maior posted thorough the prease with the sword naked vnder his arme, & presented White that was the brewer of all this garboile to his lordship, whome the gouernour pardoned, as well for his courage in bickering as for his retchlesse simplicitie and pleasantnesse in telling the whole discourse. Whereby a man maie see how manie bloudie quarels a bralling swashbuckler maie picke out of a bottle of haie, namelie when his braines are forebitten with a bottle of nappie ale.

Henrie White
raised an vpror
in Dublin.

Thomas Barbie
maior.

White pardoned.

About this time there was a great sturre raised in England, about the king his diuorse, who thinking it expedient in so fickle a world to haue a sure post in Ireland, made Kildare lord deputie, Cromer the primat of Armagh lord chancellor, and sir Iames Butler lord treasurer. Skeffington, supposing that he was put beside the cushin by the secret canuassing of Kildare his friends, conceiued therof a great gelousie, being therein the deeper drenched, bicause that Kildare hauing received the sword, would permit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now like a meane priuat person, to danse attendance among other suters in his house at Dublin, named the Carbrie. Skeffington plaieng thus on the bit, shortlie after sailed into England, vpon whose departure the lord deputie summoned a parlement at Dublin, where there past an act against leasers of corne: also for the vniting and appropriation of the parsonage of Galtrim to the priorie of saint Peters by Trim. In the parlement time, Oneale on a sudden inuaded the countrie of Vriell, rifling and spoiling the king his subiects, at which time also was the earle of Ossorie greatlie vexed by the Giraldins, by reason of the old quarrels of either side afresh reuiued.

Kildare lord
deputie.
Cromer.
Butler.
Skeffington
offended with
Kildare.

He saileth into
England.

1532
A parlement
summoned at
Dublin.
Vriell inuaded
by Oneale.

The next yeare, the lord deputie going against Ocarroll, was pitifullie hurt in the side with a gun, at the castell of Birre; so that he neuer after inioied his lims, nor deliuered his words in good plight, otherwise like inough to haue béene longer forborne in consideration of his manie noble qualities, great good seruices, and the state of those times. Straightwais complaints were addressed to the king of these enormities,

Kildare hurt.

Kildare accused. enormities, and that in most heinous maner that could be deuised, boulting out his doo-
ings as it were to the last brake of sinister surmises, turning euerie priuat iniurie to be
the king his quarrell, & making euerie puddings pricke as huge in shew as Samson his
He is sent for to pillar. Wherevpon Kildare was commanded by sharpe letters to repaire into Eng-
England. land, leauing such a person for the furniture of that realme, and the gouernance of
the land in his absence, for whose dooings he would answer. Being vpon the sight
of this letter prepared to saile into England, he sat in counsell at Dublin, and hauing
Thomas Fitz- sent for his sonne & heire the lord Thomas Fitzgiralde (a yoong strippling of one and
giralde. twentie yeares of age, borne in England, sonne to the lord Zouch his daughter, the
earle of Kildare his first wife) in the hearing of the whole boord thus he spake.

The earle of Kildare his exhortation to his sonne the lord Thomas.

“SONNE Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my souereigne lord the king hath sent for me into England, and what shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But howsoeuer it falleth, both you and I know that I am well stept in yeares: and as I maie shortlie die, for that I am mortall, so I must in hast decease, bicause I am old. Wherefore insomuch as my winter is welneere ended, and the spring of your age now buddeth, my will is that you behaue your selfe so wiselie in these your gréene yeares, as that to the comfort of your friends you maie inioie the pleasure of summer, gleane and reape the fruits of your haruest, that with honour you maie grow to the catching of that hoarie winter, on which you see me your father fast pricking. And wheras it pleaseth the king his maiestie, that vpon my departure here hense, I should substitute in my roome such one, for whose gouernement I would answer: albeit I know, that your yeares are tender, your wit not settled, your iudgement not fullie rectified, and therefore I might be with good cause reclaimed from putting a naked sword in a yoong mans hand: yet notwithstanding, forsomuch as I am your father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to beare that stroke with you in stéering your ship, as that vpon anie information I maie command you as your father, and correct you as my sonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

“There be here that sit at this boord, far more sufficient personages for so great charge than you are. But what then? If I should cast this burthen on their shoulders, it might be that hereafter they would be so farre with enuie carried, as they would percase hazzard the losse of one of their owne eies, to be assured that I should be depriued of both mine eies. But forsomuch as the case toucheth your skin as néere as mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, bicause (as I said before) I rest in the winter, and you in the spring of your yeares, and now I am resoluéd daie by daie to learne rather how to die in the feare of God, than to liue in the pompe of the world, I thinke you will not be so brainesicke, as to stab your selfe thorough the bodie, onelie to scarifie my skin with the point of your blade. Wherefore (my sonne) consider, that it is easie to raze, and hard to build, and in all your affaires be schooled by this boord, that for wisdom is able, and for the entier affection it beareth your house, will be found willing, to lesson you with sound and sage aduise. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counsell they must rule you. My sonne, you know that my late maimes stiflith my talke: otherwise I would haue grated longer on this matter. For a good tale maie be twice told, and a sound aduise (eftsoones iterated) taketh the deeper impression in the attentue hearer his mind. But although my fatherlie affection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust
your

your good inclination asketh it to be shorter; and vpon that assurance, here in the presence of this honourable assemblie, I deliuer you this sword." ¶ Thus he spake for his last farewell with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he stood, imbraced the counsell, committed them to God, and immediatlie after he was embarked.

Kildare saileth into England.

But although with his graue exhortation the frozen hearts of his aduersaries for a short spirt thawed, yet notwithstanding they turned soone after all this gaie *Gloria patri* vnto a further fetch; saieng that this was nothing else but to dazell their eies with some iugling knacke, to the end they should aduertise the king of his loiall spéeches: adding further, that he was too too euill that could not speake well. And to force the prepensed treasons they laied to his charge, with further surmises they certified the counsell of England, that the earle before his departure furnished his owne piles and forts with the king his artillerie and munition taken forth of the castell of Dublin. The earle being examined vpon that article before the counsell, although he answered that the few potguns and chambers he tooke from thense, were placed in his castell to strengthen the borders against the inrodes of the Irish enimie; and that if he intended anie treason, he was not so foolish, as to fortifie walles and stones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands: yet notwithstanding he deliuered his spéeches by reason of his palseie, in such staggering and maffling wise, that such of the counsell as were not his friends, persuading the rest that he had sunke in his owne tale, by imputing his lisping and dragging answer rather to the guilt of conscience, than to the infirmitie of his late mainne, had him committed, vntill the king his pleasure were further knowne.

His oration transcribed.

He is accused for taking the king his artillerie.

Kildare committed.

But before we wade anie further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it would be noted, that the earle of Kildare, among diuerse hidden aduersaries, had in these his later troubles foure principall enimies that were the chiefe means & causes of his ouerthrow, as in those daies it was commonlie bruted. The first was Iohn Alen archbishop of Dublin, a gentleman of a good house, chapleine to cardinall Wolseie, & after by the cardinall his means constituted archbishop of Dublin, a learned prelat, a good housholder, of the people indifferentlie beloued, and more would haue béene, had he not ouerbusied himselfe in supplanting the house of Kildare. And although it were knowne, that his first grudge towards the Giraldins procéded from the great affection he bare his lord and master the cardinall, insomuch as he would not sticke, were he able, for the pleasuring of the one to vndoo the other; yet such occasions of greater hatred after insued (namelie for that he was displaced from being lord chancellor, & Cromer the primat of Armagh by Kildare his drifts settled in the office) as notwithstanding the cardinall his combe was cut in England, yet did he persist in pursuing his woonted malice toward that sée.

Kildare his chiefe enimies.

Iohn Alen archbishop of Dublin.

The second that was linked to this confederacie, was sir Iohn Alen knight, first secretarie to this archbishop, after became maister of the rolles, lastlie lord chancellor. And although sir Iohn Alen were not of kin to the archbishop, but onelie of the name; yet notwithstanding the archbishop made so great reckoning of him, as well for his forecast in matters of weight, as for his faithfulnessse in affaires of trust, as whatsoeuer exploit were executed by the one, was forthwith déemed to haue béene denised by the other. The third of this crew was Thomas Canon, secretarie to Skeffington, who thinking to be reuenged on Kildare for putting his lord and master beside the cushin, as he surmised, was verie willing to haue an ore in that bote. The fourth that was suspected to make the muster, was Robert Cowle, first bailiffe in Dublin,

Sir Iohn Alen knight.

Thomas Canon.

Robert Cowle.

Dublin, after seruant to the ladie Margaret Fitzgiralde, countesse of Ormond and Ossorie, lastlie master of the rolles in Ireland, and finallie he deceased at London.

This gentleman for his wisdome and policie was well estéemed of the ladie Margaret countesse of Ossorie, as one by whose aduise she was in all hir affaires directed. Wherevpon some suspicious persons were persuaded and brought in mind, that he was the sower of all the discord that rested betwéene the two brethren Kildare and Ossorie: as though he could not be rooted in the fauour of the one, but that he must haue professed open hatred vnto the other. These foure, as birds of one feather, were supposed to be open enemies to the house of Kildare, bearing that swaie in the commonwealth, as they were not occasioned (as they thought) either to craue fréendship of the Giraldines, or greatlie to feare their hatred and enimitie. There were beside them diuerse other secret vnderminers, who wrought so cunninglie vnder the thumbe, by holding with the hare, and running with the hound, as if Kildare had prospered, they were assured, their malice would not haue béene in manner suspected: but if he had béene in his affaires stabled, then their fine deuises for their further credit should haue beene apparented. Wherefore the heauing of his backe fréends not onelie surmised, but also manifested by Kildare, the lord Thomas being iustice or vicedeputie in his fathers absence, fetcht both the Alens so roundlie ouer the hips, as well by secret drifts as open taunts, as they were the more egerlie spurd to compasse his confusion. For the lord iustice and the councell, with diuerse of the nobilitie, at a solemne banquet discoursing of the anciencie of houses, and of their armes, sir John Alen spake to the lord iustice these words.

The lord Thomas inkindleth the Alens against him.

The propertie of the marmoset.

"My lord, your house giueth the marmoset, whose propertie is to eat his owne taile." Meaning thereby (as the lord Thomas supposed) that Kildare did vse to pill and poll his fréends, tenants & retainers. These words were no sooner spoken, than the lord Thomas striking the ball to Alen againe, answered, as one that was somewhat slipper toonged, in this wise. "You saie truth sir, indéed I heard some saie, that the marmoset eateth his owne taile. But although you haue béene fed by your taile, yet I would aduise you to beware, that your taile eat not you." Shortlie after this quipping gamegall, the lord iustice and the councell rode to Drogheda, where hauing for the space of three or foure daies soiourned, it happened that the councellors awaited in the councell chamber the gouernour his comming, vntill it was hard vpon the stroke of twelue. The archbishop of Dublin rawlie digesting the vicedeputie his long absence, said: "My lords, is it not a prettie matter, that all we shall staie thus long for a boie?" As he vttered these speeches, the lord iustice vnluckilie was comming vp the staires, and at his entrie taking the words hot from the bishop his mouth, and iterating them verie coldlie, he said: "My lords, I am heartilie sorie, that you staied thus long for a boie." Whereat the prelat was appalled, to see how vnhappilie he was gald with his owne caltrop. These & the like cutting spéeches inkindled such coles in both their stomachs, as the flame could not anie longer be smouldered, but at one clift or other must haue fumed. The enemies therefore hauing welnigh knedded the dough that should haue béene baked for the Giraldines bane, deuised that secret rumors should sprinkle to and fro, that the earle of Kildare his execution was intended in England; and that vpon his death the lord Thomas and all his bloud should haue beene apprehended in Ireland. As this false muttering flue abroad, it was holpen forward by Thomas Canon, and others of Skeffington his seruants, who sticked not to write to certeine of their fréends, as it were, verie secret letters, how that the earle of Kildare their maister his secretemie (so they tooke him, bicause he got the gouernement ouer his head) was already cut shorter, as his

The archbishop his taunt.

The enemies conspire the ouerthrow of the Giraldines.

The occasion of Thomas Fitzgiralde his rebellion.

issue presentlie should be: and now they trusted to see their maister in his government, after which they sore longed, as for a preferment that would in short space aduantage them. Such a letter came vnto the hands of a simple priest, no perfect Englishmen, who for hast hurled it amongst other papers in the chimnies end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it better at more leisure. The same verie night, a gentleman reteining to the lord Thomas, the lord iustice or vicedeputie, as is before specified, tooke vp his lodging with the priest, and sought in the morning when he rose for some paper, to draw on his strait stockings; and as the deuill would, he hit vpon the letter, bare it awaie in the heele of his stocke, no earthlie thing misdéeing. At night againe he found the paper vnfretted, and musing thereat he began to pore on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and the apprehension of the lord Thomas. To horsse goeth he in all hast, brought the letter to Iames de la Hide, who was principall counsellor to the lord Thomas in all his dooings. De la Hide hauing scantlie ouerread the letter, making more hast than good spéd, posted to the lord Thomas, imparted him that letter, and withall putting fire to flax, before he diued to the bottome of this trecherie, he was contented to swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by soothing vp the tenor of the letter, as by inciting the lord Thomas to open rebellion, cloking the odious name of treason with the zealous reuengement of his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie defense of his owne person.

The lord Thomas being youthfull, rash, and headlong, and assuring himselfe that the knot of all the force of Ireland was twisted vnder his girdle, was by de la Hide his counsell so far caried, as he was resolved to cast all on six and seauen. Wherefore hauing confedered with Oneale, Oconor, and other Irish potentats, he rode on saint Barnabies daie, accompanied with seauen score horssemen in their shirts of maile, through the citie of Dublin, to the Dam his gate, crost ouer the water to saint Marie abbeie, where the counsell according to appointment waited his comming, not being priuie to his intent: onelie Cromer the lord chancellor excepted, who was secretlie aduertised of his reuolt, and therefore was verie well prouided for him, as héereafter shall be declared. This Cromer was a graue prelat, and a learned, well spoken, mild of nature, nothing wedded to factions, yet a welwiller of the Giraldines, as those by whose means he was aduanced to dignitie. When the lord Thomas was set in counsell, his horssemen and seruants rusht into the counsell chamber armed and weaponed, turning their secret conference to an open parlée. The counsell hereat amazed, and silence with securitie commanded, the lord Thomas in this wise spake.

Thomas Fitzgiralde his rebellious oration.

“HOWSOEVER iniuriouslie we be handled, and forced to defend our selues in armes, when neither our seruice nor our good meaning towards our prince his crowne auaieth: yet saie not héereafter, but in this open hostilitie which héere we professe and proclame, we haue shewed our selues no villaines nor churles, but warriours and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine; I receiued it with an oth, and haue vsed it to your benefit. I should staine mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoiance. Now haue I need of mine owne sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabberd, but hath indéed a pestilent edge, alreadie bathed in the Giraldines bloud, and now is newlie whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore saue your selues from vs, as from open eniemies,

enimies, I am none of Henrie his deputie, I am his fo, I haue more mind to conquer than to gouerne, to meet him in the field than to serue him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cause thereto, would ioine in this quarrell (as I hope they will) then should he soone abie (as I trust he shall) for his crueltie and tyrannie, for which the age to come may lawfullie score him vp among the ancient tyrants of most abhominable and hatefull memorie."

Hauing added to this shamefull oration manie other slanderous and foule tearmes, which for diuerse respects I spare to pen, he would haue surrendered the sword to the lord chancellor, who (as I said before) being armed for the lord Thomas his comming, and also being loath that his slacknesse should séeme disloiall in refusing the sword, or his frowardnesse ouer cruell in snatching it vpon the first proffer, tooke the lord Thomas by the wrist of the hand, and requested him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheékes, to giue him for two or thrée words the hearing, which granted, the reuerend father spake as insueth.

The chancellor his oration.

"MY lord, although hatred be commonlie the handmaiden of truth, because we see him that plainelie expresseth his mind, to be for the more part of most men disliked: yet notwithstanding I am so well assured of your lordship his good inclination towards me, and your lordship so certeine of mine entire affection towards you, as I am imboldned, notwithstanding this companie of armed men, fríelie and frankelie to vtter that, which by me declared, and by your lordship followed, will turne (God willing) to the auaille of you, your friends, alies, and this countrie. I doubt not (my lord) but you know, that it is wisdom for anie man to looke before he leape, and to sowne the water before his ship hull thereon, & namelie where the matter is of weight, there it behooueth to follow sound, sage, and mature aduise. Wherefore (my lord) sith it is no maigame for a subiect to leuie an armie against his prince: it lieth your lordship in hand to breath longer on the matter, as well by forecasting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by reuoluing the hope wherewith you are fed. What should mooue your lordship to this sudden attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but secretlie muttered, not manifestlie published. And if I should grant you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in some respect to be commended: yet reason would you should suspend the reuenge vntill the certintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it standeth with the dutie and allegiance of a good subiect (from whom I hope in God you meane not to disseuer your selfe) not to spurne and kicke against his prince, but contrariwise, if his soueigne be mightie, to feare him: if he be profitable to his subiects, to honour him: if he command, to obeie him: if he be kind, to loue him: if he be vicious, to pitie him: if he be a tyrant, to beare with him: considering that in such case it is better with patience to bow, than with stubburnnesse to breake. For sacred is the name of a king, and odious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God shielded; the other in hell forged, and by the diuell executed. And therefore who so will obserue the course of histories, or weigh the iustice of God in punishing malefactors, shall easilie see, that albeit the sunne shineth for a time on them that are in rebellion: yet such sweet beginnings are at length clasped vp with sharpe & sowre ends.

The subjects
duty towards his
king.

The name of a
king sacred.
Rebellion from
whence it
springeth.

" Now

“ Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armour against your king, it resteth to discusse whether you be able (though you were willing) to annoie your king. For if among meane and priuat foes it be reckoned for folie, in a secret grudge to professe open hatred, and where he is not able to hinder, there to shew a willing mind to hurt: much more ought your lordship in so generall a quarell as this, that concerneth the king, that toucheth the nobilitie, that apperteineth to the whole commonwelth, to foresée the king his power on the one side, & your force on the other, and then to iudge if you be able to cocke with him, and to put him beside the cushion; and not whilst you striue to sit in the saddle, to lose to your owne vndoing both the horse and the saddle.

“ King Henrie is knowne to be in these our daies so puissant a prince, and so victorious a worthie, that he is able to conquer forren dominions: and thinke you that he cannot defend his owne? He tameth kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne subiects? Suppose you conquer the land, doo you imagine that he will not recouer it? Therefore (my lord) flatter not your selfe ouermuch, repose not so great affiance either in your troope of horssemen, or in your band of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers. What face soeuer they put now on the matter, or what successe soeuer for a season they haue, bicause it is easie for an armie to vanquish them that doo not resist: yet hereafter when the king shall send his power into this countrie, you shall see your adherents like slipper changelings plucke in their hornes, and such as were content to beare you vp by the chin as long as you could swim, when they espie you sinke, they will by little and little shrink from you, and percase will ducke you ouer head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your sailes, doubt not but diuerse will anerre vnto you and féed on you as crows on carion: but if anie storme happen to bluster, then will they be sure to leaue you post alone sticking in the mire or sands, hauing least helpe when you haue most néed. And what will then insue of this. The branches will be pardoned, the root apprehended, your honour distained, your house atteinted, your armes reuersed, your manours razed, your doings examined; at which time God knoweth what an hartburning it will be, when that with no colour may be denied, which without shame cannot be confessed. My lord, I powre not out oracles as a soothsaier, for I am neither a prophet, nor the sonne of a prophet. But it may be, that I am some frantike Cassandra being partener of ^{Cassandras} ^{prophesie.} hir spirit in foretelling the truth, and partaker of hir misfortune in that I am not (when I tell the truth) beléued of your lordship, whom God defend from being Priamus.

“ Weigh therefore (my lord) the nobilitie of your ancestors, remember your father his late exhortation, forget not your dutie vnto your prince, consider the estate of this poore countrie, with what heaps of cursses you shall be loden, when your souldiers shall rifle the poore subiects, & so far indamage the whole relme, as they are not yet borne that shall hereafter féele the smart of this vprore. You haue not gone so far but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offense as yet not ouer heinous, cleaue to his clemencie, abandon this headlong follie. Which I craue in most humble wise of your lordship, for the loue of God, for the dutie you owe your prince, for the affection you beare the countrie, and for the respect you haue to your owne safetie, whom God defend from all traitorous & wicked attempts.”

Hauiing ended his oration, which he set forth with such a lamentable action, as his chéekes were all beblubbered with teares, the horssemen, namelie such as vnder-

stood not English, began to diuine what the lord chancellor ment with all this long circumstance: some of them reporting that he was preaching a sermon, others said that he stood making of some heroicall poetrie in the praise of the lord Thomas. And thus as euerie idiot shot his foolish bolt at the wise chancellor his discourse, who in effect did nought else but drop pretious stones before hogs, one Bard de Nelan, an Irish rithmour, and a rotten shéepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Irish verses, as though his toong had run on pattens; in commendation of the lord Silken Thomas. Thomas, inuesting him with the title of Silken Thomas, bicause his horssemens iacks were gorgeously imbrodered with silke: and in the end he told him that he lingred there ouerlong. Whereat the lord Thomas being quickned, did cast his eie towards the lord chancellor, & said thus.

The replie of Silken Thomas.

“ My lord chancellor, I come not hither to take aduise what I should doo, but to giue you to vnderstand what I mind to doo. It is easie for the sound to counsell the sicke: but if the sore had smarted you as much as it festereth me, you would be percase as impatient as I am. As you would wish me to honour my prince, so dutie willethe me to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will with such tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my destruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitors haue beene before him. But if it be my hap to miscarie, as you séeme to prognosticat, catch that catch may, I will take the market as it riseth, and will choose rather to die with valiantnesse and libertie, than to liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as strong as he is, and as weake as I am, I shall be able like a fleshworme to itch the bodie of his kingdome, and force him to scratch déepelie before he be able to pike me out of my seame. Wherefore my lord, I thanke you for your good counsell, and were it not that I am too crabbed a note in descant to be now tuned, it might be that I would haue warbled swéeter harmonie than at this instant I meane to sing.” ¶ With these words he rendered vp the sword, and flung awaie like a bedlem, being garded with his brutish droue of brainesicke rebels.”

The councill sent secretlie vpon his departue to master maior and his brethren, to apprehend (if they conuenientlie might) Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats. But the warning was so Skarborrow, the enimie so strong, the citie (by reason of the plague that ranged in towne and in countrie) so dispeopled, as their attempt therein would seeme but vaine and friuolous. Ouer this, the weaker part of the rebels would not pen vp themselues within the citie wals, but stood houering aloofe off toward Ostmantowne gréene, on the top of the hill where the gallowes stood (a fit centre for such a circle) till time they were aduertised of their capteine Thomas his returne. This open rebellion in this wise denounced; part of the councill, namelie Alen archbishop of Dublin & Finglasse chiefe baron hied with bag and baggage to the castell of Dublin, whereof Iohn White was constable, who after was dubbed knight by the king in England, for his worthie seruice doone in that vprore.

Thomas & his crew, supposing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they should find no blocke to stumble at sauing the earle of Ossorie, agreed to trie if by anie allurements he could be traird to their confederacie. And forsomuch as the lord
James

James Butler was linked with Thomas Fitzgiralde in great amitie and friendship, it was thought best to giue him the onset, who if he were woon to swaie with them, they would not weigh two chips the force of his father the earle of Ossorie. Thomas fourth-with sent his messengers and letters to his cousine the lord Butler, couenanting to diuide with him halfe the kingdome, would he associat him in this enterprise. Wherevpon the lord Butler returned Thomas his brokers with this letter.

The lord Butler his letter to Thomas Fitzgiralde.

“TAKING pen in hand to write you my resolute answer, I muse in the verie first line by what name to call you, my lord, or my cousine: séeing your notorious treason hath distained your honour, and your desperate lewdnesse shamed your kindred. You are so liberall in parting stakes with me, that a man would wéene you had no right vnto the game: so importunat in crauing my companie, as if you would persuade me to hang with you for good fellowship. Doo you thinke that Iames was so mad, as to gape for gogions; or so vngratious, as so sell his truth for a péece of Ireland? Were it so (as it cannot be) that the chickens you reckon, were both hatched and feathered: yet be thou sure, I had rather in this quarell die thine enimie, than liue thy partener. For the kindnesse you proffer me, and good loue in the end of your letter, the best waie I can I purpose to requite, that is, in aduising you, though you haue fetcht your feare, yet to looke well yer ye leape. Ignorance and errour, with a certeine opinion of dutie, haue caried you vnawares to this follie, not yet so ranke but it maie be cured. The king is a vessell of bountie & mercie, your words against his maiestie shall not be accounted malicious, but rather belched out for heat and impotencie, except your selfe by heaping offenses discouer a mischeefous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.”

Thomas Fitzgiralde netled with this round answer, was determined to inuade the countrie of Kilkennie, first forcing an oth vpon the gentlemen of the pale: and such as would not agree thereto he tooke prisoners. Fingall, which was not before acquainted with the recourse of the Irish enimie, was left open to be preided and spoiled by the Tooles, who were therein assisted by Iohn Burnell of Balgriffin, a gentleman of a faire liuing, settled in a good battle soile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoid of wit, were it not that he was ouertaken with this treason. The Dublinians hauing notice that the enimie made hauocke of their neighbors of Fingall, issued out of the citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bridge of Kilmainan. And hauing incountered with the Irish néere the wood Salcocke, what for the number of the rebels, and the lacke of an expert capteine to lead the armie of Dublin in battell raie, there were fourescore of the citizens slaine, and the preide not rescued. In this conflict, Patrike Fitzsimons, with diuerse other good housholders, miscaried.

This victorie bred so great an insolencie in Thomas Fitzgiralde, as he sent his messengers to the citie, declaring that albeit they offred him that iniurie, as that he could not haue frée passage with his companie to & fro in the pale, & therefore would he vse the benefit of his late skirmish, or be answerable in iust reuenge to their due desert, he might by law of armes put their citie to fire and sword: yet this notwithstanding, if they would but permit his men to laie siege to the castell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would vndertake to backe them in such fauourable

Fingall spoiled.

a Iohn Burnell of Balgriffin.

The Dublinians discomfited.

Patrike Fitzsimons slaine.

Messengers sent from Thomas to Dublin.

Francis Herbert
sent into Eng-
land.
Eustace of Bali-
cutian.

fauourable wise, as the stoutest champion in his armie should not be so hardie, as to offer the basest in their citie so much as a fillip. The citizens considering that the towne by reason of the sicknesse was weakened, and by this late overthrow greatlie discouraged, were forced to make a vertue of necessitie, by lighting a candle before the diuell, till time the kings pleasure were knowne; to whom with letters they posted one of their aldermen named Francis Herbert, whom shortlie after, the king for his seruice dubbed knight, intending him with part of Christopher Eustace of Balicutlan his lands, who had vnadvisedlie a foot in this rebellion. But before the citizens would returne answer to Thomas as touching this message, they secretlie eduertised maister Iohn White conestable of the castell of this vnlawfull demand.

The archbishop
of Dublin mean-
eth to saile into
England.
Bartho's new J
Fitzgiralde.

The conestable weighing the securitie of the citie, little regarding the force of the enimie, agreed willinglie therto, so that he might be sufficientlie stored with men and vittels. Iohn Alen archbishop of Dublin, fearing that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the castell, brake his mind touching his sailing into England, to one of his seruants named Bartholomew Fitzgiralde, whom notwithstanding he were a Giraldine, he held for his trustiest and inwardest counsellor. Bartholomew vndertaking to be the archbishop his pilot, vntill hee were past the barre, encouraged his maister to imbarke himselfe hard by the Dams gate. And as they were hulling in the channell that euening, they were not warie, vntill the barke strake on the sands néere Clontarfe.

1534
Teling.
Waffer.

The archbishop with his man stale secretlie to Tartaine, there meaning to lurke vntill the wind had serued to saile into England, where he scarselie six houres sojourned, when Thomas Fitzgiralde knew of his arriual, and accompanied with Iames de la Hide, sir Iohn Fitzgiralde, Oliuer Fitzgiralde his vncles, timelie in the morning, being the eight and twentieth of Iulie, he posted to Tartaine, beset the house, commanded Iohn Teling and Nicholas Waffer to apprehend the archbishop, whome they haled out of his bed, brought him naked in his shirt, barefooted, and bareheaded, to their capteine. Whom when the archbishop espied, incontinentlie he knéeled and with a pitifull countenance & lamentable voice, he besought him for the loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his present calamitie, and what malice soeuer he bare his person, yet to respect his calling and vocation, in that his enimie was a christian, and he amongst christians an archbishop.

Alen archbishop
of Dublin mur-
thered at Tar-
raine.

As he spake thus, bequeathing his soule to God, his bodie to the enimies mercie, Thomas being stricken with some compassion, & withall inflamed with desire of reuenge, turned his horsse aside, saieng in Irish (*Bir wem è boddeagh*) which is as much to saie in English, as Away with the churle, or Take the churle from me: which doubtles he spake, as after he declared, meaning the archbishop should be detained as prisoner. But the caitifs that were present, rather of malice than of ignorance, misconstruing his words, murdered the archbishop without further delaie, brained and hacked him in gobbets, his bloud with Abell crieng to God for reuenge, which after befell to all such as were principals in this horrible murther. The placeis euer since hedged and imbaied on euerie side, ouergrowne and vnfrequented for detestation of the fact. This Alen (as before is declared) was in seruice with cardinall Woolseie, of deepe iugement in the law canon, the onclie match of Stephan Gardiner, an other of Woolseies chapleins, for auoiding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, deadlie hated of the Giraldines for his maisters sake & his owne, as that he crossed them diuerse times, and much bridled both
father

father and son in their gouvernements, not unlike to haue promoted their accusations, and to haue béene a forger of the letter before mentioned, which turned to his small destruction.

The rebels hauing in this execrable wise imbrued their hands in the archbishop his blood, they rode to Houth, tooke sir Christopher lord of Houth prisoner, & vpon their returne from thense, they apprehended maister Luttrell chiefe iustice of the common plées, conueieng him with them as their prisoner. The Dublinians during this space, hauing respite to pause sent into the castell by night sufficient store of vittels, at which time, Iohn Fitzsimons, one of their aldermen, sent to master conestable twentie tun of wine, foure & twentie tun of béere, two thousand drie ling, sixtéene hogsheads of poudered beefe, and twentie chambers, with an iron chaine for the draw bridge of the castell that was newlie forged in his owne house for the auoiding of all suspicion. The castell being with men, munition, and vittels abundantlie furnished, answer was returned to Thomas Fitzgiralde, purporting a consent for the receiuing of his souldiors. Which granted, he sent Iames Field of Luske, Nicholas Waffer, Iohn Teling, Edward Roukes (who was likewise a pirat scowring the coast, and greatlie annoieng all passengers) Broad and Pursell, with an hundred souldiors attendant on them, as on their capteins. These valiant Rutterkins planted néere Preston his innes, right ouer against the castell gate two or three falcons, hauing with such strong rampiers intrenched their companie, as they litle weighed the shot of the castle. And to withdraw the conestable from discharging the ordinance, they threatened to take the youth of the citie, and place them on the top of their trenches for maister conestable to shoot at, as at a marke he would be loth to hit.

The lord of
Houth taken
prisoner.
Iustice Luttrell
taken.

Iohn Fitzsimons.

The castell of
Dublin besieged.

Field.
Waffer.
Teling.
Roukes.

The English pale in this wise weakened, the citizens appeased, and the castell besieged, Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats were resolved to trie if the lord Butler would stand to his doughtie letter; and sith he would not by faire means be allured, hée should be (maugre his head) by foule means compelled to assist them in this their generall attempt. Thomas vpon this determination, being accompanied with Oneale, diuerse Scots, Iames de la Hide, his principall counsellour, Iohn de la Hide, Edward Fitzgiralde his vnkle, sir Richard Walsh parson of Loughsewdie, Iohn Bur-nell of Balgriffin, Iames Gernon, Walter Walsh, Robert Walsh, Maurice Walsh, with a maine armie, inuaded the erle of Ossorie and the lord Butler his lands, burnt and wasted the countrie of Kilkennie to Thomas towne, the poore inhabitants being constreined to shunne his force, rather than to withstand his power.

Thomas Fitzgi-
rald inuadeth the
countrie of Kil-
kennie.

Fitzgiralde his approach towards these confines bruted, the earle of Ossorie, and his son the lord Butler, with all the gentlemen of the countrie of Kilkennie, assembled néere Ieripon, to determine what order they might take, in withstanding the inuasion of the rebels. And as they were thus in parlee, a gentleman of the Butlers accompanied with sixtéene horsmen, departed secretlie from the folkemote, & made towards Thomas Fitzgiralde and his armie, who was then readie to incampe himselfe at Thomas towne. When the challenger was escried, and the certeine number knowne, sixtéene of Fitzgiralde his horsmen did charge him, and presentlie followed them seuen score horsmen, with two or three banners displaied, pursuing them vntill they came to the hill where all the gentlemen were assembled, who being so suddenlie taken, could not stand to bicker; but some fled this waie, some that waie; the earle was scattered from his companie, and the lord Butler vnuarred was hurt: whom when such of the rebels knew as fauoured him, they pursued him but coldlie, and let him escape on horssebacke, taking his waie to Downemore (néere Kilkennie) where he laie at surgerie.

The earle of
Ossorie reb.
The lord Butler
wounded.

During

Francis Herebert
returned from England
Shillingforth.

Thomas Fitzsimons.

No league to be
kept with
the English.
The Dublinians
were taken
by the English.
The English
were taken
by the Dublinians.

Field and his
company taken.

The youth of
Dublin taken
prisoners.

Messengers sent
to Dublin.
Trauerse.
Lince.
Grace.

Dublin besieged.

The shipstreet
burned.

During the time that Thomas with his armie was ransacking the erle of Ossorie his lands, Francis Herebert returned from England to Dublin with the king and counceils letters to maister Shillingforth then maior, and his brethren, with letters likewise to maister White the constable, to withstand (as their dutie of allegiance bound them) the traitorous practises of Thomas and his complices, and that with all speed they should be succored vpon the sight of these letters. Maister Thomas Fitzsimons recorder of the citie, a gentleman that shewed himselfe a politike and a comfortable counsellor in these troubles, paraphrasing the king his gracious letters, with diuerse good and sound constructions, imboldened the citizens to breake their new made league, which with no traitor was to be kept. The aldermen and communaltie, with this pitie perswasion easilie weighed, gaue forthwith order, that the gates should be shut, their percullices dismounted, the traitors that besieged the castell apprehended, flags of defiance vpon their wals placed, and an open breach of truce proclaimed.

Field and his companies (who did not all this while batter aught of the castell, but onelie one hole that was bored through the gate with a pellet, which lighted in the mouth of a demie canon, planted within the castell) vnderstanding that they were betrayed, began to shrink their heads, trusting more to their heeles than to their weapons: some ran one way, some another, diuerse thought to haue béene housed and so to lurke in Lorels den, who were thrust out by the head and shoulders: few of them swam ouer the Liffie, the greater number taken and imprisoned. Forthwith post vpon post rode to Thomas Fitzgiralde, who then was rifling the countrie of Kilkennie, certifieng him that all was mard, the fat was in the fire, he brought an old house about his owne eares, the Paltocks of Dublin kept not touch with him, the English armie was readie to be shipt, Herebert with the king his letters returned; now it stood him vpon to shew himselfe a man or a mouse. Thomas with these tidings amazed, made speedie repaire to Dublin, sending his pursueuants before him, to command the gentlemen of the English pale to méete him with all their power néere Dublin. And in his waie towards the citie, his companie tooke diuerse children of the Dublinians, that kept in the countrie (by reason of the contagion that then was in the towne) namelie Michaell Fitzsimons, Patrike Fitzsimons, William Fitzsimons, all sons to Walter Fitzsimons late maior, at which time was also taken Iames Stanihurst, with diuerse other yonglings of the citie.

Hauiug marched néere Dublin, he sent doctor Trauerse, Peter Lince of the Knoke, and Oliuer Grace, as messengers (for I maie not rightlie tearme them ambassadors) to the citizens, who crossing the Liffie from the blacke friers to the keie, explained to the maior and aldermen their errand, the effect whereof was, either to stand to their former promise, or else to restore to their capteine his men, whom they wrongfullie deteined in goale. The first and last point of this request flatlie by the citizens denied, the messengers returned, declaring what cold interteinment they had in Dublin. Thomas herewith frieng in his grease, caused part of his armie to burne the barke wherin Herebert sailed from England: which doone without resistance, the vessell road at anchor néere saint Marie abbeie, they indeuored to stop all the springs that flowed vnto the towne, and to cut the pipes of the conduits, whereby they should be destitute of fresh water. Shortlie after, they laid siege to the castell in the Shipstreet, from whence they were hastilie by the ordinance feazed, and all the thatcht houses of the street were burnt with wild fire, which maister White deuised, because the enimie should not be there rescued.

When no butter could sticke on their bread, in that part of the citie, the greater number of the rebels assembled to Thomas his court, and marched to saint Thomas his

his street, rasing downe the partitions of the row of houses before them on both sides of the street, finding none to withstand them: for the inhabitants fled into the citie, so that they made a long lane on both the sides like a gallerie, couered all ouer head, to shield as well their horsemen as their footmen from gunshot. This doone they burnt the new street, planted a falcon right against the new gate, and it discharged, pearsed the gate, and kild an apprentise of Thomas Stephens alderman, as he went to bring a bason of water from the high pipe, which by reason the springs were damd vp, was at that time drie. Richard Stanton, commonlie called Dicke Stanton, then gailor of the new gate, a good seruitor, an excellent markeman, as his valiant seruice that time did approue. For besides that he gald diuers of the rebels as they would skip from house to house, by causing some of them with his peece to carrie their errands in their buttocks; so he perceiued one of the enimies, leueling at the window or spike at which he stood: but whether it were, that the rebell his pouder failed him, or some gimball or other was out of frame, Stanton tooke him so truelie for his marke, as he strake him with his bullet full in the forehead vnder the brim of his scull, and withall turned vp his héeles.

Richard Stanton.

Stanton not satisfied with his death, issued out at the wicket, stript the varlot mother-naked, and brought in his peece and his attire. The desperatnesse of this fact disliked of the citzens, and greatlie stomached by the rebels, before Stanton returned to his standing, the enimies brought faggots & fiers to the new gate, and incontinentlie fired them. The townesmen perceiuing that if the gate were burnt, the enimies would be incouraged vpon hope of the spoile, to venter more fiercelie, than if they were incountred without the wals, thought it expedient presentlie to charge them. To this exploit they were the more egerlie mooued, because that notwithstanding Thomas his souldiors were manie in number; yet they knew that the better part of his companie bare but hollow hearts to the quarrell: for the number of the wise gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the citie, the most part of those arrowes, which were shot ouer the walles, were vnheaded, and nothing annoied them: some shot in letters, and foretold them of all the treacherous stratagems that were in hammering.

Faggots laid vnto the new gate.

That espied the citzens, and gathering the faintnesse of his souldiors thereby, blazed abroad vpon the walles triumphant newes, that the king his armie was arriued: and as it had béene so in déed, suddenlie to the number of foure hundred rushed out at the new gate, through flame and fire vpon the rebels, who (at the first sight of armed men) wéening no lesse but the truth was so, otherwise assured, that the citie would neuer dare to reincounter them, gaue ground, forsooke their capteins, dispersed and scattered into diuerse corners, their falcon taken, an hundred of their stoutest Galloglasses slaine. Thomas Fitzgiralde fled to the graie friers in S. Francis his stréet, there coucht that night, vnknown to the citie, vtill the next morning he stale priuillie to his armie not far off, who stood in woonderful feare that he was apprehended. Thomas his courage by this late ouerthrow somewhat cooled, and also being assuredlie told, that a fleete was espied a farre off bearing full saile towards the coast of Ireland, he was soone intreated, hauing so manie irons in the fire, to take eggs for his monie: & withall, hauing no forren succor, either from *Paulus Tertius*, or Charles the fift, which dailie he expected, he was sore quailed, being of himselfe, though strong in number of souldiors, yet vnfurnished of sufficient munition and artillerie, to stand & withstand the king his armie in a pitcht field, or a maine battell. Vpon this & other considerations, to make as faire weather as he could, he sent Iames de la Hida, Linc. of the Knocke, William Bath of Dollarstowne, doctor Trauerse, Thomas Field of Pains-towne, as messengers to the citzens, to treat with them of a truce, who being let in

The citzens bicker with the rebels.

Thomas Fitzgiralde fled.

De la Hida.
Linc.
Bath.
Trauerse.
Field.

The articles propounded to the citizens.

at the new gate, repaired to William Kellie his house, where maister maior and his brethren were assembled. The articles propounded by them to the citizens, were these.

1 That Thomas Fitzgiralde his men, who were detained in prison, should be redeliuered.

2 Item, that the citizens should incontinentlie deliuer him at one paiment, a thousand pounds in monie.

3 Item, that they should deliuer him five hundred pounds in wares.

4 Item, to furnish him with munition and artillerie.

5 Item, to addresse their fauorable letters to the king for their capteine his pardon, and all his confederats.

The citizens answer these articles.

The maior and aldermen, hauing ripelie debated the tenour of these articles, agréed, that maister Fitzsimons their recorder should answer vnto the first, that they would not sticke to set his seruants at libertie, so he would redeliuer them the youth of the citie, which was nothing else in effect, but tit for tat. As for the second and the third demand, they were so greatlie by his warres impouerished, as they might hardlie spare monie or wares. And as touching implements for warre, they were neuer such fond niddicookes, as to offer anie man a rod to beat their owne tailes, or to betake their mastiues vnto the custodie of the woolues, maruelling much that their capteine would so farre ouershoot himselfe, as to be taken with such apparent repugnancie. For if he intended to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, and to make them humble meanes to his highnesse for the obtaining of his pardon, he ought rather to make sute for some good vellam parchment for the ingrossing thereof, than for munition and artillerie to withstand his prince. Wherefore, that thrée vnlawful demands reiected, they would willinglie condescend to the first and last: as well requesting him to deliuer them the youth of the citie, as to submit himselfe and his companie to the king his mercie: promising not onelie with their fauorable letters, but also with their personall presences to further, as far as in them laie, his humble sute to the king and councill.

William Bath.

As they parled thus to and fro, William Bath of Dollarstowne a student of the common lawes spake: "My maisters, what néedeth all this long circumstance? Let vs all drinke of one cup." Which words were shortlie after vpon Skeffington his arriuall so crookedlie glosed, as by drinking of a sowre cup he lost the best ioint of his bodie. For albeit vpon his triall he construed his words to import an vniforme consent towards the obtaining of Fitzgiralde his pardon; yet all this could not colour

Eustace of Balicutlan.

his matter in such wise, but that he and Eustace of Balicutlan were executed at the castell of Dublin. The messengers knowing their capteine to be at a low eb, were agréed to take the offers of the first & last conditions, and that to the accomplishing of these articles hostages should be giuen of either part. The messengers deliuered to the citizens doctor Trauers & others, the citizens deliuered them Richard Talbot, Aldreman, Rochford, & Kerrie. These were committed to the custodie of David Sutton of Rabride, who redeliuered them to the citizens immediatlie after vpon the certeine rumor of Skeffington's repaire.

Hostages taken
Doctor Trauerse.
Talbot.
Rochford.
Kerrie.
David.
Sutton.

Thomas growne to this point with the Dublinians raised his siege, caused his artillerie to be conueied to Houth, marching after with his armie, to the end he might as well bulch the English ships if they durst anerre the coast, as to bicker with the soldiours vpon their arriuall. But before he tooke his iorneie vnto Houth, he rode to Mainoth, to see that the castell should be of all sides fortified, where being doone to vnderstand, that a companie of white cotes with red crosses landed at Dublin secretlie in the dead of the night, and also that another band arriued at

The white cotes landed at Dublin.

at

at Houth, and were readie to march towards Dublin, he posted incontinentlie with two hundred horssemen towards the water side, incountred néere Clontarfe, the Hamertons, two valiant and couragious gentlemen, hauing in their companie foure score souldiors, where they fought so valiantlie for their liues, as so few footmen could haue doone against so great a troope of horssemen: for they did not onlie mangle and hacke diuerse of the rebels, but also one of the Hamertons wounded Thomas Fitzgiralde in the forehead. Some report that one of the Musgraues, who was of kin to Fitzgiralde, was slaine in this conflict, whose death he is said to haue taken greatlie to hart. The rebelles fleshed with the slaughter of the English, hied with all spéed to Houth, shot at the ships that rode at anchor, caused them to flée from thense, & to make towards Skerrish, where landed both the Eglebées, and the Dacres, with their horssemen. Rouks, Fitzgerald his pirat, was sent to scowre the coast, who tooke an English barke laden with verie faire geldings, and sent them to his capteine. After that Thomas had returned with this bootie, and the spoile of such as were slaine to Mainoth, sir William Brereton knight, with his sonne Iohn Brereton, was inshored at Houth with two hundred & fiftie soldiors verie well appointed, and maister Salisburie with two hundred archers.

The Hamertons
slaine.

Thomas Fitz-
giralde wounded.
Musgraue.

Eglebées.
Dacres.
English
geldings taken.

Sir William
Brereton.
Iohn Brereton.
Salisburie.

Lastlie landed at the slip, neare the bridge of Dublin, sir William Skeffington knight lord deputie, whome the Irish call the gunner, because he was preferred from that office of the king his maister gunner to gouerne them, and that they can euill brooke to be ruled of anie that is but meanlie borne. The maior and aldermen receiued the gouernor with shot, and great solemnitie, who yéelding them hartie thanks for their true and loiall seruice, deliuered them the king and counsell his letters, purporting the same effect in writing that he before expressed in words. Barnwell lord of Trimlestowne, who had the custodie of the sword, did surrender it to sir William Skeffington, according to the meaning of the king his letters patents on that behalfe.

Sir William
Skeffington
lord deputie
landeth.

Letters of
thanks from the
king to the
Dublinians.
The lord of
Trimlestowne
surrendreth the
sword.

Thomas Fitzgiralde hauing intelligence that the whole armie was arriued, warded the castell of Mainoth so stronglie, as he tooke it to be impregnable. And to the end he might giue the gouernor battell, he rode towards Connagh, to leuie all such power of the Irish, as either for wages, or for goodwill he could win to assist him. The lord deputie forewarned of his drift, marched with the English armie, and the power of the pale to Mainoth, and laid siege to the castell on the north side towards the parke. But before anie péce was discharged, sir William Brereton, by the deputie his appointment, did summon the castell, offering such as kept it to depart with bag and baggage, and besides their pardon to be liberallie rewarded for their good and loiall seruice. But such as warded the castell, scornefullie scoffing the knight his offer, gaue him hartie thanks for his kindnesse which they said procéeded rather of his gentlenesse than of their deseruing, wishing him to kéepe vp in store such liberall offers for a deere yeare, and to write his commendations home to his fréends, and withall, to kéepe his head warme, for at their hands he was like to haue but a cold sute. Finallie not to take such kéepe of their safetie, in that they were assured, that he and his fellowes should be sooner from the siege raised, than they from the hold remooued.

Thomas Fitz-
giralde goeth
toward Connagh.

The castell of
Mainoth be-
sieged.

Sir William
Brereton
summoneth the
castell.

Vpon this round answer the ordinances were planted on the north side of the castell, which made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight: yet the castell so warilie on ech side inuironed, as the rebelles were imbard from all egresse and regresse. Christopher Parese fosterbrother to Thomas Fitzgiralde, to whome of speciall trust the charge of the castell was chieflie committed, profering his voluntarie seruice (which for the more part is so thanklesse and vsauorie as it

Christopher
Parese be-
traileth the
castell of
Mainoth.

Profered seruice
stinketh.

stinketh) determined to go an ase beyond his fellows, in betraieing the castell to the gouernor. In this resolution he shot a letter indorsed to the lord deputie, the effect whereof was, that he would deuise means the castell should be taken, so that he might haue a summe of monie for his paines, and a competent staie during his life. This motion by letters to and fro agréed vpon, Parese caused such as kept the ward, to swill and boll so much, as they snorted all the night like grunting hogs, litle misdeeming that whilest they slept, anie Iudas had beene waking within the castell.

Holland petit
capteine to
Salisburie.
The castell
taken.

Brereton scaleth
the wals.

Brereton ad-
uanceth his
standard.

The lord depu-
tie entereth the
castell.
Iames de la
Hilde.
Haiward.

Girald Ailmer.

Parese commeth
before the go-
uernor.

The occasion of this extraordinarie excéeding was colored, for snatching into the castell a field péece the daie before from the armie, for which they kept such pot-reuels, and triumphant carousing, as none of them could discerne his beds head from the beds feet: Parese, taking his tide and time, made signe to the armie, betwéene the twilight and dawning of the daie, who hauing scaling ladders in a readinesse, would not ouerslip the oportunitie offered. Holland, petit capteine to Salisburie, was one of the forwardest in this exploit, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by mishap into a pipe of feathers, where he was vp to the arme pits, so stiffelie sticking therein, and also vnwealdie in his armor, as there could not helpe himselfe neither in nor out. Sir William Brereton and his band hauing scaled the wals cried on a sudden, "Saint George, saint George." Threé drunken swads that kept the castell thought that this showt was nought else but a dreame, till time they espied the walles full of armed men, and one of them withall perceiuing Holland thus intangled in the pipe, bestowed an arrow vpon him, which by good hap did misse him. Holland forthwith rescued by his fellows, shot at the other, and strake him so full vnder the skull, as he left him spralling. The resistance was faint, when the souldiors entered, some yeelding themselues, others that withstood them slaine. Sir William Brereton ran vp to the highest turret of the castell, & aduanced his standard on the top thereof, notifieng to the deputie, that the fort was woone. Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beds, so manie goodlie hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such braue furniture, as trulie it was accounted (for houshold stuffe and vtensiles) one of the richest earle his houses vnder the crowne of England. The lord deputie entred the castell in the after noone, vpon whose repaire, Iames de la Hilde, and Haiward, two singing men of the earle his chappell, that were taken prisoners, prostrated themselues on the ground, pitifullie warbling a soong, named *Dulcis amica*.

The gouernour rauished with the sweet and delicat voices, at the instance of Girald Ailmer chiefe iustice, and others of the councell pardoned them. Christopher Parese not misdoubting but that he should haue beene dubd knight for his seruice doone that daie, presented himselfe before the gouernour, with a cheerefull and familiar countenance: as who should saie, Here is he that did the déed. The deputie verie coldlie & halfe sternelie casting an eie towards him said: "Parese, I am to thanke thee on my master the king his behalfe, for this thy proffered seruice which I must acknowledge to haue beene a sparing of great charges, and a sauing of manie valiant soldiors liues to his highnesse: and when his maiestie shall be thereof aduertised, I dare be bold to saie that he will not see thee lacke during thy life. And bicause I maie be the better instructed how to reward thee during my gouernement, I would gladlie learne, what thy lord and master bestowed on thee." Parese set a gog with these mild spécches, and supposing the more he recited, the better he should be rewarded, left not vntold the meanest good turne that euer he receiued at his lords hands. "Why Parese (quoth the deputie) couldest thou find in thine heart to betraie his castell, that hath beene so good lord to thee? Trulie, thou that art so hollow to him, wilt neuer be true to vs." And therewithall, turning his

his talke to his officers, he gaue them commandement to deliuer Parese the summe of monie that was promised him vpon the surrender of the castell, and after to chop off his head. Parese at this cold salutation of "Farewell & be hanged." turning his A notable iudgement. simpering to wimpering said: "My lord, had I wist that you would haue dealt so streictlie with me, your lordship should not haue woone this fort with so little bloudshed as you did."

Whereat master Boise, a gentleman of worship, and one that reteined to that old Boise. earle of Kildare, standing in the preasse, said in Irish, *Antragh*, which is as much in Antragh. English as Too late, wherof grew the Irish prouerbe, to this daie in the language vsed, Too late quoth Boise, as we saie, Beware of had I wist, or After meat mustard, The prouerbe Too late quoth Boise. or You come a daie after the faire, or Better doone than said. The deputie asked them that stood by what was that he spake? Master Boise willing to expound his owne words, stept foorth and answered; "My lord, I said nothing, but that Parese is seized of a towne néere the water side named Baltra, and I would gladlie know Baltra. how he will dispose it before he be executed." The gouernour not mistrusting that master Boise had glosed (for if he vnderstood the true signification of the terme, it was verie like that too late had not beene so sharpe to Parese, but too soone had beene as sowre to him) willed the monie to be told to Parese, and presentlie caused him to be cut shorter by the head: declaring thereby, that although for the time Parese be-headed. he imbraced the benefit of the treason, yet after he could not digest the treacherie of the traitor.

The deputie hauing left a garrison in the castell, returned with the armie The deputie returneth to Dublin. triumphantlie to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgiralde not misdoubting but such as he left in the castell were able to stand to their tackle, leuied a huge armie in Oconhur his Thomas Fitzgiralde marcheth towards Mainoth. countrie, and in Connagh, to the number of seuen thousand, marching with them towards Mainoth, minding to haue remooued the king his armie from the siege: but being certified, that Parese his fosterbrother yéelded vp the castell to the deputie, the better part of his companie gaue him the slip. All this notwithstanding he made with such as would sticke to him to Clane. The lord deputie Brereton left to defend Dublin. hauing intelligence of his approach, left sir William Brereton at Dublin to defend the citie, & marched with the armie to the Naas, where he tooke seuen score of Thomas his Galloglasses, and lead them all vnarmed toward Iohnstowne. The Galloglasses taken and slaine. scout watch espieng Thomas to march néere, imparted it to the gouernour, who presentlie commanded each man to kill his prisoner before the charge, which was dispatcht; only Edmund Oleine escaping mother-naked by flight to Thomas his Edmund Oleine escapeth. companie, leauing his shirt in his kéepers hands. Both the armies aduanced themselves one against the other, but the horssemen of either side could not charge, by reason of a marish or quakemire that parted them. Wherefore the deputie caused two or thrée field péeces to be discharged, which scattered Thomas and his rable- Thomas and his companie fleeth. ment, insomuch as he neuer in such openwise durst after beare vp head in the English pale, but rather by starts and sudden stratagems would now and then gall Fitzgiralde his stratagems. the English. As when the castell of Rathimgan was woone, which was soone after the surrender of Mainoth, he caused a droue of cattell to appeare timelie in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the fort, suspecting it to be a bootie, were trained for the more part out of the castell, who were surprized by Thomas, that laie hard by in ambush, and the greater number of them slaine.

Another time he fired a village hard by Trim, and deuised such of his horssemen that could speake English, being clad and horssed like northerne men, to ride to Trim; where a garrison laie with hue and crie, saieng that they were capteine Salisburie his souldiors, and that the traitor Thomas Fitzgiralde was burning a village hard by. The souldiors suspecting no cousinage issued out of the towne, who.

who were by his men charged, & a great number of them slaine, some chased to the towne, and forced to take sanctuarie in the churchyard, which in those daies was highlie reuerenced. These and the like knacks vsed Thomas, being for his owne person so well garded, and for defect of a maine armie so naked, as neither he was occasioned to feare the English, nor the English forced to weigh him. During this time, there arriued with a fresh supplie of horssemen & archers, sir

William Sentlo.
Rice Manswell.
Edward Griffith.

Burnell of
Balgriffin taken
and executed,
Trauers
executed.

Rouks executed.

Walter de la
Hide and his
ladie Gennet
Eustace ap-
prehended.

Gennet Eustace
dieth.

Skeffington
deceased.
Leonard Greie
lord deputie.
Brereton
skirmisheth
with Fitzgiralde.

Thomas Fitz-
giralde submitteth
himselfe to the
deputie.

William Sentlo knight & his son, sir Rice Manswell knight, sir Edward Griffith knight, who were dispersed to sundrie parts of the pale to defend the countrie from the enimies inuasion. When the heat of this rebellion was in this wise asswaged, the lord deputie finding out no deuise to apprehend the capteine, imploied his industrie to intrap his confederats. Burnell of Balgriffin perceiuing all go to wracke fled to Mounster, where he was taken by the lord Butler viscount Thurles, and being conueied to England was executed at Tiburne. Doctor Trauers, who was left as hostage with the citizens, was by them deliuered to the lord deputie, and after with Rouks the pirat executed at the gallows on Ostmantowne greene.

Sir Walter de la Hide knight and his wife the ladie Gennet Eustace were apprehended, & brought as prisoners by master Brabson vicetreasuror from their towne of Moiclar to the castell of Dublin, bicause their sonne and heire Iames de la Hide was the onelie bruer of all this rebellion: who as the gouernor suspected, was set on by his parents, & namelie by his moother. The knight & his wife, lieng in duresse for the space of twelue moneths, were at seuerall times examined, & notwithstanding all presumptions and surmises that could be gathered, they were in the end found giltlesse of their sonne his follie. But the ladie was had in examination apart, and intised by meanes to charge hir husband with hir sonne his rebellion, who being not woone thereto with all the meanes that could be wrought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be rackt; and so with extremitie to be compelled, whereas with gentlenesse she could not be allured to acknowledge these apparent treasons, that neither hir husband nor she could without great shew of impudencie denie.

The gentlewoman with these continuall storms heartbroken, deceased in the castell: from thense hir bodie was remooued vnto the greie friers with the deputie his commandement, that it should not be interred, vntill his plesure were further knowne; adding withall, that the carcase of one who was the moother of so arrant an archtraitor, ought rather to be cast out on a dunghill to be carrion for rauens and dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be laid in anie christian graue. The corps lieng foure or fife daies in this plight, at the request of the ladie Gennet Golding, wife to sir Iohn White knight, the gouernor, licenced that it should be buried. Sir William Skeffington a seueare and vpriht gouernour died shortlie after at Kilmainan: to whome succeeded lord deputie the lord Leonard Greie, who immediatlie vpon the taking of his oth marched with his power towards the confines of Mounster, where Thomas Fitzgiralde at that time remained. With Fitzgiralde sir William Brereton skirmished so fiercelie, as both the sides were rather for the great slaughter disaduantaged, than either part by anie great victorie furthered. Master Brereton therefore perceiuing that rough nets were not the fittest to take such peart birds, gaue his aduise to the lord deputie to grow with Fitzgiralde by faire means to some reasonable composition. The deputie liking of the motion, craued a parlee, sending certeine of the English as hostages to Thomas his campe with a protection directed vnto him, to come and go at will and pleasure. Being vpon this securitie in conference with the lord Greie, he was persuaded to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, with the gouernours faithfull and vndoubted promise that he should be pardoned vpon his repaire into England. And to the end that no trecherie might haue

haue beene misdēmed of either side, they both receiued the sacrament openlie in the campe, as an infallible scale of the couenants and conditions of either part agreed.

The sacrament
received.

Héerevpon Thomas Fitzgiralde sore against the willes of his counsellors, dismiss his armie, & rode with the deputie to Dublin, where he made short abode when he sailed to England with the fauourable letters of the gouernour and the counsell. And as he would haue taken his iourneie to Windsore, where the court laie, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London waie, and conueied with hast to the tower. And before his imprisonment was bruted, letters were posted into Ireland, streictlie commanding the deputie vpon sight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitzgiralde his vnckles, and to see them with all speed conuenient shipt into England. Which the lord deputie did not slacke. For hauing feasted thrée of the gentlemen at Kilmainan, immediatlie after their banquet (as it is now and then seen, that swéet meat will haue sowre sauce) he caused them to be manacled, and led as prisoners to the castell of Dublin: and the other two were so roundlie snatcht vp in villages hard by, as they sooner felt their owne captiuitie, than they had notice of their brethrens calamitie. The next wind that serued into England, these fiue brethren were imbarcked, to wit Iames Fitzgiralde, Walter Fitzgiralde, Oliuer Fitzgiralde, Iohn Fitzgiralde, and Richard Fitzgiralde. Thrée of these gentlemen, Iames, Walter, and Richard, were knowne to haue crossed their nephue Thomas to their power in his rebellion, and therefore were not occasioned to misdoubt anie danger. But such as in those daies were enemies to the house, incensed the king so sore against it, perswading him, that he should neuer conquer Ireland, as long as anie Giraldine breathed in the countrie: as for making the pathwaie smooth, he was resolved to lop off as well the good and sound grapes, as the wild and fruitlesse berries. Whereby appeareth how dangerous it is to be a rub, when a king is disposed to swéepe an alleie.

Thomas saileth
into England.
1535

He is committed
to the tower.

Thomas his
vnckles taken.

Thus were the fiue brethren sailing into England, among whom Richard Fitzgiralde being more bookish than the rest of his brethren, & one that was much giuen to the studies of antiquitie, wailing his inward grieffe, with outward mirth comforted them with chéerefulness of countenance, as well perswading them that offended to repose affiance in God, and the king his mercie, and such as were not of that conspiracie, to relie to their innocencie, which they should hold for a more safe and strong barbican, than anie rampire or castell of brasse. Thus solacing the sillie mourners sometime with smiling, sometime with singing, sometime with graue and pithie apophthegmes, he craued of the owner the name of the barke; who hauing answered, that it was called the Cow, the gentleman sore appalled thereat, said: "Now good brethren I am in vtter despaire of our returne to Ireland, for I beare in mind an old prophesie, that fiue earles brethren should be caried in a Cowes bellie to England, and from thense neuer to returne."

Innocencie a
strong fort.

The Cow.

Whereat the rest began afresh to howle and lament, which doubtlesse was pitifull, to behold fiue valiant gentlemen, that durst méet in the field fiue as sturdie champions as could be picked out in a realme, to be so suddenlie terrified with the bare name of a wooden cow, or to feare like lions a sillie cocke his combe, being mooued (as commonlie the whole countrie is) with a vaine and fabulous old wiues dreame. But what blind prophesie soeuer he read, or heard of anie superstitious beldame touching a cow his bellie, that which he foretold them was found true. For Thomas Fitzgiralde the third of Februarie, and these fiue brethren his vnckles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, which was incontinentlie bruted as well in England and Ireland, as in foren soiles. For Dominicke Powre, that was sent from Thomas to Charles the fift, to craue his aid towards the conquest of Ireland

1536
Thomas Fitz-
giralde & his
vnckles executed.
Dominicke
Powre

(like

Charles Reinold.

(like as Chale in Grauill, otherwise called Charles Reinold, was directed to *Paulus tertius*) presenting the emperour with twelue great haukes and fourteene faire hobbies, was aduertised by his maiestie that he came too late, for his lord and master and fiue of his vncles were executed at London the third of Februarie: howbeit the emperour procured king Henrie to pardon Dominicke Powre. Which notwithstanding he obtained, yet would he not returne to Ireland, but continued in Portingale, hauing a ducket a daie of the emperour during his life, which he ended at Lisborne.

James de la Hide.

James de la Hide the chiefe counsellor of Thomas Fitzgiral, fled into Scotland and there deceased. To this miserable end grew this lewd rebellion, which turned to the vtter vndooing of diuers ancient gentlemen, who trained with faire words into a fooles paradise, were not onelie dispossessed of their lands, but also depriued of their liues, or else forced to forsake their countries. As for Thomas Fitzgiral, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tiburne, I would wish the carefull reader to vnderstand that he was neuer earle of Kildare, although some writers, rather of errour than of malice, terme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father liued in the tower, when he was in open rebellion, where for thought of the yoong man his follie he died; and therefore Thomas was attainted in a parlement holden at Dublin, as one that was déemed, reputed, and taken for a traitour before his fathers decease, by the bare name of Thomas Fitzgiral. For this hath béene obserued by the Irish historiographers euer since the conquest, that notwithstanding all the presumptions of treason, wherewith anie earle of Kildare could either faintlie be suspected or vehementlie charged; yet there was neuer anie erle of that house read or heard of, that bare armour in the field against his prince. Which I write not as a barrister hired to plead their cause, but as a chronicler moued to declare the truth.

Thomas Fitzgiral was not earle of Kildare.

L. St. pag. 434.

No earle of Kildare bare armour at anie time against his prince.

The description of Thomas Fitzgiral.

This Thomas Fitzgiral (as before is specified) was borne in England, vpon whom nature powred beautie, and fortune by birth bestowed nobilitie: which had it beene well employed, & were it not that his rare gifts had béene blemished by his later euill qualities, he would haue proued an impe worthie to be ingrafted in so honorable a stocke. He was of stature tall and personable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall somewhat ruddie, delicatlie in each lim featured, a rolling toong & a rich vtterance, of nature flexible and kind, verie soone caried where he fansied, easilie with submission appeased, hardlie with stubbornnesse weied, in matters of importance an headlong hotspur: yet neuerthelesse taken for a yoong man not deuoid of wit, were it not (as it fell out in the end) that a foole had the keeping thereof.

The adventures of the yoong Fitzgiral son to the ladie Grey countesse of Kildare.

Donoare. Thomas Leurouse.

But to returne to the course of the historie. When Thomas and his vncles were taken, his second brother on the father his side, named Girald Fitzgiral (who was after in the reigne of quéene Marie restored to the earledome of Kildare, in which honour as yet he liueth) being at that time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirteene yeares of age, laie sicke of the small pocks in the countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Girald Fitzgiral. Thomas Leurouse, who was the child his schoolemaster, and after became bishop of Kildare, mistrusting vpon the apprehension of Thomas & his vncles, that all went not currant, wrapt the yoong patient as tenderlie as he could, and had him conueied in a cléefe with all spéed to Ophalie, where soiourning for a short space with his sister the ladie Marie Fitzgiral, vntill he had recouered his perfect health, his schoolemaster caried him to Odon his countrie, where making his aboad for a quarter of a yeare, he trauced to Obren his countrie in Mounster, and hauing there remained for halfe a yeare, he repaired to his aunt the ladie Elenor Fitzgiral, who then kept in Mac Cartie Reagh hir late husband his territories.

Elenor Fitzgiral.

This

This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwaies knowne and accounted of each man, that was acquainted with hir conuersation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse, in all hir actions vertuous and godlie, and also in a good quarell rather stout than stiffe. To hir was Odoneil an importunate suiter. And although at sundrie times before she seemed to shake him off, yet considering the distresse of hir yoong innocent nephue, how he was forced to wander in pilgrim-wise from house to house, eschuing the punishment that others deserued, smarted in his tender yeares with aduersitie, before he was of discretion to inioie anie prosperitie, she began to incline to hir wooer his request, to the end hir nephue should haue béene the better by his countenance shouldered, and in fine indented to espouse him; with this caueat or prouiso, that he should safelie shield and protect the said yoong gentleman in this calamitie. This condition agréed vpon, she rode with hir nephue to Odoneil his countrie, and there had him safelie kept for the space of a yeare.

But shortlie after the gentlewoman either by some secret friend informed, or of wisdom gathering that hir late married husband intended some treacherie, had hir nephue disguised, storing him like a liberall and bountifull aunt with seuen score porteguses, not onelie in valour, but also in the selfe same coine, incontinentlie shipped him secretlie in a Britons vessell of saint Malouse, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, master Leurouse, and Robert Walsh sometime seruant to his father the earle. The ladie Elenor hauing thus to hir contentation bestowed hir nephue, she expostulated verie sharpelie with Odoneil as touching his villanie, protesting that the onlie cause of hir match with him procéded of an especiall care to haue hir nephue countenanced: and now that he was out of his lash that minded to haue betraied him, he should well vnderstand, that as the feare of his danger moued hir to annere to such a clownish curmudgen: so the assurance of his safetie should cause hir to sequester hirsselfe from so butcherlie a cutthroate, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patch hired, to sell or betraie the innocent bloud of his nephue by affinitie, and hirs by consanguinitie. And in this wise trussing vp bag and baggage, he forsooke Odoneil and returned to hir countrie.

The passengers with a prosperous gale arriued at saint Malouse, which notified to the gouernour of Britaine, named monsieur de Chasteau Brian, he sent for the yoong Fitzgiralde, gaue him verie hartie interteinement during one moneths space. In the meane season the gouernour posted a messenger to the court of France, aduertising the king of the arriual of this gentleman, who presentlie caused him to be sent for, and had him put to the Dolphin named Henrie, who after became king of France. Sir Iohn Wallop (who was then the English ambassadour) vnderstanding the cause of the Irish fugitiue his repaire to France, demanded him of the French king, according to the new made league betweene both the princes: which was, that none should kéepe the other his subiect within his dominion, contrarie to either of their willes; adding further, that the boie was brother to one, who of late notorious for his rebellion in Ireland was executed at London.

To this answered the king, first that the ambassador had no commission from his Prince to demand him, & vpon his maiestie his letter he should know more of his mind: secondlie that he did not deteine him, but the Dolphin staied him: lastlie, that how grieuouslie soeuer his brother offended, he was well assured, that the sillie boy neither was nor could be a traitor, and therefore there rested no cause whie the ambassador should in such wise craue him; not doubting that although he were deliuered to his king, yet he would not so far swarue from the extreame rigor of iustice, as to imbrue his hands in the innocent his bloud, for the offense that his

The ladie Elenor
ors liberalitie.

Fitzgiralde sailerth
to France.

Chasteau Brian.

Sir Iohn Wallop
demandeth Fitz-
giralde.

The king do-
nieth him.

Fitzgiralde fleeth
to Flanders.

James Sherelocke
pursueth
Fitzgiralde.

brother had perpetrated. Maister Wallop herevpon addressed his letters to England, specieng vnto the counsell the French kings answer. And in the meane time the yoong Fitzgiralde hauing an inkling of the ambassador his motion, fled secretlie to Flanders, scantlie reaching to Valencie, when Iames Sherelocke, one of maister Wallop his men, did not onelie pursue him, but also did ouertake him as he sojourned in the said towne.

Sherelocke im-
prisoned.

Crueltie requited
with courtesie.

Doctor Pates.

The emperor
bestoweth a pen-
sion on Fitzgi-
ralde.

Cardinall Poole
sendeth for Fitz-
giralde.

Leurouse placed
in the English
hospitall.

Robert Walsh
returneth to
Ireland.

Cardinall Poole
his order in
training yoong
Fitzgiralde.

Wherevpon maister Leurouse, and such as accompanied the child, stept to the gouernor of Valencie, complaining that one Sherelocke a sneaking spie, like a pikethanke promoting varlet, did dog their master from place to place, and presentlie pursued him to the towne: and therefore they be sought the gouernour, not to leaue such apparant villanie vnpunished, in that he was willing to betraie not onelie a guiltlesse child, but also his owne countriman, who rather ought for his innocencie to be pitied, than for the desert of others so egerlie to be pursued. The gouernor vpon this complaint sore incensed, sent in all hast for Sherelocke, had him suddenlie examined, and finding him vnable to color his lewd practise with anie warrantable defense, he laid him vp by the heeles, rewarding his hot pursute with cold intertainment, and so remained in gaole, vntill the yoong Fitzgiralde requiting the prisoner his vnnaturall crueltie with vnderesued courtesie, humblie besought the gouernor to set him at libertie. This brunt escaped, Fitzgiralde trauelled to Bruxels, where the emperour kept his court.

Doctor Pates being ambassador in the low countries, demanded Fitzgiralde of the emperour on his maister the king of Englands behalfe. The emperor hauing answered that he had not to deale with the boy, and for ought that he knew was not minded to make anie great abode in that countrie, sent him to the bishop of Liege, allowing him for his pension an hundred crownes monethlie. The bishop interteined him verie honorable, had him placed in an abbeie of monks, & was so careful of his safetie, that if anie person suspected had trauelled within the circuit of his gléebe, he should be streictlie examined whither he would, or from whence he came, or vpon what occasion he trauelled that waie. Hauing in this wise remained at Liege for halfe a yere, the cardinall Poole (Fitzgiralde his kinsman) sent for him to Rome. Whervpon the gentleman as well with the emperor his licence, as with surrendring his pension, trauelled to Italie, where the cardinall would not admit him to his companie, vntill he had attained to some knowledge in the Italian toong. Wherefore allowing him an annuities of threé hundred crownes, he placed him with the bishop of Verona, and the cardinall of Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua. Leurouse in the meane while was admitted through the cardinall Poole his procurement, to be one of the English house in Rome, called saint Thomas his hospitall.

Robert Walsh, vpon his maisters repaire to Italie, returned to Ireland. Fitzgiralde hauing continued with the cardinall, and the duke of Mantua, a yere and an halfe, was sent for by the cardinall Poole to Rome, at which time the duke of Mantua gaue him for an annuall pension 300 crownes. The cardinall greatlie reioised in his kinsman, had him carefullie trained vp in his house, interlacing with such discretion his learning and studies with exercises of actiuitie, as he should not be after accounted of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of actiue gentlemen for a dead and dumpish meacocke. If he had committed anie fault, the cardinall would secretlie command his tutors to correct him, and all that notwithstanding, he would in presence dandle the boie, as though he were not priuie to his punishment; & vpon his complaint made, he vsed to checke Fitzgiralde his maister openlie for chastising so seuerelie his pretie darling.

In

In this wise he rested thrée yeares together in the cardinall his house, and by that time hauing stept so far in yéers (for he was pricking fast vpon ninetée) as he began to know himselfe, the cardinall put him to his choise, either to continue his learning, or by traouelling to seeke his aduentures abrode. The yoong stripling (as vsuallie kind dooth créepe) rather of nature addicted to valiantnes, than wedded to bookishnesse, choosed to be a traoueller: and presentlie with the cardinall his licence repaired to Naples: where falling in acquaintance with knights of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, from thense he sailed to Tripolie (a fort appertaining to the aforesaid order, coasting vpon Barbarie) and there he abode six weekes with Mounbrison, a commander of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that hold.

Fitzgiralde tra-
uelled to Naples,
Tripolie.

Mounbrison.

At that time the knights serued valiantlie against the Turks and miscreants, spoiled and sacked their villages and townes that laie neere the water side, tooke diuerse of them prisoners, and after sold them to the christians for bondsclaues. The yoong Fitzgiralde returned with a rich bootie to Malta, from thense to Rome, hauing spent in this voiage not fullie one yeare. Proud was the cardinall to heare of his prosperous exploits: and for his further aduancement he inhansed his pension of thrée hundred crownes, to three hundred pounds, ouer and aboue thrée hundred crownes that the duke of Mantua allowed him. Shortlie after he preferred him to the seruice of the duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he continued maister of his horsse thrée yeares, hauing also of the duke thrée hundred duckets for a yearelie pension during life, or vntill he were restored; in like maner as the cardinall Poole and the duke of Mantua in their annuities had granted him.

Fitzgiralde re-
turneth to Rome.

The cardinall in-
hanseth Fitzgi-
raldes pension.

He is master of
the horsse to the
duke of Florence.

During the time that he was in seruice with the duke of Florence, he trauelled to Rome a shrouing, of set purpose to be merrie: and as he rode on hunting with cardinall Ferneise the pope his nephue, it happened that in chasing the bucke he fell into a pit nine and twentie fatham déepe, and in the fall forsaking his horsse within two fathams of the bottom, he tooke hold by two or three roots, griping them fast, vntill his armes were so wearie, as he could hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himselfe to God, he let go his gripe by little and little, and fell softlie on his horsse, that in the bottom of the pit laie starke dead, and there he stood vp to the ancles in water for the space of thrée houres. When the chase was ended, an exceeding good greihound of his named Grifhound, not finding his maister in the companie, followed his tract vntill he came to the pit, and from thense would not depart, but stood at the brim incessantlie howling. The cardinall Ferneise and his traine missing Fitzgiralde, made towards the dog, and surueieng the place, they were verelie persuaded that the gentleman was squised to death.

He falleth into a
déepe pit.

His greihound
findeth him out.

Hauing therefore posted his seruants in hast to a village hard by Rome (named Trecappan) for ropes and other necessaries, he caused one of the companie to glide in a basket downe to the bottome of the hole. Fitzgiralde reuiued with his presence, and willing to be remooued from so darkesome a dungeon to the open aire, besought the other to lend him his roome, wherevpon he was haled vp in the basket: as well to the generall admiration of the whole companie, as to the singular gratulation of the cardinall and all his friends, rendering most hartie thanks vnto God his diuine maiestie, for protecting the gentleman with his gracious guerdon. And thus surceassing to treat anie further of his aduentures, vntill the date of time traine my pen to a longer discourse, I will returne to the inhabitants of the English pale, who after the death of Thomas Fitzgiralde, through rigor of iustice and the due execution of lawes were greatlie molested. For ouer this, that such as were knowne for open and apparant traitors in the commotion, were for the more part executed, or with round sums fined, or from the realme exiled: certeine gentlemen of wor-

Trecappan.

Commissioners sent to Ireland. ship were sent from England, with commission to examine each person suspected with Thomas his treason, and so according to their discretion, either with equitie to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all such as they could proue to haue furthered him in his disloiall commotion. Commissioners were these: sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, sir George Paulet knight, maister Moile, and maister Barnes.

Their names. Much about this time was there a parlement holden at Dublin before the lord Leonard Greie lord deputie, beginning the first of Maie, in the eight and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight.

A parlement. 1539

In this parlement there past these acts following.

For the attaindor of the earle of Kildare, and Thomas Fitzgiralde, with others.

For the succession of the king & queene Anne.

Of absenties, wherein was granted to the king the inheritance of such lands in Ireland, wherof the duke of Norffolke & George Talbot earle of Waterford & Salop were seized, with the inheritances of diuerse other corporations and couents demurrant in England.

For the repeale of Poinings act.

Authorising the king his heirs and successors to be supream head of the church of Ireland.

That no subiects or resiants of Ireland shall pursue or commense, vse or execute anie maner of prouocations, appeales or other processe from the see of Rome, vpon paine of incurring the premunire.

Against such as slander the king, or his heires apparant.

For the first fruits.

Of sir Walter de la Hide knight his lands in Carbeire granted to the king.

An act } How persons robbed shall be restored to their goods.

Restreining tributs to be granted to Irishmen.

Against proctors to be any member of the parlement.

Against marieng or fostering with or to Irishmen.

Against the authoritie of the see of Rome.

For the twentieth part.

For the English order, habit, and language.

For the suppressing of abbeis.

For the lading of wooll & flockes.

For the prooffe of testaments.

Of faculties.

Declaring th'effect of Poinings act.

Of penall statutes.

For the weres vpon Barou, and other waters in the cuntrye of Kilkennie.

For the personage of Dongaran.

For leasers of corne.

The old earle of Kildare his wish before his death.

As for the old earle of Kildare, who in this parlement was atteinted for diuerse presumptions, in the preamble of the said act rehearsed, certeine it is, that the reuolt of his sonne Thomas Fitzgiralde smot him so deepe to the heart, as vpon the report thereof he deceased in the tower, wishing in his death-bed that either he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his brainelesse boy had neuer liued

liued to raise the like commotion. This earle, of such as did not stomach his proceedings, was taken for one that bare himselfe in all his affaires verie honorable, a wise, deepe, and far reaching man: in war valiant without rashnesse, and politike without treacherie. Such a suppressor of rebels in his gouernement, as they durst not beare armor to the annoiance of anie subiect, whereby he heaped no small reuenues to the crowne, enriched the king his treasure, garded with securitie the pale, continued the honor of his house, and purchased enuie to his person. His great hospitalitie is to this daie rather of each man commended, than of anie one followed. He was so religiouslie addicted vnto the seruing of God, as what time soeuer he trauelled to anie part of the countrie, such as were of his chappell should be sure to accompanie him. Among other rare gifts, he was with one singular qualitie indued, which were it put in practise by such as are of his calling, might minister great occasion as well to the abandoning of flattering carrie tales, as to the staied quietnesse of noble potentates.

His seruice.

His hospitalitie
and deuotion.

For if anie whispered, vnder *Benedicite*, a sinister report or secret practise, that tended to the distaining of his honor, or to the perill of his person, he would strictlie examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were past, or to come. If it were said or doone, he was accustomed to laie sore to his charge, where, and of whome he heard it, or how he could iustifie it. If he found him to halt in the prooffe, he would punish him as a pikethanke makebate, for being so maliciouslie caried, as for currieng fauour to himselfe, he would labor to purchase hatred to another. But if the practise were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then would he suspend the credit, vsing withall such warie secrecie, as vntill the matter came to the pinch, the aduersarie should thinke that he was most ignorant, when he was best prouided. As being in Dublin forewarned, that Iohn Olurkan with certeine desperate varlets conspired his destruction, & that they were determined to assault him vpon his returne to Mainoth, he had one of his seruants named Iames Grant, that was much of his pitch, and at a blush did somewhat resemble him, attired in his riding apparell, and namelie in a scarlet cloake, wherewith he vsed to be clad. Grant in this wise masking in his lords attire, rode as he was commanded in the beaten high waie towards Mainoth, with six of the earle his seruants attending vpon him. The conspirators awaiting towards Lucan the comming of the earle, incountered the disguised lord, and not doubting but it had béene Kildare, they began to charge him: but the other amazed therewith, cried that they tooke their marke amisse; for the earle rode to Mainoth on the further side of Liffie. Wherewith the murderers appalled, fled awaie, but incontinentlie were by the earle apprehended, sustaining the punishment that such caitifes deserued.

The old earle of
Kildare his poli-
cie when his
death was con-
spired.
Iohn Olurkan.
Iames Grant.

This noble man was so well affected to his wife the ladie Greie, as he would not at anie time buy a sute of apparell for himselfe, but he would sute hir with the same stuffe. Which gentlenesse she recompensed with equall kindnesse. For after that he deceased in the tower, she did not onelie euer after lue as a chast and honorable widow; but also nightlie before she went to bed, she would resort to his picture, & there with a solemne congée she would bid hir lord goodnight. Whereby may be gathered with how great loue she affected his person, that had in such price his bare picture. An other act that did passe in this parlement touching absenties, proceeded of this occasion. Maister Giraid Ailmer, who first was chiefe baron of the exchequer, after chiefe iustice of the common ples, was occasioned, for certeine his affaires, to repaire vnto the court of England. Where being for his good seruice greatlie countenanced by such as were in those daies taken for the pillars of the weale publike, namelie of the lord Cromwell; it happened that through his lordship his earnest meanes, the king made maister Ailemer chiefe iustice of his bench in Ireland.

The ladie Greies
kindnesse to hir
husband.

Giraid Ailmer.

land. This advancement disliked by certeine of Waterford and Weisford, that were not friended to the gentleman, they debased him in such despitefull wise, as the earle of Shrewesburie, who then was likewise earle of Waterford, was by their lewd reports caried to chalenge the king, so far as with his dutie of allegiance he durst, for bestowing so weightie an office vpon so light a person, being such a simple Iohn at Stile as he tearmed him, no wiser than Patch the late lord cardinall his foole.

The king herevpon expostulated with the lord Cromwell, who being throughlie acquainted with the gentleman his rare wisdom, answered: that if it would stand with his maiesties pleasure to enter into conference with him, he should be sure to find him no babe, notwithstanding the wrong informations of such as labored to thwart or crosse him. Whereto the king vpon further leasure agréed, and shortlie after (according to his promise) bestowed two or thrée houres with maister Ailmer: who vpon the lord Cromwell his forewarning, was so well armed for his highnesse, as he shewed himselfe in his discourse, by answering *Adomnia quare*, to be a man woorthie to supplie an office of so great credit. In this conference the king demanded him, what he tooke to be the chiefe occasion of disorder in Ireland, and how he thought it might best be reformed? "Trulie and it like your maiestie: quoth Ailmer) among sundrie reasons that might be probablie alleged for the decaie of that your kingdome, one chiefe occasion is, that certeine of your nobilitie of this your realme of England are seized of the better part of your dominion in Ireland, whereof they haue so little kéepe, as for lacke of their presence, they suffer the said lands to be ouerrun by rebels and traitors. Wherefore if your highnesse would prouide by act of parlement, that all such lands, which by reason of their absence may not be defended, should be to your highnesse by the consent of the nobilitie and communitie granted, you might thereby inrich your crowne, repress rebels, and defend your subiects from all traitorous inuasion."

The king tickled with this plausible deuise, yéelded maister Ailmer hartie thanks for his good counsell, and in this parlement had the tenure thereof put in effect. Which redounded chéeffie to the lord of Shrewesburie his disaduantage, as one that was possessed of diuerse ancient lordships and manors in that countrie. Soone after this parlement, **Oneale** imagining that he was able to make his partie good against the English pale, conspired with **Odoneale Maggadnesh**, **Ocaghan**, **Mac Kwilen**, **Ohanlan**, and other Irish lords, and on a sudden inuaded the pale, came to the **Nauan**, burnt all the townes of ech side confining, after marched to **Taragh**, mustering with great pride his armie vpon the top of the hill: and hauing gathered together the spoile of the pale without resistance, he began to recule northwards, making his full account to haue gone his waie scotfrée.

The lord **Leonard Greie** being then lord deputie, forecasting the worst, certified the king & counsell of **Oneale** his rebellion, and withall humblie besought a fresh supplie of souldiors to assist the pale in resisting the enimie, and that sir **William Bicereton** (who was discharged & returned to England) should be sent into Ireland, as one that for his late seruice was highlie commended of the countrie. The king and counsell condescending to the deputie his request, appointed sir **William Bicereton** to hie thither with speed, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie souldiors of **Cheshiremen**. In which seruice the gentleman was found so prest and readie, that notwithstanding in mustering his band he fell by his mishap off his horse, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than he would retire homewards, he appointed the mariners to hale him vp to their barke by pulleys, and in such impotent wise arriued in Ireland, suppressing the féeblesse of his bodie with the contagious valor of his mind.

Oneale rebelleth.

Sir **William Bicereton** sent for into Ireland.

Sir **William Bicereton** sent into Ireland.

The

The lord deputie in the meane while marched with the force of the pale, the maior & the citizens of Dublin to Drogheda: from thence likewise accompanied with the maior & townesmen, he marched northward to Bellahoa, where Oneale & his companie on the further side of the water laie incamped with the spoile of the pale. The deputie by spies and secret messengers hereof certified, caused the armie to trauell the better part of the night, insomuch as by the dawning of the daie they were neere to the riuers side: where hauing escried the enimies, namlie Maggadnesh, and the Galloglasses that were placed there to kéepe the streicts (for Oneale with a maine armie lurked not farre off) they began to set themselues in battell arraie, as men that were resolued with all hast and good speed to supprise the enimie with a sudden charge.

The foord of
Bellahoa.

At which time Iames Fleming baron of Slane (commonlie called Blacke Iames) garded with a round companie, as well of horsmen as of footmen, humblie besought the deputie to grant him that daie the honor of the onset. Whereto when the lord Greie had agréed, the baron of Slane with chéerefull countenance imparted the obtaining of his sute, as plesant tidings to Robert Halfepennie, who with his ancestors was standardbearer to the house of Slane. But Halfepennie séeing the further side of the water so beset with armed Galloglasses as he tooke it, as likelie an attempt to rase down the strongest fort in Ireland with a fillip, as to rush through such quicke iron walles, flatlie answered the baron, that he would rather disclame in his officé, than there to giue the onset where there rested no hope of life, but an assured certeintie of death. And therefore he was not as yet so wearie of the world, as like an headlong hotspur, voluntarilie to run to his vtter and vndoubted destruction. Wherefore he besought his lordship to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his deniall to basenesse of corage, but to warinesse of safetie, although he knew none of staied mind, but would sooner choose to sleepe in an whole shéepe his pelt, than to walke in a torne lion his skin, namelie when all hope of life was abandoned, and the certeintie of death assuredlie promised.

Iames Fleming
baron of Slane.

Robert Halfepennie.

The baron with this answer at his wits end rode to Robert Betoa of Downore, brake with him as touching Halfepennie his determination, & withall requested him (as he did tender his honor) now at a pinch to supplie the roome of that dastardlie coward, as he did terme him. Betoa to this answered, that though it stood with good reason, that such as hertofore tasted the sweet in peace, should now be contented to sip of the sowre in war: yet notwithstanding, rather than the matter should to his honor lie in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lie in the water; & withall being surpassinglie mounted (for the baron gaue him a choise horse) he tooke the standard, & with a sudden showt, hauing with him in the forerauke Mabe of Mabestowne (who at the first brunt was slaine) he floong into the water, and charged the Irish that stood on the further shore. After followed the gentlemen and yeomen of the pale, that with as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with corage resisted their assault. To this stoutnesse were the enimies more boldlie pricked, in that they had the aduantage of the shore; and the gentlemen of the pale were constreined to bicker in the water.

Robert Betoa.

Mabe of Mabe-
towne slaine.

But the longer the Irish continued, the more they were disaduantaged; by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplies, as their enimies could not anie longer withstand them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forsake the banke, and to giue the armie free passage. The English taking hart vpon their faintnesse, brake through the Galloglasses, slue Maggadnesh their capteine, pursued Oneale with the remnant of his lords, leauing behind them for lacke of safe carriage the spoile of the pale, scantlie able to escape with his owne life, being egerlie pursued by the armie vntill it was sunne set. In this hot conflict Matthew King, Patrike Barnewall

The Irish dis-
comfited.
Oneale put to
flight.

King.
Barnewall.

wall

Basnet.
Fitzsimons.

The maiors of
Dublin and
Drogheda dub-
bed knights.

Ailmer.
Talbot.
The valiantnesse
of the lord Greie.

wall of Kilmallocke, sir Edward Basnet priest, who after became deane of saint Patriks in Dublin, and was sworne one of the priuie counsell, and Thomas Fitzsimons of Curdiffe, were reported to haue serued verie valiantlie. Moreouer, Iames Fitzsimons maior of Dublin, Michaell Curseie maior of Drogheda, Girald Ailmer cheefe iustice, and Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in the field.

But of all others, the lord Greie then lord deputie, as he was in authoritie superior to them all, so in courage and manlinesse he was inferior to none. He was noted by the armie to haue indured great toile and paine before the skirmish, by posting bare-headed from one band to an other, debasing the enimies, inhansing the power of the pale, depressing the reuolt of rebellious traitors, extolling the good quarell of loiall subiects, offring large rewards, which with as great constancie he performed, as with liberalitie he promised. Ouer this, he bare himselfe so affable to his souldiors, in vsing them like friends and fellows, and terming them with courteous names, and moouing laughter with pleasant conceipts, as they were incensed as well for the loue of the person, as for the hatred of the enimie, with resolute minds to bicker with the Irish. In which conflict the deputie was as forward as the most, and bequitt himselfe as valiant a seruitor as the best.

The lord Greie
accused.

The gouernor, turning the oportunitie of this skirmish to his aduantage, shortlie after rode to the north, preiding & spoiling Oneale with his confederats, who by reason of the late ouerthrow were able to make but little resistance. In this iornie he rased saint Patrike his church in Downe, an old ancient citie of Vlster, and burnt the monuments of Patrike, Brigide, and Colme, who are said to haue beene there intoomed, as before is expressed in the description of Ireland. This fact lost him sundrie harts in that countrie, alwaies after detesting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Wherevpon conspiring with such of Mounster as were enimies to his gouernment, they booked vp diuerse complaints against him, which they did exhibit to the king and counsell. The articles of greatest importance laid to his charge were these.

The articles that
were laid to his
charge.

1 Inprimis, that notwithstanding he were strictlie commanded by the king his maiestie, to apprehend his kinsman the yong Fitzgirald, yet did he not onlie disobeie the kings letters as touching that point by plaieng bopéepe, but also had priuie conference with the said Fitzgirald, and laie with him two or three seuerall nights before he departed into France.

2 Item, that the cheefe cause that mooued him to inuegle Thomas Fitzgirald with such faire promises, procéeded of set purpose to haue him cut off, to the end there should be a gap set open for the yong Fitzgirald to aspire to the earledome of Kildare.

3 Item, that he was so greedilie addicted to the pilling and polling of the king his subiects, namelie of such as were resiant in Mounster, as the beds he laie in, the cups he dranke in, the plate with which he was serued in anie gentlemans house, were by his seruants against right and reason packt vp, and carried with great extortion awaie.

4 Item, that without anie warrant from the king or counsell, he prophaned the church of saint Patrikes in Downe, turning it to a stable, after plucked it downe, and ship tthe notable ring of bells that did hang in the steeple, meaning to haue sent them to England: had not God of his iustice preuented his iniquitie, by sinking the vessell and passengers wherein the said belles should haue béene conueied.

These and the like articles were with such odious presumptions coloured by his accusers, as the king and counsell remembring his late faults, and forgetting his former seruices (for commonlie all men are of so hard hap, that they shall be sooner

for

for one trespasse condemned, than for a thousand good deserts commended) gaue commandement that the lord Greie should not onelie be remooued from the gouernment of the countrie, but also had him beheaded on the tower hill the eight and twentieth of Iune. But as touching the first article, that brought him most of all out of conceipt with the king, I mooued question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor therof were true or false? His lordship thereto answered *Pona fide*, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receiued message or letter from him. Whereby maie be gathered, with how manie dangers they are inwrapped that gouerne prouinces, wherein diligence is twhackt with hatred, negligence is loden with tawnts, seueritie with perils menaced, liberalitie with thanklesse vnkindnesse contemned, conference to vndermining framed, flatterie to destruction forged, each in countenance smiling, diuerse in heart pouting, open fawning, secret grudging, gaping for such as shall succéed in gouernment, honouring magistrates with cap and knee as long as they are present, and carping them with toong and pen as soone as they are absent.

The lord Leonard Greie (as is aforesaid) discharged, sir William Brereton was constituted lord iustice. whose short gouernement was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Oneale fell to a reasonable composition, yet other of the Irish lordings, namelie Oconhur and his adherents, that are content to liue as subiects, as long as they are not able to hold out as rebels, conspired together, and determined to assemble their power at the hill of Fowre in west Meth, and so on a sudden to ransacke the pale. The lord iustice foorthwith accompanied with the armie, and with two thousand of the pale, of which no small number were ecclesiasticall persons, made towards the rebels, who vpon the approch of so great an armie gaue ground, and dispersed themselues in woods and marishes. The lord iustice this notwithstanding inuaded Oconhur his countrie, burnt his tenements, & made all his trenches with the multitude of pioners so passable, as foure hundred carts, beside light carriage, were led without let thorough the countrie. Oconhur soone after submitted himselfe, & sent his sonne Cormach to the lord iustice as hostage for his future obedience and loialtie to the king his highnesse. After this iournie was ended, sir Anthonie Sentleger knight of the order was constituted lord deputie, and sir William Brereton lord high marshall, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be marshall, traouelling by the lord deputie his appointment to Limerike, to bring in Iames earle of Desmond, who stood vpon certeine tickle points with the gouernor, ended his life in that iournie, and lieth intoomed at Kilkennie in the quier of saint Kennie his church. In the thrée and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger, in which there passed these statutes following; namelie.

- An act {
- That the king and his successors to be kings of Ireland.
 - For graie merchants.
 - That the plantife maie abridge his plaint in assise.
 - That consanguinitie or affinitie being not within the fift degree, shall be no principall challenge.
 - That maketh it felonie to anie man to run awaie with his master his casket.
 - For the adnihilating of precontracts in marriage.
 - For all lords to distreine vpon the lands of them holden, & to make their auowrie, not naming the tenant, but their land.
 - For capacities.

The lord Greie
beheaded.
1541

The lord Greie
guiltlesse of the
first article.

The dangers that
happen to gouern-
ors of prouin-
ces.

Sir William Bre-
retton lord ius-
tice.

Oconhur sub-
mitteth himselfe
to the lord iustice

Sir Anthonie
Sentleger lord
deputie.
Sir William Bre-
retton lord high
marshall.

He dieth.

1542

An act { For seruants wages.
 { For ioint-tenants.
 { For recouerie in auoiding leases.
 { For tithes.
 { For atturnements.

This parlement was proroged vntill the fiftéenth of Februarie, and after was continued at Limerike before the said deputie, at which time there passed

An act { For the adiournment of the parlement, and the place to hold the same, and what persons shall be chosen knights and burgeses.
 { For the election of the lord iustice.
 { Touching mispleding and ieoyfailes.
 { For lands giuen by the king.
 { For the suppression of Kilmainan and other religious houses.

1543 This parlement was likewise proroged, and after was continued and holden before the said gouernour at Dublin, the sixt daie of Nouember, in the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, wherein there passed these acts; namelie:

An act { For the diuision of Meth into two shires.
 { For persons standing bound in any court for their appeerance, and being in seruice, to be discharged by writ.

James earle of
Desmond.

Oneale earle of
Tiron.

Obren created
earle of Clencare.

1544
The parliament
at Bullongne.

Their police in
pursuing for
the soldiers.

This parlement was further proroged vntill the seuentéenth of Aprill, and at that time before the said gouernor it was holden and ended, in which there passed an act touching the manour and castell of Dongaruan to be vnited and annexed to the crowne for euer. To this parlement resorted diuerse of the Irish lords, who submitting themselues to the deputie his mercie, returned peaceable to their countries. But Iames earle of Desmond sailed into England, and before the king and counsell purged himselfe of all such articles of treason as were falselie laid to his charge: whose cleare purgation and humble submission the king accepted verie gratefullie. Shortlie after Desmond his returne homeward, the great Oneale was created earle of Tiron, and his base sonne Matthew Oneale baron of Dongaruan. For in those daies Iohn Oneale, commonlie called Shane Oneale, the onelie sonne lawfullie of his bodie begotten, was little or nothing estéemed.

Oneale hauing returned to Ireland with this honour, and the king his fauor, Obren with certeine other Irish lords sailed into England, submitting their liues and lands to the king his mercie. This Obren was at that time created earle of Clencare, in which honour his posteritie hitherto resteth. Shortlie after the returne of these lords to their countrie, king Henrie being fullie resolved to besiege Bullongne, gaue commandement to sir Anthonie Sentleger deputie, to leuie an armie of Irishmen, and with all expedition to send them to England. To these were appointed capteins the lord Powre, who after was dubd knight, Surlocke & Finglasse, with diuerse others. They mustered in saint Iames his parke seuen hundred. In the siege of Bullongne they stood the armie in verie good sted. For they were not onelie contented to burne and spoile all the villages thereto adioining; but also they would range twentie or thirtie miles into the maine land: and hauing taken a bull, they vsed to tie him to a stake, and scorching him with faggots, they would force him

him to rore, so as all the cattell in the countrie would make towards the bull, all which they would lightlie lead awaie, and furnish the campe with store of béeſe.

If they tooke anie Frenchman prisoner, lest they should be accounted couetous, in snatching with them his entier bodie, his onelie ransome should bée no more but his head. The French with this strange kind of warfaring astonished, sent an ambassador to king Henrie, to learne whether he brought men with him or diuels, that could neither be woone with rewards, nor pacified by pitie: which when the king had turned to a ieast, the Frenchmen euer after, if they could take anie of the Irish scatering from the companie, vsed first to cut off their genitals, and after to torment them with as great and as lingering paine as they could deuise.

After that Bullongne was surrendred to the king, there incamped on the west side of the towne beyond the hauen an armie of Frenchmen, amongst whome there was a Thrasonicall Golias that departed from the armie, and came to the brinke of the hauen, and there in letting and daring wise chalenged anie one of the English armie that durst be so hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And albeit the distance of the place, the depth of the hauen, the neernesse of his companie inboldened him to this chalenge, more than anie great valour or pith that rested in him to indure a combat; yet all this notwithstanding, an Irishman named Nicholl Welsh, who after reteined to the earle of Kildare, loathing and disdaining his proud brags, flung into the water, and swam ouer the riuier, fought with the challenger, strake him for dead, and returned backe to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his mouth, before the armie could ouertake him. For which exploit, as he was of all his companie highlie commended, so by the lieutenant he was bountifullie rewarded.

A French challenger vanquished.

Nicholl Welsh.

Much about this time the earle of Lennox, verie wrongfullie inquired in Scotland, and forced to forsake his countrie, became humble petitioner to king Henrie, as well to reléeue him in his distressed calamitie, as to compasse the means how he might be restored to his lands & liuing. The king his highnesse moued with compassion, posted the earle ouer to Ireland, with letters of especiall trust, commanding sir Anthonie Sentleger then deputie, to assist and further the Scottish outcast, with as puissant an armie as to his contentation should séeme good. The deputie, vpon the receipt of these letters, sent for Iames Butler earle of Ormond and Osserie, a noble man, no lesse politike in peace, than valiant in warres, made him priue to the king his pleasure; and withall in his maiesties name did cast the charge hereof vpon the said earle, as one that for his tried loialtie was willing, and for his honour and valour able to attempt and atchiue so rare and famous an exploit. The lord of Ormond as willing to obeie, as the gouernour was to command, leuied of his tenants and reteiners six hundred Gallowglasses, foure hundred Kearnes, three score horssemen, and foure hundred and fortie shot: so in the whole he mustered on Osmantowne greene néere Dublin, fiftéene hundred souldiours.

1545

The earle of Lennox assisted by king Henrie.

Iames Butler earle of Ormond.

The lord deputie yéelding his honour such thanks in words, as he deserued indéed, leuied in the pale fiftéene hundred souldiours more, to be annexed to the earle his companie. Ouer them he constituted sir Iohn Trauers capteine, but the erle of Ormond was made generall of the whole armie. When the souldiours were with munition and victuals abundantlie furnished, the earle of Ormond and the earle of Lennox tooke shipping at Sherise, hauing in their companie twentie and eight ships well rigged, sufficientlie manned, and stronglie appointed. From thense they sailed northwards, and rode at anchor without the hauen of Oldfléet beyond Kargfergus. Where hauing remained hulling without the mouth of the hauen, contrarie to the aduise of the masters of their ships (who prognosticated the speedie approach of a storme, and therefore did wish them to take a good harbrough) it

Sir Iohn Trauers knight.

The earle of Ormond and the earle of Lennox in danger to be drowned.

hapned that the said night there arose so boisterous a tempest, that the whole fleet was like to haue beene ouerwhelmed. The mariners betaking their passengers and themselves to the mercie of God, did cut their maine masts, let slip their anchors, and were weather driuen to the hauens of Dunbritaine in Scotland, whereas they were like to run their ships on ground, and consequentlie they all should either haue béene plunged in the water, or else haue béene slaine on the land by a great number of Scots that awaited their approach. God with his gracious clemencie preuenting their imminent calamitie, sent them not-onelie a wished calme, but also a prosperous gale of wind, that blew them backe in safetie to the Irish coast, from whence they were scattered.

The earle of Ormond his pro-
prie.

The earle of Lennox aduertised by certeine of his fréends that met with him on the sea, that the Scots (contrarie to their promise) dealt verie double with him (for although they gaue their word to surrender vp to him the castell of Dunbritaine, yet they did not onelie fortifie that hold, but also were readie to incounter with his souldiors vpon their arriuals) he concluded to returne to Ireland. The earle of Ormond verie loath that so great an attempt should take so little effect, dealt with him verie earnestlie, notwithstanding his counsell were bewraied to inuade his enemies, and his lordship should be sure to find the armie so forward in assisting him in so famous an enterprise, as they would shew themselves more willing to bicker with his foes in Scotland, than without skirmishing to returne to Ireland. For the earle of Ormond was of this nature, that as he would not begin anie martiall broile rashlie or vnadvisedlie, so he would not séeme to put it vp lightlie or easilie.

The lord of the
out Iles sailth
to the earle of
Lennox.

Further, whereas the earle of Lennox stood in hope, that the lord of the out Iles would aid him, it was thought by Ormond not to be amisse, to expect his comming; and so ioining his companie to the armie, there rested no doubt, but that the Scottish enemies would be forced to plucke in their hornes, although at the first blush they séeme to set a good face on the matter. Lennox somewhat with this persuasion carried, gaue his consent to expect the lord of the out Iles determination, who notwithstanding all the fetch of the enterprise were descried, would not slip from his word, but personallie sailed to the Irish fléet, with thrée gallies well appointed. The noble man with such martiall triumphs was receiued, as warlike souldiors could on the sea afoord him. But of all others, both the earls gaue him heartie intertainment for his true & honorable dealing, that to be as good as his word, would not séeme to shrink from his fréend in this his aduersitie. And shortlie after as they craued his aduise what were best to be doone, either to land in Scotland, or else to returne homeward, his flat resolution was at that time to retire, bicause their drift was detected, their feined friends fainted, the castels were fortified, and the shoares on all parts with swarms of Scots peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie to giue out in open rumors, that they meant not at anie hand to inuade Scotland, but to retire to their countrie.

Ormond and
Lennox land.

The lord of the
out Iles dieth.

And after that the Scottish souldiors should be dismiss, which would be incontinent vpon their returne, by reason of the excessiue charges: then might the earle of Lennox with lesse preparation, and more secrecie giue a fresh onset, that the enemies should sooner féele his force, than heare of his arriual. Ormond and Lennox vpon this determination landed with the greater part of the armie, and appointed the ships to bend their course to Dublin. The lord of the out Iles and his three gallies sailed with the fléet, for he was not able by reason of the féeblesse of his bodie to trauell by land, or scantlie further to prolong his life, which he ended at Houth presentlie vpon his arriual, and was with great solemnitie buried in saint Patrike his church at Dublin, vpon whose death this epitaph following was framed:

“ Vique

“Vique manúque mea patriæ dum redditur exsul,
Exsul in externa cogor & ipse mori.”

His epitaph.

Both the earles marched with the armie on foot to Carregfergus, where they brake companie. For Lennox and sir Iohn Trauers taking as he thought the shorter but not the safer waie, trauelled through the Ardes with the number of five hundred souldiers, where the Irish inhabitants skirmished with them, and put them to such streict plunges (for they would gladlie haue seene what a clocke it was in their budgets) as they wished they had not parted from the rest of the armie. The earle of Ormond with his souldiers (which were a thousand five hundred, as before is expressed) marched on foot to Beleafast, which is an arme of the sea, a quarter of a mile broad or little lesse. And albeit their wether were bitter and ouernipping, and no small parcell of the water were congeled with frost, yet the earle and his armie waded ouer on foot, to the great danger as well of his person, as of the whole companie, which doubtlesse was a valiant enterprise of so honorable a personage. From thense he passed to Strangford, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he discharged his souldiers, and hauing presented himselfe to the gouernour at Dublin, he rode homewards to the countie of Kilkennie.

The Irish skirmish with the earle of Lennox.

The earle of Ormond his toilsome trauch.

Shortlie after sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie and the earle of Ormond fell at debate, insomuch as either of them laid articles of treason one to the others charge. The chiefe occasion of their mutuall grudge procéeded of certeine new and extraordinarie impositions, wherewith the deputie would haue charged the subiects. Whereat the earle of Ormond as a zelous defendor of his countrie began to kicke, & in no sort could be woone to agree to anie such vnreasonable demand. Herevpon Ormond, perceiuing that the gouernour persisted in his purpose, addressed letters of complaint to such as were of the priuie councell in England: which letters were by one of sir Anthonie his friends intercepted at sea, and presented to him to be perused. Sir Anthonie hauing ouer read the writings, sent master Basnet in post hast with the packet to Kilkennie, where the earle of Ormond kept his Christmasse, requesting his lordship to take in good part the opening of his letters. Which was doone rather to learne the effect of his complaint, than in anie sort to imbar his writings from comming to the counceils hands.

The deputie and Ormond at debate.

Ormond his letters intercepted.

The earle answered that his quarell was so good, his dealing so open, as he little weighed who tooke a view of his letters. And for his part what he wrote he meant not to vnwrite; but in such sort as they came from the gouernour, they should be sent to the councell: and if their honours would allow anie subiect to be so hardie, as to intercept and open letters that were to them indorsed, he could not but digest anie such iniurie that they would seeme to beare. With this answer Basnet returned, and the earle performed his promise. Wherevpon the gouernour and he were commanded to appeare before the priuie councell in England, where they were sundrie times examined, and their accusations ripelie debated. In fine, the councell equallie to both parts in their complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due desert of both their loiall seruices, than the vaine presumption of their mutuall accusations, wrapped vp their quarels & made them both fréends, with such indifferencie, as neither part should be either with anie conquest exalted, or with anie foile debased.

The lord deputie and Ormond sent for to England.

They are made fréends.

And for so much as sir Iohn Alen knight then lord chancellor of Ireland, was found to limpe in this controuersie, by plaieng (as it was supposed) more craftilie than wiselie, with both the hands, in that he séemed to be rather a fosterer of their malice, than an appeaser of their quarels, he was likewise sent for into England; and being tript by the councell in his tale, was committed to the Fleet, wherin he remained

Sir Iohn Alen lord chancellor committed to the Fleet.

remained a long time. In this trouble the earle of Ormond was greatlie aided by
Sir William Wise knight sir William Wise knight a worshipfull gentleman, borne in the citie of Waterford, who deservng in déed the praise of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grew to be of great credit in the court, and stood highlie in king Henrie his grace, which he wholie vsed to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abused to the annoiance of his foes. This gentleman was verie well spoken, mild of nature, with discretion stout, as one that in an vpright quarell would beare no coles, seldome in an intricate matter grauelled, being found at all assaies to be of a pleasant and present wit. Hauing lent the king his signet to seale a letter, who hauing powdred erimites ingrailed in the seale; "Why how now Wise (quoth the king) what, hast thou lice here?" "And if it like your maiestie," quoth sir William, "a louse is a rich for by giuing the louse, I part armes with the French king, in that he giueth the floure de lice." Whereat the king hartilie laughed, to heare how pretilie so biting a taunt (namelie procéding from a prince) was suddenlie turned to so pleasant a conceipt.

Anon after the agreement made betwéene Ormond and Sentleger, the earle his seruants (which he kept at that time in his liuerie to the number of fiftie) besought his lordship to take at the Linelhouse his part of a supper, which they prouided for him. The noble man with honour accepting their dutifull offer, supped at their request, but not to their contentation at the place appointed. For whether it were that one caitife or other did poison the meat, or that some other false measures were vsed (the certeintie with the reuenge whereof to God is to be referred) the noble man with thirtie and fíue of his seruants presentlie that night sickened: one James White the earle his steward, with sixteene of his fellowes died, the remnant of the seruants recouered. But their lord, whose health was chieflie to be wished, in the
The earle of Ormond deceaseth.
 1546 floure of his age deceased of that sicknesse at Elie house in Holborne, much about the eight and twentieth of October, and was buried in saint Thomas of Acres his church, whose death bred sorrow to his friends, little comfort to his aduersaries, great losse to his countrie, and no small grieve to all good men.

His description. This earle was a goodlie and personable noble man, full of honour, which was not onelie lodged inwardlie in his mind, but also he bare it outwardlie in countenance: as franke & as liberall as his calling required, a deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather stout than stubborne, bearing himselfe with no lesse courage when he resisted, than with honorable discretion where he yéelded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that procured vnlawfull quietnesse before vpright troubles, being notwithstanding of as great wisdom in the one, as of valour in the other. An earnest and a zealous vpholder of his countrie, in all attempts rather respecting the publike weale than his priuat gaine. Whereby he bound his countrie so greatlie vnto him, that Ireland might with good cause wish, that either he had neuer beene borne, or else that he had neuer deceased; so it were lawfull to craue him to be immortall, that by course of nature was framed mortall. And to giue sufficient prooffe of the entire affection he bare his countrie, and of the zealous care he did cast thereon, he betooke in his death-bed his soule to God, his carcase to christian buriall, and his hart to his countrie; declaring therby, that where his mind was settled in his life, his hart should be there intoomed after his death. Which was according to his will accomplished. For his hart was conueied to Ireland, and lieth ingraued in the quéere of the cathedrall church in Kilkennie, where his ancestors for the more part are buried. Vpon which kind & louing legacie this epitaph following was deuised:

His epitaph.

"Cor patriæ fixum viuens, iam redditur illi
 Post mortem, patriæ quæ peracerba venit.

Non

Non sine corde valet mortalis viuere quisquam,
 Vix tua gens vita permanet absque tua.
 Quæ licet infœlix extincto corde fruatur,
 Attamen optato viuere corde nequit.
 Ergò quid hæc faciat? Quem re non possit amorem
 Cordi vt tam charo reddere corde velit?"

The effect of which said epitaph is thus Englished :

" The liuing hart where laie ingrauen
 the care of countrie deere,
 To countrie liuelesse is restord
 and lies ingrauen here.
 None hartlesse liues, his countrie then
 alas what ioie is left,
 Whose hope, whose hap, whose hart he was
 till death his life bereft.
 And though the soile here shrowds the hart,
 which most it wisht t'enioie,
 Yet of the change from nobler seat,
 the cause dooth it annoie.
 What honour then is due to him,
 for him what worthie rite?
 But that ech hart with hartiest loue,
 his worthiest hart may quite?"

This earle was of so noble a disposition, as he would sooner countenance and support his poore well willer in his aduersitie, than he would make or fawne vpon his wealthie friend in prosperitie. Hauing bid at London (not long before his death) the ladie Greie countess of Kildare to dinner, it happened that a souldier, surnamed Powre, who latelie returned fresh from the emperour his warres, came to take his repast with the earle before the messenger. When the earle and the countesse were set, this roisting Rutterkin wholie then standing on the soldado hoigh, placed himselfe right ouer against the countesse of Kildare, hard at the earle of Ormond his elbow, as though he were haile fellow well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent saucinesse of the malapert soldier (who notwithstanding might be borne withall, bicause an vnbidden ghest knoweth not where to sit) besought him courteouslie to giue place. The earle, when the other arose, taking vpon him the office of a gentleman vsuer, placed in Powre his seat, his cousine Edward Fitzgiraldd, now lieutenant of hir maiesties pensioners, who at that time being a yoong stripling, attended vpon his mother the countesse, and so in order he set euerie gentleman in his degré, to the number of fifteene or sixteene: and last of all the companie, he licenced Powre, if he would, to sit at the lower end of the table, where he had scantlie elbow roome.

The kindnes of
 James erle of
 Ormond to his
 friends.

Edward Fitzgiraldd.

The countesse of Kildare, perceiuing the noble man greatlie to stomach the souldior his presumptuous boldnesse, nipt him at the elbow, and whispering softlie, besought his lordship not to take the matter so hot, bicause the gentleman (she ment Powre) knew that the house of Kildare was of late atteinted, and that hir children were not in this their calamitie in such wise to be regarded. "No ladie (quoth the earle with a lowd voice, and the tears trilling downe his léeres), saie not so, I trust to see the daie, when my yoong cousin Edward, and the remnant of your children (as little reckoning as he maketh of them) shall disdaine the companie of any such skipiacke." Which prophesie fell out as trulie as he foretold it, onelic sauimg

sauing that it stood with God his pleasure to call him to his mercie before he could see that daie after which doubtlesse he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Kildare.

Sir Anthonie
Sentleger re-
turned lord de-
putie.

After this noble earle his vntimelie decease, sir Anthonie Sentleger was returned to Ireland lord deputie, who was a wise and a warie gentleman, a valiant seruitor in war, and a good iusticer in peace, properlie learned, a good maker in the English, hauing grauitie so interlaced with pleasantnesse, as with an excéeding good grace he would attaine the one without pouting dumpishnesse, and exercise the other without loathsome lightnesse. There fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as lord deputie had the presentation. When diuerse made suit to him for the benefice, and offered with dishonestie to buie that which with safetie of conscience he could not sell, he answered merilie, that he was resolved not to commit simonie: yet notwithstanding he had a nag in his stable that was worth fortie shillings, and he that would giue him fortie pounds for the nag, should be preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleasure vttered, than of anie vnconscionable meaning purposed to haue doone.

Sentleger his
simonie.

His gouernement had beene of the countrie verie well liked, were it not that in his time he began to asseesse the pale with certeine new impositions, not so profitable (as it was thought) to the gouernors, as it was noisome to the subiects. The debating of which I purpose to referre to them, who are discoursers of publike estates, and the reformers of the commonwealth, praieng to God, that he with his grace direct them so faithfullie to accomplish the duties of good magistrates, that they gouerne that poore battered Iland to his diuine honour, to hir maiesties contentation, to the suppressing of rebels, to the vpholding of subiects, and rather to the publike weale of the whole countrie, than to the priuat gaine of a few persons, which oftentimes falleth out in prooffe to the ruine and vndooing of the séeker.

Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine instructions directed me, and my leasure serued me, haue I continued a parcell of the Irish historie, and haue stretched it to the reigne of Edward the sixt. Whereupon I am forced to craue at thine hands pardon and tollerance: pardon for anie error I shall be found to haue committed, which vpon frienallie admonition I am readie to reforme: tollerance, for that part of the historie which is not continued, till time I be so furnished and fraught with matter, as that I maie emploie my trauell to serue thy contentation.

F I N I S.

THE
SUPPLIE OF THIS
IRISH CHRONICLE,
CONTINUED FROM THE DEATH OF
KING HENRIE THE EIGHT, 1546,
VNTILL THIS PRESENT YEARE 1586,
IN THE 28 YEARE OF HIR MAIESTIES REIGNE,
SIR IOHN PEROT RESIDING DEPUTIE IN IRELAND.
BY IOHN VOWELL *alias* HOOKER
OF THE CITIE OF EXCESTER, GENTLEMAN.

AS from the time of *Giraldus Cambrensis* (the best deserued and exact writer of the conquest and state of Ireland in his time, few or none haue followed and continued any perfect course of that historie vntill the death of king Henrie the eight, and the beginning of king Edward the sixt 1546; and therefore no certcine knowledge nor assurance can be yelded, nor set downe either of the quiet gouernement in time of peace, or of the troublesome state in time of warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records, which were verie slenderlie & disorderlie kept, or out of some priuat mens collections and pamphlets, remaining in some od and obscure places: euen so the like from that time vnto these presents hath happened and is fallen out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due obseruations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie the memoriall; sauing the things so latelie doone are not altogither out of remembrance, and some yet liuing that can

remember some things doone in their times. And yet that is so vncerteine, and euerie man so varieth one from the others reports, that no man can well therevpon set downe a perfect and so exact a course as the nature of an historie requireth, and as it ought to be doone. He therefore that vpon such vncerteinties shall intermedle and vndertake the penning, much more the printing of such an vncerteine, confused, and intricate discourse, must looke and be assured to be subiect to manie cauls and reproches: which thing discouraged me the writer hereof to intermedle at all in this historie. Neuerthelesse, this worke requiring a supplie, and my selfe being earnestlie required to doo something herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue searched and collected to set downe in this short discourse and rhapsodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not so full as the worke requireth, nor so sufficient as to the satisfaction of the reader, nor yet so answerable to the nature of an historie as is necessarie and requisit: yet let the good will of the writer be his discharge from reproch, and be an occasion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full measure in matter and truth: that this historie may haue his perfection, the reader satisfied, and this writer acquitted.

IOHN HOOKER, aliàs VOWELL.

THE
SUPPLIE
OF THE
IRISH CHRONICLES

EXTENDED TO THIS PRESENT YEARE OF OUR LORD 1586,

AND THE 28 OF THE REIGNE OF

QUEENE ELISABETH.

AFTER the death of king Henrie the eight, sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, was reuoked; who deliuered vp the sword at his departure vnto sir William Brabston knight; and he was lord iustice, vtill such time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent ouer to be deputie. This man was seruant to king Edward the sixt, and of his priuie chamber: a man verie well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout & valiant, and did verie worthilie direct his gouernment. In his time there was a mint kept in the castell of Dublin, which being at his commandement, he was the better able to doo good seruice to the king his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In the ciuill gouernment he was carefull to place learned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a speciall eie for the dooing of their offices; as he had the like care for good and expert capteins, to serue in the martiall affaires. And for the more spéedic seruice to be doone therein at all times needfull, he kept sundrie stables of horsse: one at Leighlin, one at Lex, and some in one place and some in another, as he thought most méet for seruice. And whatsoeuer he had to doo, or what seruice soeuer he meant to take in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so priuie, as none should haue anie vnderstanding thereof, before the verie instant of the seruice to be doone; and for the most part, whensoever he tooke anie iournie in hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what place he would ride, or what he would doo. It happened that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Wherevpon calling vnto him his companie as he thought good, and without making them acquainted what he minded to doo, tooke horsse & rode to Leighlin bridge. The abbeie there (being suppressed) he caused to be inclosed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horsse, and there he furnished himselfe and all his men with horsse and other furniture, and foorthwith rode into Mounster, vnto the house of the

Sir Anthonie
Sentleger re-
uoked.

1547

Sir Edward Bel-
lingham made
lord deputie.

A mint in
Dublin.

Sir Edward
Bellinghams
carefulnesse in
gouernement.

Sundrie stables
of horsse kept.

His secrecie in
this seruice.

Leighlin abbeie
inclosed with a
wall and made a
fort.

The earle of
Desmond taken
in his house.

The earle is
rude without
nurture.

The earle in-
structed in ci-
uilitie.

The earle
prieth for sir
Edward Bel-
lingham.

The lord deputie
would be charge-
able to none.

The good ge-
uernment of
this deputie.

Sir Edward Bel-
lingham well be-
loved.

1548
Sir Francis
Brian lord
iustice.

Sir Francis
Brian married the
countesse of Or-
mond, died and
was buried at
Waterford.

1549
Sir William
Brabston lord
iustice.

1550
Sir Anthonic
Sentleger lord

earle, being then Christmas; and being vnlooked and ynthought of, he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by the fire, and there tooke him, and caried him with him to Dublin.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and in apparell, hauing for want of good nurture as much good maners as his Kerns and his followers could teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did so instruct, schoole, and informe him, that he made a new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie in maners, apparell, and behauiours apperteining to his estate and degree; as also to the knowledge of his dutie and obedience to his souereigne & prince; and made him to knéele vpon his knées sometimes an houre together, before he knew his dutie. This though it were verie strange to the earle, who hauing not béene trained vp in anie ciuilitie, knew not what apperteined to his dutie and calling: neither yet of what authoritie and maiestie the king his souereigne was; yet when he had well digested and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe most happie that euer he was acquainted with the said deputie, and did for euer after so much honor him, as that continuallie all his life time at euerie dinner and supper, he would praie for the good sir Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where soeuer he trauelled, he would be chargeable to no man; but would be at his owne charge. It happened that traueling the countrie, he was lodged on a night in vicount Baltinglasses house, where all things were verie plentifullie provided for him: which the vicount thought to haue giuen and bestowed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he commanded his steward to paie & discharge all things, thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused his interteinement; saieing: "The king my maister hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me therein for my charges and expenses: wherefore, I neither maie nor will be burdenous nor chargable to anie other man." He was verie exquisit & carefull in the gouernement, as few before him the like; aswell in matters martiall, as politike, magnanimous and couragious: in the one, to the appalling of the enimie; and as seuer & vpriight in the other, to the benefit of the commonwelth. For neither by flatterie could he be gained, nor by briberie be corrupted; he was feared for his seueritie, and beloued for his integritie; and no gouernor for the most vniuersallie better reported of than was he. But as vertue hath the contrarie to enimie, so he found it true: for he was so enuied at, and that rebellious nation not brooking so woorthie a man, who trauelled all the waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of themselues, and of their duties; and also to reforme that corrupt state of gouernement, that great practises and deuises were made for his reuocation; and matters of great importance informed and inforced against him. Wherevpon, before two yeares ended of his gouernement, he was reuoked, and sir Francis Brian made lord iustice. At his comming into England, great matters were laid vnto his charge: but he so effectuellie did answer the same, that his maiesties doubtfulnesse was resolued; & he not onelie cléered, but also better liked than euer he was before, & should haue béene sent backe againe, had he not alleged his infirmitie; the which was a fistula, and other good reasons, which were accepted for his excuse. Sir Francis Brian had married the countesse of Ormond, and by that meanes he was a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was but short, & no great matters could in so short a time be doone by him. After his death, sir William Brabston had the sword deliuered vnto him, and he continued lord iustice, vntill that sir Anthonic Sentleger came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & experience he had good skill and did well gouerne: yet there remained

some

some coles of the fire in his first gouvernement vnquenched; and within a shorter time than thought of, he was reuoked: and sir Iames Crofts was sent ouer to supplie the place; his cuill successes in good attempts did not answer his valour and good deserts.

And albeit the time of his gouvernement were not long, yet it continued vntill the death of king Edward the sixt, and then he was called home, and sir Thomas Cusacke and sir Gerard Elmer were appointed lords iustices, who iointlie gouerned the estate, vntill quéene Marie sent ouer sir Anthonie Sentleger; who now the third time was lord deputie. This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and vprightlie in a good conscience, and being well acquainted in the courses of that land, knew how to meete with the enimies, and how to staie all magistrates and others in their duties and offices: for which though he deserued well, and ought to be beloued and commended: yet the old practises were renewed, and manie slanderous informations were made and inueighed against him: which is a fatall destinie, and ineuitable to euerie good gouernor in that land. For the more paines they take in tillage, the worse is their haruest; and the better be their seruices, the greater is the malice and enuie against them; being not vnlike to a fruitfull apple tree, which the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels be hurled at him. Well, this man is called home, and the lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie. At sir Anthonies comming ouer, great matters were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduersaries he had, which verie eagerlie pursued the same against him: wherein he so answered, that he was not onelie acquitted; but also gained his discharge for euer to passe ouer anie more into so vnthankefull a land.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a short time of his being there, was sent for into England. And in his absence, sir Henrie Sidneie then treasurer at warres, and doctor Corwen, were for a time ioint lords iustices: but verie shortlie after, a commission was sent to sir Henrie Sidneie to be sole lord iustice, and so continued alone vntill the lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Sussex, came againe and resumed his former office of deputie. After that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to doo with the Oneile. For the whole north part of Ireland began to be vnquieted, and for preuenting of sundrie inconueniences, which might grow by the Scottish Ilanders in aiding the said Oneile, the lord deputie made a iourneie and voiage into the said Iles, to ioine them into his friendship. In his absence, he constituted sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice; but after that he had doone his businesse, he returned againe to Dublin, where he remained and continued in his office vntill the death of quéene Marie, and then he passed ouer into England, and left sir Henrie Sidneie to be lord iustice now the fourth time. And after some time spent there, and quéene Elisabeth now settled in the imperiall crowne of England, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of Ireland to performe those seruices, which before he had taken in hand: who did verie great good seruice against the Irishrie, and by meanes he tooke the Oneile, and kept him prisoner in the castell of Dublin: but yet before he could or did bring the same to perfection, he was reuoked into England, and left the land in a verie broken state; which was committed to sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made lord iustice. But his gouernement being not well liked, choise was made by hir maiestie and the counsell of sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place, who then was lord president of Wales.

This man had béene before a long seruitour to that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares béene treasurer at warres, which is the second office vnder the lord deputie in that land; as also had béene lord iustice solie and iointlie foure times. Great was his knowledge, wisdom, and experience both of that land, and of the nature, manners,

deputie the
second time.

1551

Sir Iames Crofts
lord deputie.

1552

Sir Anthonie
Sentleger lord
deputie the third
time.

A fatall destinie
to euerie good
gouernor to be
slandered.

1555

The lord Fitz-
waters made lord
deputie.

1555

Sir Henrie
Sidneie and Cor-
wen lords ius-
tices.

The Oneile and
all the north be
vnquiet.

1556

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord ius-
tice the fourth
time.

1557

The earle of
Sussex lord
lieutenant.
The Oneile
taken and kept
in prison.

1564

Sir Nicholas
Arnold lord
iustice.

1565

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord de-
putie.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord pre-
sident of Wales.

A booke of ar-
ticles deliuered
to sir Henrie
Sidneie for his
gouernement.

A counsell to be
established.

Euerie counsell-
or to be sworne.

manners, and disposition of the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue the gouernement of them. He was therefore called from out of Wales, where he then resided in his gouernement vnto the court: and there after conference had with hir highnesse, and with the counsell; he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, being the seuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he receiued of hir maiestie a booke of instructions signed with hir owne hand, dated the fift of October 1565, the seuenth yeare of hir reigne aforesaid, concerning the principall articles for his gouernement & direction, which chieflie consisted in these points.

First, that there should be a bodie of a counsell established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the gouernement of the same realme in times of peace and of warre; and whose names were then particularlie set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of them should before their admission be sworne by the said lord deputie, according to the accustomed manner: with an exhortation, that for somuch as hir maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence in their wisdomes, aduises, good counsels, and seruices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises, assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and consultation, concerning the state of that realme.

And they likewise, considering the place and authoritie wherevnto hir maiestie had called the said sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold hir place in that realme: they should yéeld that obedience and reuerence vnto him, as to such a principall officer dooth appertene. And then they both together, to haue a speciall care and regard to the gouernement, which was comprised in foure articles that doo orderlie hereafter follow.

The said foure articles were these.

Gods lawes to be
kept, and chris-
tian religion to
be vsed.

Learning of the
scriptures to be
maintained.

The church lands
not to be alien-
ated.

The lawes to be
duly admin-
istred.

Shiriffes to be
appointed in
euerie shire.

The garrisons to
be looked vnto.

A muster to be
kept euerie
moneth.

1 FIRST, that they should faithfullie and earnestlie regard the due and reuerend obseruation of all Gods lawes and ordinances, made and established for the maintenance of the true christian faith and religion among hir people; and that all meanes should be vsed, aswell by doctrine and by teaching, as by good examples, that deuotion and godlinesse might increase, and contempt of religion might be restrained, punished, and suppressed. That learning in the scriptures might be maintained and increased among the cleargie, and that for the reliefe of the ecclesiasticall state, no alienations nor wasts of the lands pertaineing to anie church or college, should be alienated: neither anie impropriations of benefices be put in vre: besides sundrie other articles incident to this effect.

2 The second was, that the administration of law and iustice should duly and vprightlie be executed, without respect of persons: that inquirie be made what notable faults are in anie of the iudges, or other ministers of the law: that vnfit persons maie be remoued from their places, and some sufficient persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in euerie countie, and to execute their offices vprightlie, according to the lawes of England.

3 The third, that the garrisons and men of warre be well ordered to the benefit of the realme, and repressing of disordered subiects and rebels: that they doo liue according to the orders appointed, without oppression of the good and true subiects. That there shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster made either by the lord deputie, or by such commissioners as he shall appoint méete and indifferent for that purpose; who shall make inquirie of the number of the souldiors vnder euerie capteine; for the sufficiencie of their persons, their horses, armors, and

and weapons, and other their necessities: and how they were paid of their wages, and whether they were Englishmen or not.

4 The fourth article was, whether there had béene had a due care & regard to the preservation of the reuenues of the crowne, & for the recouerie of that which is withdrawne. And whether euerie of the officers appointed for the receiuing of anie part of the said reuenues, as namelie the receiuers of rents, shiriffes, excheters, collectors of the subsidies, customors, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and such others, did yearelie make and answer their accounts; and besides sundrie other articles incident to euerie of these principals.

A due regard to be had of hir maiesties reuenues.

That euerie officer of receipts doo yearelie make his account

After that he had received this booke, and his commission, he prepared himselfe with all the expedition he could, to follow the great charge committed vnto him: which being doone, he repaired to hir maiestie and tooke his leaue: and to his farewell, she gaue him most comfortable speeches and good counsels, promising hir fauor and countenance to all his well dooings, and a consideration for the same when as time should serue. The like leaue he tooke also of the lords of the counsell, who in like order gaue him the like farewell: and these things doone, he departed towards the sea side, where after he had taried a long time for a good wind and passage, he tooke ship, and arriued in Ireland the thirtéenth of Ianuarie, about fíue miles from Dublin, and from thense he trauelled to Dublin; where he was most honorablie receiued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lord iustice, and the whole counsell; together with the maior and his brethren of that citie. And the people in great troops came and saluted him, clapping and shooting with all the ioie that they could deuise.

Sir Henrie Sidneie taketh his leaue of the quéene and counsell.

Sir Henrie Sidneie is intollie receiued into Dublin.

The next sundaie then next following, being the seuenth daie of his arriual, and the twentieth of the moneth, he accompanied with the lord iustice and counsell, repaired to the high church in the citie named Christes church; where after that the diuine service was doone, he tooke his oth, received the sword, and assumed vpon him the gouvernement: and wherewith he made a most pithie, wise, and eloquent oration, which consisted vpon these speciall points. The first, what a pretious thing is good gouernement, and how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and countries doo flourish and prosper, where the same is orderlie, in equitie, iustice, and wisdom, directed & gouerned. Secondlie, what a continuall care the queenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onelie for the good guiding & ruling of the realme of England, but also of Ireland; which she so earnestlie desireth, and wisheth to be preserued, as well in peace as in warre: that she hath made great choise from time to time of the most graue, wise, and expert counsellors for the one; and the most valiant, skilfull, and expert men of armes for the other: that both in peace and warres, the publike state of the commonwealth, and euerie particular member therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in safetie vnder hir gouernement. And for the performance thereof, hir maiestie ouer and besides the reuenues of the crowne of Ireland, did yearelie far aboue anie of hir progenitors, expend of hir owne cofers out of England, great masses of monie, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All which hir excessiue expenses and continuall cares she made the lesse account of; so that hir realme and subiects of Ireland might bepreserued, defended, and gouerned.

The benefit of good gouernement.

The quéenes maiesties continuall care for Ireland.

The quéenes maiestie expendeth yearelie out of hir owne cofers for Ireland sundrie thousand pounds.

Lastlie, notwithstanding hir maiestie might haue made better choise of manie others, who were better able to hold hir place in this realme, both for honor, wisdom, and experience: yet hir pleasure was now to cast this heauie charge and burden vpon him. Which he was the more vnwilling to take vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the more vnable & weake he was to susteine the same.

Neuerthelesse,

Neuerthesse, being in good hope, and well promised of hir highnesse fauor and countenance in his well dooings, and hauing his confidence in them hir highnesse counsellors associated vnto him, to ioinē, aid, and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is the more readie to take the sword in hand: in hope that this his gouernement shall be to the glorie of God, the honor of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, and the preseruacion of the whole realme and people of the same. And so making his earnest request to the said lords present, for their conioining with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in this hir maiesties seruice, he made an end of his speeches.

The congratulation of the people.

The broken state of Ireland.

The English pale wasted and spoiled.

The soldiers beggerlie and out of order.

The miserable state of Leinster.

The fertile soile of the countie of Kilkennie made wast.

Mounster by ciuill war destroyed.

Thomond all wasted by ciuill warres.

The said counsellors, hauing well considered the great value and weight of this his graue and wise oration, did most humble thanke his lordship for the same, and promised in all dutifulnesse, faith, and obedience to performe and attend whatsoeuer to them in anie wise should apperteine. These things doone, they all conducted the said lord deputie in all honorable manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common people in euerie street and corner meeting him, and with great acclamations and ioie did congratulat vnto his lordship his comming among them in that office. Immediatlie after the performance of all the solemnities, pertaining to these actions, he called and assembled all those persons which hir highnesse had appointed, admitted, and allowed to be of hir maiesties priue counsell for that realme, and did sweare them according to the accustomed manner. Then from time to time they assembled and met, consulting and deliberating what waie and order were best to be taken for repairing of that broken commonweale and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogether infected with sores and biles, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health. And surelie if the state of that land was euer miserable and in perill to be ouerthrowne: it was neuer more like than at these presents; for as for the English pale, it was ouerwhelmed with infinite numbers of caterpillers, who dailie by spoiles and robberies haue deuoured and wasted the same: whereby the people vniuersallie were so poore, and the commons in such extreame penurie, that they had not horsse, armor nor weapons to defend them, nor apparell, vittels, nor anie other necessities to relēue them; the soldiours so beggerlie that they were most intolerable to the people, and so rooted in insolencie, loosenesse and idlenesse, that vnlesse the remedie were the more speedie, they would bēe past correction: and so much the worsse, bicause manie of them were alied in mariage, and companies of the Irish: who the more they were affected to them, their truth and seruice more doubtfull to hir maiestie. The prouince of Leinster and they altogether most miserable, the Tools, Obrines, Kinsbelagh, Odoiles, Omoroughs, Carenaughs, the Moores, and the residue in their accustomed manners wholie bent to spoiles and all mischiefs, no place of anie safetie remaining for the good subiect: especiallie in the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, became of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie few being left to inhabit the same.

Mounster, the inhabitants there likewise for the most part being followers to the earle of Desmond, and following his wars against the erle of Ormond, made that prouince, and especiallie the counties of Tipporarie and Kirrie, being wealthie and rich, to become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom hir maiestie was or could be assured. Notwithstanding experience had taught them, and they assured, that no waie was for their recouerie and safetie so good and assured, as to humble themselves, and to become hir highnesse loiall and obedient subiects: yet as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, contented themselves rather with a beggerlie life to be miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace and assured. The prouinces also of Thomond altogether almost wasted by the warres betwēne the earle there

there and sir Donell Obrien. Ormond likewise by reason of dissention betwene the earles of Desmond and Ormond, and by the daillie inuasions and preies of Piers Grace was almost wasted and vnhabited.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie rich and wealthie, and well inhabited, is wasted with the wars betwene the erle of Clanrichard and Mac William Enter: the Irish countries all wasted and impouerished, partlie by reason of their dissimulations, societies, and conferences with the rebelles, and partlie by the particular discords among themselves. Finallie, all the gentlemen throughout, woont in times past to be keepers of hospitalitie, were by the daillie preies made vpon them and their tenants so impouerished & distressed, that they were not able to mainteine and reléue themselves nor their families. The prouince of Vlster for wealth and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselves, but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of receipt of all the preies and spoiles from out of the other prouinces: but as for loialtie, dutifulnesse, and obedience to hir maiestie, they were most disloiall, rebellious, and disordered. For after that Shane Oneile by blood and murther had gotten the maiestie, he alone then ruled the rost, who in pride exceeded all the men vpon the earth, abiding no superior, nor allowing anie equall. And héere it were not amisse, but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and cause whie the said Shane did first breake out from his due obedience, and did shake off the gouernement of hir maiestie, which (as farre as the writer hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here followeth.

Con Oneile, the first earle of Tiron, had two sonnes, Matthew and this Shane or Iohn. And king Henrie the eight hauing good liking of this Con Oneile, and to reteine and keepe him a good subiect, he being a mightie man, and of great power in his countrie, he made and created him earle of Tiron, and his eldest son Matthew he made baron of Dunganon, and the remainder of the said earledome to the said Matthew, and to the heirs male of his bodie. This Shane being the second brother, and of an aspiring mind, enuied his elder brother, and in no wise could he brooke him, but from time to time séeketh occasions to quarell and fall out with him, and in the end most traitorouslie and vnnaturallic murthered him: their father yet liuing, who did not so much lament and bewaile the same, but began much more to distrust of his owne safetie. Neuerthelesse, it is not knowen that the said Shane did offer him anie violence, but when he was dead, although he had no right to succéed into the earledome, by reason that Matthew his elder brother had left sons behind him, who by the letters patents and course of the common law were to succéed the grandfather: yet Shane vsurped the name of Oneile, and entred into his fathers inheritance according to the Irish manner, among whome the custome is, that the eldest in years of the name of anie house or familie dooth succéed his ancestor, vnlesse at the time of his death he had a son of the full age of one and twentie yéers. And thus hauing perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he scorneth at the English gouernement, and after the Irish manner proclaimeth himselfe Oneile, and the capitaine of his countrie, refuseth likewise all obedience to hir maiestie, and breaketh out into open rebellion.

Sir Henrie Sidneie then lord iustice, in the absence of the erle of Sussex, being aduertised of these stirs, taketh aduise of the councell what was best to be doone. And then it was agreed, that the said lord iustice should take his iorneie towards Dundalke, for the fortifieng of the English pale, and should send a messenger to Shane Oneile, who then laie at a lordship of his about six miles from Dundalke, and to will him come to Dundalke to his lordship: which was doone. But Shane returned his answer, praieng pardon, and also most humblie requested his lordship

Shane Oneile
præmeth sir
Henrie Sidneie
to be his gossip.

1558

Shane excuseth
himselfe and
hee came not to
the lord iustice.
Matthew was
Kellaies sonne.

The objections of
Shane Oneile
against the title
of Matthew to be
Oneile.

The wicked
custome of the
Irisherie.

Matthew seek-
eth the seigniorie
of Oneile.

that it would please him to christen a son of his, & be his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to doo all things in service for hir maiestie, as his lordship should command and appoint. This answer at the first was not thought good, nor yet honorable to the lord iustice so to doo, vntill the said Shane had first come and submitted himselfe. But when it was considered what great inconueniences might insue, if his request were denied; it was agréed that the said lord iustice should condescend vnto his request. And accordinglye vpon the last of Ianuarie, one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, he went vnto the said Shanes house, and there his lordship and Iaques Wingfield were godfathers, and hauing performed the baptising of the child, they both had conference of the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his dooings, did allege for his defense sundrie articles as foloweth.

First, he said that Matthew baron of Dungannon was the sonne of one Kellaie of Dundalke, a smith by occupation, begotten and borne during the spousals of the said Kellaie, and one Alson his wife, and that the said Matthew was alwaies taken and reputed to be the sonne of the said Kellaie, vntill he was of the age of sixtéene yeares or thereabouts: at which time Con Oneile his father, vpon the saieng of the said Alson, that he was the father of the said Matthew, did accept and take the said Matthew to be his sonne, & gaue him the name of Fardarough. And here vnderstand you the wickednesse of this countrie; which is, that if anie woman doo mislike hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall haue all such children as were borne of hir bodie during their abode together, except such as she shall name to be begotten by anie other man: which man so named shall by their custome haue the said child: and so it should sée me to be meant of this point. Also the said Matthew did vpon this the affirmation of his mother séeke to vsurpe the name of a seigniorie of the Oneiles, and the dominions appertaining to that seigniorie and surname. Also that there be aboue a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise yéeld to this the clame of Matthew, although he for his owne part would be contented therewith. Also he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that should intitle the sonne of the said baron to the said lands are vtterlie void, because that Con Oneile father to the said Shane had no other right nor interest to that countrie, but during his owne life: and therefore without the consent of the lords and inhabitants of that countrie, could make no surrender nor conueiance, wherby he might be inabled to take and haue the said lands by force of letters patents.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie person, be of anie force or value, vntill that an inquisition be taken of the lands so giuen before that the letters patents doo passe: which in this case neither was, nor could be doone, sith the countrie of Tiron is no shire ground. Also if the said lands should according to the quéens lawes descend to the right heire, then in right it ought to descend to him, as next heire being mulierlie borne; and the other not so borne. Also he saith, that vpon the death of his father lord of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the custome of the countrie did assemble themselues together, and by a common consent did elect and choose (without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to be Oneile, as the most worthie and ablest of that countrie. Which election by the custome of the countrie hath beene alwaies vsed without anie confirmation, asked of the kings and quéenes of England. Also he saith that as Oneile he clameth such authorities, iurisdiccions, and duties vpon his men & countrie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessors, and which duties for the most part are recorded, and remaine in writing. When the lord iustice had at full heard these articles, and considered well of them together with the counsell, made answer vnto Shane that the matter was of great weight and importance, & which neither he nor the counsell cold determine of themselues, before hir maiestie were made priue and acquainted there-
with;

with; and therefore in the meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto hir maiestie, nothing doubting but that he should haue and receiue at hir hands, what should be found méet, right, and iust.

And so hauing vsed manie good and freendlie spéeches and exhortations vnto him, the said Shane promised to vse and behaue himselfe well and honestlie, & as to his dutie should apperteine: they departed in verie freendlie manner. And thus in such wisdom and politike manner the lord iustice handled the matter, that by temporising and gaining of time all matters were pacified, and so continued vntill the coming ouer of the earle of Sussex lord deputie: who then of a new tooke the matter in hand, and he did so streictlie and seuerelie follow the same, that he ouermatched Shane Oneile. But it so greeued the said Shane, that notwithstanding he dissembled and gaue a good countenance, & promised well, yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed nothing: but as the wolfe which often casteth his haire but neuer changeth his conditions, was one and the same man or rather worse, and thenceforth tyrannized and vsed most crueltie, and of all others most disloiall and disobedient; to the deputie would he not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with him, but at his owne pleasure.

Shane Oneile promised to be quiet.

Shane Oneile become a tyrant and a rebell.

The quéenes maiestie in some termes he would honor, but in déeds he denied all obedience, subtill and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but in the residue of the daie verie vncertaine and vnstable, and much giuen to excessiue gulping and surfetting. And albeit he had most commonlie two hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dundrun, and had his full fill therof, yet was he neuer satisfied, till he had swallowed vp maruellous great quantities of Vskebagh or Aqua vite of that countrie: wherof so vnmeasurable he would drinke and bouse, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie, which by that meanes was most extremelie inflamed and distempered, he was eftsoones conueied (as the common report was) into a déepe pit, and standing vpriight in the same, the earth was cast round about him vp to the hard chin, and there he did remaine vntill such time as his bodie was recouered to some temperature: by which meanes though he came after in some better plight for the time, yet his manners and conditions dailie worse. And in the end his pride ioined with wealth, drunkennesse, and insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannize ouer the whole countrie; greatlie it was feared that his intent was to haue made a conquest over the whole land. He pretended to be king of Vlster, euen as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the maner of the great Turke, was continually garded with six hundred armed men, as it were his Ianisaries about him, and had in readinesse to bring into the fields a thousand horssemen, and foure thousand footmen. He furnished all the pesants and husbandmen of his countrie with armour and weapons, and trained them vp in the knowledge of the wars: and as a lion hath in awe the beasts of the field, so had he all the people to his becke and commandement, being feared and not beloued.

Shane Oneile a drunkard and a surfetter.

Shane Oneile buried in the ground after his drunkennesse.

Shane Oneile's force.

The pesants in Vlster trained vp in warre.

Diuerse meanes and waies were practised and vsed by the lord deputie and counsell for the pacifieng and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time to time sent vnto him; for and about the same, who sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as backwards and vntoward. Of all the residue of Ireland there was the lesse doubt to recouer them, by reason that they by their owne ciuill wars had consumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this man, small or no hope at all, vnlesse he might be chastised, and with force be reduced to conformities. Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking of him awaie. And because in these troublesometimes, it were méet aduertisements should go to and from hir maiestie and counsell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to them, order was taken for the more spée die conuigiance of letters reciproke, there should

Posts set betwene Ireland & London.

The miserable
state of Ireland.

should be set posts appointed betwéene London and Ireland. This was then the present state of all Ireland, altogethers deuoured with robberies, murders, riots, treasons, ciuill and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to hir highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and townes: and yet the one being gentlemen and lining by their lands, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decaied; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impouerished, and brought to such extremities, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselues.

No God nor reli-
gion in Ireland.

And among all other the most intollerable miseries vniuersallie reigning, this one excéded all the rest, that there was scarce a God knowen; and if knowen, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroyed & vncouered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as shéepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. Then where neither God is knowen, the prince obeied, no lawes currant, no gouernement accepted, and all things infolded in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdome? Wherefore sir Henric Sidneie now lord deputie, & the councell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which laie them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, dailie assembled themselues; & deuised the best waie what might be to be taken herein. Wherin his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chiefest of the councell, then ioined to assist him in councell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decaied men; and the lord deputie himselfe driuen to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuerthelesse it was concluded and agréed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the Oneile and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the staie and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and oportunitie would serue therevnto.

The earles of
Ormond and
Desmond submit
themselues to the
queens order.

At this present time the earles of Ormond and Desmond were in England, and the quarrels and controuersies growen betweene them were dailie examined before the lords of the councell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And bicause their assertions were so contrarious and vncerteine in denieng and affirming, as no procéding could be had for a finall end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their dooings were best knowen, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the councell both the said earles submitted themselues to the quéenes maiesties order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound ech of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder hir highnesse broad seale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the forsaid examinations. But in the meane time whilst these things were in dooing in England, sir Iohn of Desmond, in verie outrageous and disordered manner, fired & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Ormond, which things were verie shortlie after appeased. In these troublesome daies Mac Artimore an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, the principall man of his sept in Mounster, hauing verie great possessions, and laie still in peace and did nothing at all, neither tooke he partie with one whom he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appéarance misliked both their dooings.

Sir Iohn of Des-
mond spoileth
the earle of Or-
monds lands.

Mac Artimore
surrendereth all
his lands to the
quéene & taketh
it of hir.

This man made his humble sute to hir maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto hir maiesties highnesse, and to recognise his dutie and allegiance to hir, and so to resume and haue a new estate therof from hir againe, according to the orders and laws of England. Which hir maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his staie in all obedience and dutie to hir crowne, did for the worthinesse of his bloud & stocke,
& for

& for the greatnesse of his gouvernement make him a baron of the parlement in that relme; & for his further aduancement created him an earle vnder hir letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane Oneile, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of hir highnesse in aduansing such a one to that honour, and enuied and maligned him that he was so honored. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all good order, braieng out spéeches not méet nor séemelie. "For (saith he) you haue made a wise earle of Mac Artimore, I kéepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the quéene is my souereigne ladie, yet I neuer made peace with hir, but at hir séeking." And where he had required to haue his parlement robes sent vnto him as earle of Tiron, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a triall to be made in parlement) yet now he cared not for so meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an erle. "For I am (saith he) in bloud and power better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Vlster. And as Vlster was theirs, so now Vlster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I wan it, and with the sword I will kéepe it." Which his words fell out true, though long he inioied not the same: and foorthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, wherby he became execrable and hatefull vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

Mac Artimore
made earle of
Clancare.

Shane Oneile
scoffeth at the
earle of Clancare.

The proud taunts
of Shane Oneile.

Shane Oneile for
his pride and ty-
ranny: becometh
hatefull before
God & man.

Now hir maiestie, being gréeued and annoied with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him clearelie rooted out, or chastised: but therein she was staied, being borne in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to yéeld to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now she seeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; she gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploie his whole care, consideration: and wisdom, how such a cankered and dangerous rebell might be vtterlie extirped. And séeing the matter also to haue so manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not bée well concluded: therefore she sent ouer sir Francis Knolles vicechamberleine, to conferre with the lord deputie, who arriued at Dublin the seuenth of Maie 1566, aswell concerning these matters of warre, as the whole state and gouvernement of this realme. Who when he was arriued, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betwéene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordingle things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittels were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph colonell of the footmen, and sundrie other capteins arriued with their souldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was conuenient to be.

Sir Francis
Knolles sent
into Ireland.
1566

Likewise the archtraitor knowing what preparation was made against him, he dooth the like also on his part against hir maiestie; and at a lordship or manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustreth all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seuen hundred horssemen. And glorieng much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to haue conquered all Ireland withall, and that no man durst to aduenture vpon him: he marcheth vnto the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besegeth the same. He was no more busie to giue sundrie attempts of inuasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and hée had the repulse, being with shame driuen to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

Shane Oneile be-
siegeth Dun-
dalke, & is re-
pelled.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and inuasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much
stead,

1565

Coronell Randolph arriueth at the Dirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

stead, as a farre smaller companie of the English souldiers deserued commendation: which perforce and maugre of his téeth compelled him to retire with shame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Iulie 1565, and the first yeare of the deputation of sir Henrie Sidneie, Edward Randolph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent ouer out of England, and arriuied at the Dirrie with seuen hundred men vnder his regiment, and he himselfe by the counsell in England appointed to be the coronell. This man as soone as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Dirrie, where he remained in garrison without dooing of anie thing, vntill the comming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of hir maiesties forces, appointed to be ioined with the said coronell, for the better seruice against the arrogant traitour Shane Oneile.

The lord deputie cometh to the Dirrie and setteth all things in order for the seruice.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that seruice required; he returned backe to Dublin through Odonels countrie, and so thorough Connagh, leauing the coronell accompanied with one band of fiftie horssemen vnder the leading of capteine George Heruie the elder, and with seuen companies or hundreds of footmen vnder the charges of capteine Robert Cornewall, and capteine Iohn Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, vittels, and all other necessaries meet and requisit. Shane Oneile who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now vpon his honor and reputation, incamp'd himselfe about two miles from the garrison, hauing then in his armie two thousand fise hundred footmen, & thrée hundred horsmen. And frō daie to daie he would continuallie with his horssemen houer and range the fields, and shew himselfe readie to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to aduenture the same.

Oneile incampeth neere the Dirrie and offereth skirmish.

The coronell not liking these dailie offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour vnto him, and all the English nation, which were come ouer to serue against him, and now would doo nothing, but were dailie bearded by the enimie: notwithstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sicknesse in the campe, that his small companie was much weakened and vnable to serue: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remooue him from his so neere a seat. Wherevpon he drew out of his companie to the number of three hundred men, whome he thought most méet to serue, and being accompanied with fiftie horssemen vnder capteine George Heruie, marched toward Oneils campe, who pretending a great ioy to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to incounter with them; perswading himselfe that he should that daie be maister of the field, and haue a conquest to his hearts desire.

The coronell prepareth to fight with Oneile.

The coronell made choise of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide their charge. Oneile in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the coronels footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so receiued with the English shot and so galled, that he made some staie. Wherevpon capteine Heruie taking his oportunitie, most valiantlie with his small band of horssemen brake in to the battell of Oneile. Likewise coronell Randolph with his few horssemen gaue the charge vpon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the seruice which he desired: but the coronell verie valiantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and whereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being astonied and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whome the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict.

The valiant seruice of capteine George Heruie.

The coronell Randolph is slaine.

Oneile and his companie fle, and are pursued,

flict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chase aboue foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The coronell onelie was slaine, but capteine Heruie and diuerse of the horssemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

killed & hurt
about 600.

After the death of this valiant coronell, whose funerall the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Sentlow was made coronell: vnder whose gouvernement the garrison liued verie quietlie. For this last ouerthrow so quailed the spirits and courages of Oneile and his companie, that they had no desire of anie further incountring with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was doone: and being determined in the spring to aduenture some peece of seruice, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what means, the fort and towne of the Dirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and vittels laie were blowne vp with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so manie of the souldiers as laie sicke there were burned in their beds. Wherevpon the coronell calling all his capteins together, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their vittels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselues for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, sauing capteine George Heruie: for he rather did choose to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impouerish his souldiers by killing their horsse (which perforce they must needs haue doone) for want of shipping. And therefore euen almost against all hope he returned towards Dublin through the enemies countrie, who followed and chased him foure daies together without intermission, both with horssemen and footmen: but at length he recouered Dublin, not without great woonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about Oneile, and in all places throughout Vlster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best seruice of hir maiestie. And yet considering the great importance of the seruice, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a iournie into Vlster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certeine of the councell, and with such capteins and souldiers as he thought good: he aduanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seuenteenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Rosse Keagh, & so from thense he trauelled throughout Vlster, and passed thense vnto Athlon in Connagh, where he came the six and twentieth of October.

The lord deputie
keepeth the co-
ronell Randolphs
funerals.

The Dirrie and
all the vittels and
munitions are
burned.

The coronell
abandoneth Dir-
rie, and return-
eth to Dublin by
seas.

Capteine George
Heruie return-
eth by land in
great danger.

The lord deputie
maketh a iournie
into Vlster.

1566

In this iournie the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer anie fight at all: sauing once at and néere a wood not far from Glogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gaue the charge with horssemen, footmen, and certeine Scottish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horssemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Tirlough Lenough, called the Salmon, but tooke his ease and durst not to giue the aduenture. In this iournie the lord deputie restored Odonell to the possession of his lands and castels, kept by Oneile from him; & sundrie lords and men of the best sort submitted themselues. By which this his lordships iournie he recouered to hir highnesse a countrie of foure score miles in length, and eight and fortie miles in bredth, without losse of anie man sauing Mac Gwier, who being sicke died in this iournie; and sauing a few persons which by the waie vpon an occasion would aduenture the winning of a certeine Iland in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittels of the enemies, and in assailing of it they were drowned.

The pusillani-
mitie of the
Oneile.

Odonell restored
vnto his posses-
sions.

The lord deputie
recouereth a
great countrie in
Vlster vnto the
croune.

Immediatlie vpon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified
all

The earle of
Desmond is in
campe and doth
no hurt.

The earle of
Desmond
maketh his re-
paire to the lord
deputie.

The earle of
Desmond
serueth in the
English pale.

Oliuer Sutton
complaineth
against the
earle of Kildare.

The ladie of
Dunboine com-
plaineth against
the Butlers.

1567
Doctor Weston
is made lord
chancellor of
Ireland.

all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troublesome state of Mounster, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to annoie at his pleasure the earle of Ormond, the lord Barrie, the lord Roch, and sir Moris Fitzgiralde of the Decies; but he did not hurt anie man at all: sauing one Mac Donogh a rebell and a disloiall sauage man. The lord deputie being ouerlaied with the continuall cares to resist Oneile, could not in person trauell into Mounster, nor yet without great perill diuide his armie: wherefore he sent capteine Herne constable of Leighlin vnto the said earle, whereby he might be aduertised of his intendment and meaning: which appeared to be but a meere insolencie and an outrage to be reuenged vpon the earle of Ormond, although the rumor was, that he would conioine with Oneile. Which report when it came to his eares, and being aduertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delaie, tooke his horsse, and hauing in his companie onelie the baron of Dunboine, and capteine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whome for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships deuotion, either to go and attend him vnto Vlster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get; the lord deputie finding him vittels: and then to abide & serue in Vlster in despite of Shane Oneile; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine vpon the borders there, with such a number of horssemen, as should be appointed vnto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifulnesse to hir maiestie, as was meet for a subiect to shew to his souereigne. The deputie hauing some liking of his offers, and considering the fickle state of these presents, accepteth his last offer, willing him to go backe againe, and to prepare a crew of one hundred horssemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within fouretéene daies: which he did, and with him came sir Iohn Desmond, his vnkle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Powre and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, sir Warham Sentleger, and capteine Herne, did remaine vpon the borders, vntill his lordships returne from out of his iournie in Vlster.

And as the realme at large was much infested with the cruell warres of Oneile and the troubles in Mounster; so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs vnto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against an other. For Oliuer Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certeine booke in writing, containing an information of sundrie notorious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same, and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parlement, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by hir maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and councell. Likewise sir Edmund Butler and Piers his brother were greuouslie complained vpon by the ladie of Dunboine, Mac Brian Arra, Oliuer Fitzgiralde, sir William Occardil, and others; for their dailie outrages, robberies, murthers, preies, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appeasing of such matters, and for the better ministration of iustice, the lord deputie had béene a long sutor to hir maiestie and councell for a chancellor to be sent ouer, who at length were resolued vpon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arriued at Dublin in Iulie 1567, a notable and a singular man, by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so seuer therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or auerted from the same: and so much good in the end insued of his vpriight, diligent, and dutifull seruice, as that the whole realme found themselves most happie and blessed to haue him serue among them. Now he taking vpon him to deale in all matters of complaints

plaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countrie, and acquitted himselfe against hir maiestie.

But to returne to the lord deputie, who immediatlíe vpon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he tooke order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such conuenient places vpon the frontiers, as then appertained and was most méet & conuenient. The rebell on his part leaueth nothing vndoon, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great iollitie of himselfe deuised manie things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire wasted the countrie, slue manie of hir maiesties subiects, and in the end besieged hir highnesse towne of Dundalke: where his pride and treason were iustlie scourged, who came not with so much glorie to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leaue and loose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode vpon him: and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had vnfethered him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countrie, as is before said, gained from him the last iournie, Mac Gwier, a mightie man in his countrie forsooke him, and submitted himselfe to hir maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithfull seruice, and to receiue his lands and countrie at hir highnesse hands.

The Oneile entereth the English pale with sword and fire. The Oneile besiegeth Dundalke the second time, and departed with great dishonour. The Oneile forsaken of friends. Mac Gwier forsaketh Oneile, and so doo the Scots.

Alexander Og and Mac Donell offer to serue hir maiestie, with all the Scots vnder them against the rebell. Con Odonell late deliuered from the rebell, offereth seruice against him. Tirlogh Lenough with the helps of his neighbours dailie backed the said Oneile, that his force was quailed that waie. The lord deputie had continuallie four regiments residing neere the English pale, who continuallie as it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogheda did also issue out, and in one morning tooke a preie of two thousand kine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other small beasts and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps and followers, his men, some by Odonell, and some by others to the number of thrée or foure thousand persons at times slaine, himselfe discomfited, his passages stopped, and all places of his refuge preuented, and now but one poore castell left wherein he trusted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weakened, and beholding his declination and fall towards, was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe, and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie, and in all humble and lowlie maner to submit himselfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience was so canterised, and his hands so imbrued with infinit and most horrible murders, bloudsheds, treasons, whoredomes, drunkennesse, robberies, burnings, spoiles, oppressions, and with all kinds of wickednesse, that his heart was ouerlaied and ouerladen with an vtter despaire to obtaine anie grace or fauor: and therefore was the more easilie perswaded by those whome he tooke to be his friends, to trie first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that they would ioine and aid him in his most wicked rebellion. Wherevpon he tooke his iournie towards Clandeboie, where Alexander Og and his companie, to the number of six hundred persons, were then incamped: and for the better gaining of his purpose, he had a little before enlarged Charleie Boie brother to the said Alexander, and who had béene prisoner with him.

The lord deputie taketh a great preie vpon the Oneile.

The Oneile distressed of all comfort is in doubt what to doo.

Oneile his owne conscience condemneth him to seeke submission.

Oneile seeketh for helpe of the Scots.

The Scots disguised the matter with him, pretending and promising him aid and assistance: which they ment not. For assoone as Oneile together with Odonels wife, whom he kept, & the small companie which he brought with him were come into the tent, and they assured of him; they called to remembrance the manifold iniuries which they had receiued at his hands, and namelie the murdering of one Iames Mac Conell, & one Mac Guillie their néere cousins and kinsmen: and being inflamed with mali-

The Scots doe disguise with Oneile.

cious

Shane Oneil
slaine by the
Scots by a
draught made by
capteine Piers.

Shane Oneils
head set vpon the
top of the castell
of Dublin.

The quéene ad-
uertised of Shane
Oneils death.

The noblemen
of Vlster, being
glad of Oneils
death do submit
themselves.

Orders given by
the lord deputie
to the noble men
of Vlster.

Oneils sonne is
committed to safe
custodie.

Robert Léeth
sent into Ireland
to draw a true
plot of the whole
land.

The earle of
Desmond com-
mitted to ward,
and sent to the
tower, together
with his brother
sir Iohn Des-
mond.

1567

cious minds to reuenge their deths, they fell to quarelling with the said Shane Oneile, and with their slaughter swords hewed him to peeces, and shue all those of his companie that were with him: his bodie they wrapped in a Kernes shirt, and so without all honor was carried to a ruinous church not farre off, and there interred; but after a few daies he was taken vp againe by capteine Piers, by whose deuise this stratagem or rather tragedie was practised, and his head was sundred from the bodie, and sent to the lord deputie, who caused the same to be set vpon a stake or pole on the top of the castle of Dublin. A fit end for such a beginning, and a iust reward for such a wicked traitor and sacrileger: who began his tyrannie in bloud, did continue it with bloud, and ended it with bloud. The lord deputie being then at Drogheda, and aduertised of the death of this Shane, and of the iust iudgements of God laid vpon him; for the same prostrated himselfe before the high and eternall God, and gaue his most humble and hartie thanks for the deliuerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacriliger and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir maiestie and counsell, aduertising this hap and good successe. Which doone, his lordship with all speed made his repaire into Vlster, and incamped himselfe in the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all the noblemen and gentlemen of Tiron, being glad that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they which were competitors of the capteinrie of Tiron, who most humble and obedientlie presented and submitted themselves vnto hir highnesse. And when his lordship had set all things in such order as the time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the countrie, and most pithilie and effectualle iastructed and persuaded them to obedience, teaching them the great blessings of God which commeth thereby, as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences, miseries and calamities they had felt by the contrarie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he promised shortlie to send commissioners amongst them, who should haue authoritie to decide all controuersies betweene partie and partie (title of land and death of man excepted.)

Also he proclaimed and commanded hir maiesties peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed exercises: and that all men of warre should liue vpon their owne, or vpon that which their friends with a good will would giue them: and so publishing peace uniuersallie, euerie man departed home ioifullie. The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who laie for an hostage of his father, to be safelie kept in the castell of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters of commandement in that behalfe, dated the sixt of Iulie 1567. The quéenes maiestie being deliuered from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Vlster at hir commandement and disposition, was verie desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, wherby she might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer into Ireland one Robert Léeth, skilfull in that art, and that he should make the perfect descriptions of the same. Likewise also she being aduertised of the outrageous dealings of the earle of Desmond, in mainteining proclaimed rebels, and continuing of warres against the earle of Ormond (whose insolencie to seeke to be reuenged vpon the said earle, was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile of the whole countrie, and the onelie cause of great murders, bloudshed, and vndoing of manie people) she willed the lord deputie by hir letters to apprehend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the castell of Dublin, which was so doone. And after both he and his brother sir Iohn of Desmond were sent into England, and there committed to the tower.

After all the foresaid broiles and ciuill wars were appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and good order, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties letters for his repaire into England vnto hir presence, he did accordinglie prepare himselfe therevnto, and by a commission vnder hir brode seale of Ireland did appoint doctor

Waston

Weston then lord chancellor, and sir William Fitzwilliams treasurer at wars, to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them being verie well learned, iust, and vp-right; the other verie wise, and of great knowledge and experience in the affaires of that land. Both which two being like well minded to doo hir maiestie seruice, did most louinglie and brotherlie agree therein, each one aduising and aduertising the other according to the seuerall gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by which meanes they passed their gouernment verie well and quietlie to the great contentation of hir maiestie, the commendation of themselues, and the common peace of the countrie; and so the said sir Henrie hauing placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Oconnor Sligo, he was with great honor receiued at the court, and the other was sent to the tower. Hir maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a window, she saw him to come in with two hundred men attending vpon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told hir that it was sir Henrie Sidneie hir deputie in Ireland; "Then it is well (quoth she) for he hath two of the best offices in England." So he presented himselfe before hir highnesse, and was welcome to hir. Neuerthelesse, after this departure, the particular grudges betwene some certeine men brake out into great and outragious disorders, as sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh inuasion vpon Oliuer Fitzgiralde, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlawes of the Oconnors and Omores proclaimed traitors, and hauing in the field a thousand of Gallowglasses, horssemen, and cernes, threaten to burne the towne of Kilkennie, and spoile Ocarell of his countrie. But they as also Oliuer Fitzgiralde, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuenge, leauing to seeke reuenge by armes, made their recourses to the lords iustices, and by law requested redresse. The erle of Clancart was puffed vp with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Mounster, and did confederate with the Mac Swaines, Osolinan More, and others of the Irishrie of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displayed inuadeth the lord Roches countrie, and in burning of his countrie, he destroyed all the corne therein, seuen hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried awaie fiftene hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also Iames Fitzmoris of Desmond maketh cruell warres against the lord Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew, which albeit they were but priue displeasures, yet troublesome to the whole countrie: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so temporise with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken vpon aduertisement of hir maiesties pleasure herein. About this time one Morice a runnigate preest, hauing latelie bene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arriued into Ireland, and made chalenge to the same see: which being denied vnto him by the archbishop which was there placed by hir maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenlie with an Irish skaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

This yeare sir Peter Carew of Mohonesotreie in the countie of Deuon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onelie barons of Carew in England; but marquesses of Corke, barons of Odrin, and lords of Maston Twete; and sundrie other seignories in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended vnto him: he made the queens maiestie and counsell acquainted therewith, and praied that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to follow, and by order of law to recouer the same. Which was granted vnto him, as also he had hir highnesse and their lordships seuerall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect: and willing them to aid and

Deutor Weston
and sir William
Fitzwilliams
made lords
iustices.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord de-
putie yarseth into
England, and
carried with him
the earle of Des-
mond.

L. L. Malineux.

Sir Edmund But-
ler breaketh out
into outrages.

The pride of
Mac Artie More
earle of Clancart.
The earle of
Clancart maketh
warres vpon the
lord Roch.
Iames Fitzmoris
maketh warre
vpon the baron
of Lixenew.

The archbishop
of Cashell in
danger to be
killed.

Sir Peter Carew
maketh sute to
hir maiestie for
the recouerie of
his lands in Ire-
land.

assist him with all such hir maiesties evidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other good meanes they might. Wherevpon he sent the writer hereof to be his agent: who hauing by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and presidents, found in hir maiesties treasurie and castell of Dublin, answering and agréeing with the evidences of sir Peter Carew: then the said sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Maston, then in the possession of sir Christopher Chiuers knight, and to the baronie of Odron, then in the occupation of the Cauenaughis.

Sir Peter Carew passeth into Ireland.

The first, when it was found good in law, and sir Christopher Chiuers yéelded, and compounded for it: the other was trauersed before the lord deputie and counsell, and vpon good and substantiall evidences, records, and proofes; a decreé passed by the lords of the counsell, in the behalfe of sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recouered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records doo impart, about the eighteenth yeare of king Richard the second. But as for the marqueship of Corke, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Mounster then not settled in anie quietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, hauing spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arriued at Crag Fergus, in September 1568: and tooke the sword of gouvernement vpon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the counsell by their letters of the fourth of Nouember 1568, did aduertise hir maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in briefe consisted in these points immediatlie following.

Sir Peter Carew by a decreé recouereth the baronie of Odron.

1568
Sir Henrie Sidneie returneth lord deputie.

The state that Ireland stood in.

Connagh in reasonable peace.

Mounster out of order.

That sir Edmund Butler had made a preie in Shilelagh vpon Oliuer Fitzgarret, and doone sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles vpon his countrie: who was forthwith sent for, and refuseth to come, excusing that he had businesse about the execution of certeine seruices in the counties of Kilkennie, and Tiporarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferent good order, sauing some contention betwéene the earle of Clanricard, and Mac William Enter; and an old controuersie renewed betwéene Odonell and Oconner Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghs countrie. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Oshaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countries. As for Mounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of Iames Fitzmoris of Desmond, against Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Roch: and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certeine outlawes, did disorderlie spoile and preie the countries to féed their bellies.

Turlough Lenogh breaketh the peace, but submitteth himself.

The present state of Vlster the lord deputie being desirous to know the certeintie thereof, immediatlie vpon his landing in Ireland he made a iourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishrie to stand in wauering terms: wherevpon he sent for Turlough Lenogh Oneile, who yéelding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat swarued from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a iourneie vpon Ferneie, and in combining with the Scots, of whome he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and verie hardlie obtained, and not vntil his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the Scots had put in for their loialtie. Odoneile quietlie possessed the countrie of Tیرهconell, and continued a dutifull subject to hir maiestie; sauing the old grudge betwéene him and Turlough did rather increase than decaie. Ochan lord of the land betwéene Loghfoile and the Ban, being

being for the same sometime molested by Turlogh Lenogh, did beare with all iniuries, and desired to be exempted from Turlogh, and to hold the same of the queenes maiestie. The like did the two principall men, eligible for the capteinrie of Tiron, desire for their parts all the residue of Vlster in good staie and quietnesse.

The lord deputie after this iourneie returned to Dublin, and there, when by the aduise of the councell he had disposed all things in good order concerning the gouernement; he caused the writs for summons of the parlement to be awarded out vnto euerie noble man for his appéerance; & to euerie shiriffe for choosing of knights and burgesses for their like appéerance at Dublin the seuentéenth of Ianuarie, in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne; at which time and daie appéerance was then and there made accordinglie. On the first daie of which parlement, the lord deputie, representing hir maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner vnto Christes church, and from thense vnto the parlement house: where he sat vnder the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the princelie robes of crimson veluet doubled or lined with ermin. And then & there the lord chancellor made a verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of what great effect and value, how the common societie of men was thereby mainteined, and each man in his degré conserued; as well the inferior as the superior, the subiect as the prince: and how carefull all good common-wealths in the elder ages haue béene in this respect: who considering the time, state, and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time to time ordeine and establish most holsome lawes, either of their deuises, or drawn from some other good common-wealth: and by these meanes haue prospered and continued.

A parlement
summoned at
Dublin.

The lord chan-
cellor his oration

And likewise, how the quéenes most excellent maiestie, as a most naturall mother ouer hir children, and as a most vigilant prince ouer hir subiects, hath béene alwaies, & now presentlie is verie carefull, studious, & diligent in this behalfe: hauing caused this present parlement to be assembled, that by the councell and aduise of you hir nobilitie, & you hir knights and burgesses, such good lawes, orders, and ordinances maie be decreéd, as maie be to the honor of almightie God, the preservation of hir maiestie, and of hir imperiall crowne of this realme, and the safetic of the common-wealth of the whole realme: for which they were not onelie to be most thankfull; but also most carefull to doo their duties in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker directing his speeches to the knights and burgesses, who were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of the realme, willed them that for the auoiding of confusion, and for an orderlie procéeding in this action: they should assemble themselues at and in the house appointed for that assemblie; and there to make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended, and the court adiourned vntill thursdaie next, the twentieth of Ianuarie. In the meane time, the knights and burgesses met in the lower house, and appointed for their speaker one Stanihurst, recorder of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and learned man; who vpon thursdaie aforesaid was presented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the higher house: & then he hauing doone most humblie his obedience and dutie, made his oration and speech; first abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficientlie adorned and furnished with such gifts of knowledge and learning, as to such an office and calling dooth appertene: wherein he was so much the more vnfit, as the cause he had in hand was of great weight and importance. And therefore he wished, if it might so séeme good to his lordship, some man of more grauitie, and of better experience; knowledge, and learning might supplie the place. Neuerthelesse, for somuch as he might not refuse it, he was the more willing, because he did well hope his seruice being doone

Stanihurst cho-
sen to be speaker
of the lower
house.

Stanihursts ora-
tion.

doone with his best good will, and in all dutifulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his comfort was the more, because he had to deale in such a cause, as was for the establishing of some good and holsome lawes, whereof he was a professor.

And herevpon he tooke an occasion, according to the argument that was before handled by the lord chancellor, speaker in the higher house, to discourse of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what good successe there insueth to all such realmes, countries, and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled & gouerned. And when he had spoken at large hereof, there he declared what great causes that realme of Ireland had, to giue for euer most hartie thanks and praises to God for his goodnesse, in sending such a vertuous, noble, and a most godlie prince, as was hir maiestie; who not onlie was carefull by the sword to stand in their defense against all enimies, traitors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions: but also for their conseruation in times of peace would haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made in a parlement of themselues, as should be most expedient for the common-wealth of the same land. When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then he concluded with an humble petition, that it might please hir maiestie to grant vnto them their liberties and frédoms of old belonging to euerie assemblie of a parlement.

The requests of the speaker for allowance of the liberties of the parlement house.

The first was, that euerie man being a member of the lower house, should and might haue frée comming and going to and from the parlement: and during their abode at the same without molestation or impeachment of anie person or persons, or for anie matter then to be laid against anie of them. The second, that they and euerie of them might haue libertie to speake their minds fréelie to anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that parlement. Thirdlie, that if anie of the said house shuld disorder and misbehaue himselve in anie vndecent manner, or if anie other person should euill intreat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correction and punishment of euerie such offendor should rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When he had ended his spéech, and in most humble maner doone his obei-

The lord deputie answereth Stanbursts oration.

sance; the lord deputie hauing paused vpon the matter, made answer to euerie particular point in most eloquent and effectuall manner, which consisted in these points: Nothing misliking with the speaker for so much abasing of himselve, because he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and verie sufficient for that place, doubting nothing but that he would performe the same in all dutifulnesse, as to him appertained. And concerning the benefit which groweth to all nations and common-wealths by the vse of the lawes; besides that dailie experience did confirme the same generallie, so no one nation particularlie could better auouch it than this realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope that they would accordinglie frame themselues to liue accordinglie, and also to praie for hir maiesties safetie and long life, whereby vnder hir they might inioie a peaceable and a quiet life in all prosperitie. And concerning the priuileges, which they requested to be allowed, forsomuch as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietlie serue hir highnesse in that assemblie, to hir honor, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased hir maiestie so long as the were not impeached, nor hir imperiall state derogated, that they should inioie the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adiourned.

The next daie following being fridaie the lower house met; and contrarie to the order of that house, and dutie of that companie, in stéed of vnitie there began a diuision, and for concord discord was receiued. For all, or the most part of the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especiallie they who dwelled within the counties of Meth and Dublin, who seeing a great number of Englishmen to haue place in that house began to except against that assemblie as not good, nor warranted by law.

A mutinie in the lower house.

law. Their vantparler was sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most méetest and worthie to haue léene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged three speciall causes, whie he and his complices would not yéeld their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie townes, which were not corporat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of townes corporat had returned themselues. The third and chéefest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such towns and corporations, as which some of them neuer knew, and none at all were resiant & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

Sir Christopher Barnwell excepteth against the chouse of the burgesses.

These matters were questioned among themselues in the lower house for foure daies together, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more spéeches, the greater broiles; vntill in the end, for appeasing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: vnto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they hauing at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for townes not corporat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and souereignes as haue returned themselues, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest vpon the shiriffes for their wrong returnes. The messenger of this answer, howsoever he were liked, his message could not be receiued nor allowed: which being aduertised vnto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon hir maiesties attorneie generall was sent vnto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not he be credited, neither would they be satisfied, vnlesse the iudges themselues would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Vpon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer nor abide the reading thereof: but rose vp in verie disordered manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrarie to that grauitie and wisdom, which was or should be in them. Wherefore, for pacifieng of the same, the chéefe iustices of the quéenes bench, and the chéefe iustices of the common plées: the quéenes sergeant, attornie generall, and sollicitor, the next daie following came to the lower house, and there did affirme their former resolutions, which thought it might haue sufficed. Yet certeine lawiers who had place in that house, did not altogether like thereof.

The resolution of the iudges.

The disliking of the iudges opinions.
The selfewill and frowardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

And albeit this matter were orderlie compassed, and sufficient to haue contented euerie man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appéere in the sequele of that assemblie, where euerie bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especiallie sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the quéenes maiesties profit or common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their capteinries should be taken awaie, and coine, and liuerie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices misliking, it did euen open it selfe of a rebellion then a brewing and towards. Which in déed followed. For immediatlie after the parlement, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose.

Sir Edmund Butler mishiketh with the parlement.

There were two billes put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of sir Edward Poinings lord deputie, in the tenth yere of king Henrie the seuenth, which though

The repeale of Poinings act.

The act for im-
posts of wines.

though it were meant most for their owne benefit and common-wealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the impost for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselues verie froward & so vnquiet, that it was more like a bearebaiting of disordered persons, than a parlement of wise and graue men. Wherewith a certeine English gentleman (the writer hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athenrie in Connagh, who had before kept silence, and still so meant to haue doone; when he saw these foule misorders and ouerthwarting, being gréeued, stood vp, and praied libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saiong, that it was an vsage in Pithagoras schooles, that no scholers of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, or determine, but giue eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and aduised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdome, speake, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to haue beene altogether silent, is inforced euen of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to praie their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then vpon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse what was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subiect: and lastlie, how the queenes maiestie had most honorablie and carefullie performed the one, and how vndutifullie they had considered the other: for that she neither found that obedience in that land, which still liued in rebellion against hir; neither that beneuolence of the better sort, which for hir great expenses spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to haue yéelded vnto hir. It appeered manifest in sundrie things, and speciallie in this present assemblie, namelie one bill concerning the repeale of Poinings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet hir maiestie, of hir owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without anie of your consents, as she hath already doone the like in England; sauing of hir courtesie it pleaseth hir to haue it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that she might thereby haue the better triall and assurance of your dutifulnesse and goodwill towards hir. But as she hath and dooth find your bent farre otherwise, so dooth the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For notwithstanding his long seruices in times past, his continuall and dailie trauels, iorneies, and hostings, with the great perill of his life against the rebels for your sake and safetie; and his endlesse turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat sutes for your quietnesse, and to you well known, he hath deserued more than well at your hands: yet as the vnthankfull Israelites against Moses, the vnkind Romans against Camillus, Scipio, and others: and as the vngratefull Atheniens against Socrates, Themistocles, Meltiades, and others; you haue and doo most vngratfullie requite and recompense this your noble gouernor: against whome and his dooings you doo kicke and spurne what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall vpon you, as it hath doone vnto others to your owne shame, ouerthrow, and confusion. And when he had spent a long time in this matter, and prooued the same by sundrie histories of other nations, he procéded to the bill, which by sundrie reasons and arguments he prooued to be most necessarie, and méet to be liked, allowed, and consented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his spéeches, he sat downe, the most part of the house verie well liking and allowing both of the person and of the matter; sauing the persons before named, who did not heare the same so attentiuellie as they did digest

digest it most vnquietlie, supposing themselves to be touched herein. And therfore some one of them rose vp and would haue answered the partie, but the time and daie was so far spent aboue the ordinarie houre, being well néere two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the speker and the court rose vp and departed. Howbeit such was the present murmurings and threatnings breathed out, that the said gentleman for his safetie was by some of the best of that assemblie conducted to the house of sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then laie and resided. The lord deputie in the meane time, hearing that the lower house were so close, and continued together so long aboue the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had béene concerning the questions before proponed, and therefore did secretlie send to the house to learne and know the cause of their long sitting. But by commandement of the speaker, order was giuen to the doore-kéeper, that the doores should be close kept, & none to be suffered to come in or out, so long as the gentleman was in deliuerie of his speeches; and after the court was ended, it was aduertised to the said lord deputie, who thanked God that had raised vp vnknown fréends vnto him in that place.

The next daie following being fridaie, assoone as the court of the lower house was set, sir Christopher Barnewell, and the lawiers of the English pale, who had conferred together of the former daies spéeches, stood vp and desired hearing: who leauing the matter in question, did in most disorderlie manner inueigh against the said gentleman, affirming, auouching, and protesting, that if the words spoken had béene spoken in anie other place than in the said house, they would rather haue died than haue borne withall. Wherevpon the speaker by consent of the residue of the house commanded them to silence, and willed that if they had anie matter against the said gentleman, they should present and bring it in writing against mondaie then next following. And for somuch as their dealings then were altogether disordered, being more like to a bearebaiting of lose persons than an assemblie of wise and graue men in parlement; motion and request was made to the speaker, that he should reforme those abuses and disordered behauiours; who not onelie promised so to doo, but also praied assistance, aduise, and counsell for his dooings therein, of such as were acquainted with the orders of the parlements in England. Which was promised vnto him and performed, and also promised that a booke of the orders of the parlements vsed in England should in time be set forth in print, which the said gentleman did, and presented & bestowed the same among them in forme following.

A booke of the orders of a parlement house now printed for Ireland.

The order and vsage how to keepe a parlement in England in these daies, collected by John Vowell aliàs Hooker gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Excester at the parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Domini 1571, & Elisabethæ Reg. decimo tertio: and the like vsed in hir maiesties realme of Ireland.

And here you must note, that what the kings and queenes of England do in their persons in England, the same is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parlement robes and vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir maiestie there in all things.

By whom and for what cause a parlement ought to be summoned and called.

THE king, who is Gods annointed, being the head and chiefe of the whole realme, and vpon whom the gouernement and estates thereof doo wholie and onelie depend, hath the power and authoritie to call and assemble his parlement, and therein to seeke and aske the aduise, counsell, & assistance of his whole realme, and without this his authoritie no parlement can properlie be summoned or assembled. And the

king, hauing this authoritie, ought not to summon his parlement but for weightie and great causes, and in which he of necessitie ought to haue the aduise and counsell of all the estates of his realme, which be these and such like as foloweth.

First for religion, forsomuch as by the lawes of God and this realme, the king next and immediatlie vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth, and the chiefest ruler within his realms and dominions: his office, function, and dutie is, aboue all things to seeke and see that God be honored in true religion and vertue, and that he and his people doo both in profession and life liue according to the same.

Also that all idolatries, false religions, heresies, schismes, errors, superstitions, & whatsoever is contrarie to true religion, all disorders and abuses, either among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, ordered, and redressed.

Also the assurance of the kings and queenes persons, and of their children, their aduancement & preferment in mariages, the establishing of succession, the suppression of traitors, the auoiding or eschewing of warres, the attempting or mouing of wars, the subduing of rebels, and pacifieng of ciuill wars and commotions, the leuieng or hauing anie aid or subsidie for the preservation of the king and publike estate: also the making and establishing of good and wholesome lawes, or the repealing and debarring of former lawes, as whose execution may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to the estates of the prince or commonwealth.

For these and such like causes, being of great weight, charge and importance, the king (by the aduise of his counsell) may call and summon his high court of parlement, and by the authoritie therof establish and order such good lawes and orders as then shall be thought most expedient and necessarie.

The order and maner how to summon the parlement.

The king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his reame at least fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lords and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquesses, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addressed to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, and by them they are sent and dispersed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their seuerall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the five ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie seuerall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgesses within his countie.

How and what persons ought to be chosen for the clergie, and of their allowances.

The bishop ought vpon the receipt of the writ sent vnto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appere in proper person at the parlement, vnlesse they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or proxie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedral church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselves to appere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or proxie.

He

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie doo appeere before him, his chancellor or officer, at a certeine daie, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appéere for them, and these shall haue their commission or proxie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, conuincing of heresies,, appeasing of schismes, and deuising of good and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reasonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the exchequer of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leuied for the same, according to an old order vsed among them.

How and what maner of knights, citizens, and burgesses ought to be chosen, and of their allowances.

The shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue béene accustomed to send burgesses within his countie, that they doo choose and elect among themselves two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgesses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselves & the aldermen and common councell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselves of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betwéene the houres of eight and nine of the forenoone, make proclamation; that euerie freeholder shall come into the court, and choose two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinctlie read. Wherevpon the said freeholders, then and there present, ought to choose two knights accordingle, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and doone, there ought to be seuerall indentures made betwéene the shiriffe & the fréeholders of the choise of the knights, and betwéene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgesses & of their names, & of their mainperners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgesses vnder the seuerall common seales of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was woont to be a like, which was thirteene shillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue five shillings; but now it is but thrée shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be giuen from the first daie of their

iourneie towards the parlement, vntill the last daie of their returne from thense. Prouided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so manie daies as by iourneieng six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgesses, good regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, vnlesse he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experience in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie vtter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therefore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Cincti gladio*: not bicause they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swords: but bicause they should be such as haue good experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and relme good aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of good fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or periured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrés or estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrés.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degré of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be doone.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the temporalitie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgesses, & these be called by the names of the communalitie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they doo anie thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

Of the places and houses of the parlement.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he giue at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wheresoeuer it be kept, the old vsage and maner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat togither in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But hereof did grow manie inconueniences, and therefore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which eftsoones did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience fréelie, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great grées, did diuide this one house into thrée

thré houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and temporall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgesses doo sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelats and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will bréefflie subnect and declare particulie in order as followeth.

Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons doo sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degré: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hanged richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and vpon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degré. On his left hand there are two like benches, vpon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betwéene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale of England, or the lord chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king, who dooth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, vpon which they doo write and laie their bookes. In the middle roome beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchequer, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned councell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall laws, and all these sit vpon great wooll sacks, couered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre or raile, betwéene which & the lower end of the house is a void roome seruing for the lower house, and for all sutors that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and appertaining, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

Of the officers of the higher house, and first of the speaker, and of his office.

The chéefest officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancelor or keeper of the great seale, or lord chéefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man

man to doo his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honor of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waie of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that vpon these three daies he standeth on the right hand of the king neere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration vpon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bills presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clerks to be safelie kept.

All bills he must cause to be read twice before they be ingrossed, and being read thrée times he must put the same to question.

If anie bill put to question doo passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thense, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If anie bill be denied, impagned, and cleere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thenseforth receiued.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether side is the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If anie bill be vnperfect, or requireth to be amended, he must choose a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make choise of two of the kings learned councell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receiue the same; and being returned to his place, and euerie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or doone in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the aduise of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other other times as he séeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recorded, & they to paie their fines, vnlesse they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or haue some iust and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clerks to make true entries & true records of all things doone there, and to see that all clerks doo giue and deliuer the copies of all such bills there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command euerie man of ech degré in that house to doo the like.

Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentleman sergeant ought to attend vpon him, going before him with his mace, vnlesse he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also

Also for euerie priuat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

Of the chancellor of the higher house.

The chancellor is the principall clearke of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be past.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings seuerall courts of records to be inrolled, as namelie the Chancerie, the Kings bench, the Common plees, and the Exchequer.

All such acts as are to be imprinted, he must send to the printer.

All such priuat acts as are not imprinted, if anie man will haue the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chancellor to be ingrossed and sealed, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

Of the clearks of the parlement.

There be two clearks, the one named the clearke of the parlement, & the other named the clearke of the crowne. The clearke of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bills presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entries of all things there doone and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to giue the same, receiuing the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must doo it.

The counsell of the house he maie not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliuer vp vnto the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, sauing he may keepe a transumpt and a copie thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, he hath thrée pounds.

Also for euerie bill whereof he giueth a copie, he hath for euerie ten lines a penie, according to the custome.

¶ The clearke of the crowne, his office is to supplie the place and roome of the clearke of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the clearke ought to haue.

He must giue his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & doo what shall be inioined him.

All such acts as be not imprinted, if anie man will haue them exemplified vnder the brode seale, he must exemplifie them, and haue for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clearks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a boord before them, their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bills which are past both houses, and the other must read the consent or disagreement of the king.

Of the sergeants or porters of the higher house.

There is but one sergeant, which hath the charge of keeping of the doores:

THE CHRONICLES OF IRELAND.

for though there be diuerse doores, yet the kéeper thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept sweet.

He ought not to suffer anie maner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned councell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bills or otherwise, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to haue anie thing there to doo.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, vnlesse he be lord chancellor, or kéeper of the great seale: for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be commanded to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or sergeant hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for euerie daie of the parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, fortie shillings.

Also he hath for euerie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of euerie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distinct from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, hauing foure rowes of seates one aboue an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table boord, at which sitteth the clarke of the house, and therevpon laieth his bookes, and writeth his records. Vpon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings priue councell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claimeth, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he cometh, sauing that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said counsels, the Londoners, and the citizens of Yorke doo sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordingle. Without this house is one other, in which the under clerks doo sit, as also such as be sutors and attendant to that house. And when soeuer the house is diuided vpon anie bill, then the roome is voided; and the one part of the house commeth downe into this to be numbered.

The office of the speaker of the lower house.

The chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, or the more part of them; he himselfe being one of the same number, and a man for grauitie, wisdom, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office, during the time of the parlement; and is to be presented to the king the third daie folowing.

His office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinances, vsages, and customs of the same to be firmelie kept and obserued.

When he is presented vnto the king, sitting in his estate roiall in the parlement house for the purpose, he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the lawes and of the parlement; which doone, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king the three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in

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the parlement, may haue and inioie the ancient priuileges, customes, and liberties, as in times past haue appertained, and béene vsed in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue libertie of spéech, and fréelic to vtter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to anie bill or question to be proponed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free comming and going to and from the said parlement, as also during the said time of parlement; & that they, nor anie of their seruants or retinue to be arrested, molested, sued, imprisoned, or troubled by anie person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or anie other of that companie, béeing sent or come to him of anie message, and doo mistake himselfe in dooing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but gratiousslie pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and sée that the clearke doo enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bils as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third daie, and when soeuer he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bils, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clearke.

He ought to cause and command the clearke to reade the bils brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which doone, he must bréesslie recite and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bils brought in he hath choise, which and when they shall be read: vnlesse order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue thrée readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clearke to ingrosse the same, vnlesse the same be reiected and dashed.

If anie bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house. *

If when a bill is read, diuerse doo rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake: neuerthesse, euerie one shall haue his course to speake if he list.

If anie speake to a bill and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and will him to come to the matter.

If anie bill be read thrée times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not? saieng thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in maner & forme as hath béene read; saie Yea: then the affirmatiue part saie Yea. As manie as will not haue this bill passe in maner and forme as hath beene read, saie No. If vpon this question the whole house, or the more part, doo affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the more part doo denie the bill; then the same is to be dashed out, and to be reiected: but if it be doubtfull vpon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the vtter roome, which (by the sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they doo come in, one by one: and as vpon the triall the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If vpon this triall the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for otherwise he hath no voice.

Also if anie of the house doo misbehaue himselfe, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If anie forren person doo enter into that house, the assemblie thereof being sitting, or doo by arresting anie one person thereof, or by anie other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himselfe from dealing or intermedling in anie publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himselfe wholie to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to anie noble man, councellor, or other person, to deale in anie of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his dooings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send anie offendor, either to sergeants ward, or to the tower, or to anie other prison at his choise, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both houses, and enacted, five pounds.

At the end, and on the last daie of the parlement, he maketh his oration before the king in most humble maner, declaring the dutifull seruice and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humblie praieing his pardon, if anie thing haue beene doone amisse.

Of the clearke of the lower house.

THERE is onelie one clearke belonging to this house, his office is to sit next before the speaker at a table, vpon which he writeth & laieth his bookes.

He must make true entrie of the records and bils of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bils appointed vnto him by the speaker to be read: he must read openlie, plainelie, and sensiblie.

The billes which are to be ingrossed, he must doo it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the booke of the orders of the house; he hath to deliuer the same vnto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, receiuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie priuat bill passed and enacted, fortie shillings.

He hath allowed vnto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

Of the sergeant or porter of the lower house.

THE sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to keepe the
doore

doores of the house: and for the same he hath others under him, for he himselfe kéepe the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and sée the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there; vnlesse he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person doo come, he ought to bring him in, going before him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to kéepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to doo his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carieng his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance (during the time of the parlement) is twelue pence the daie of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence; and of euerie burgesse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the daie, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie priuat bill doo passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

Of the conuocation house.

THE conuocation house is the assemblie of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons: euen so the archbishops and bishops doo sequester themselues, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and vsages; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vsed in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops doo sit all at a table, and doo discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question before them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or from anie priuat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degré, which degrees are knowne by such degrés & offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned: for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a sexton, and so foorth, as such officers were woont to be in the church.

The bishops doo not sit at forenoone, but onelie at afternoone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, doo resort and assemble themselves there at the forenoones with the temporall lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie doo obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons doo vse. For being assembled together on the first daie, with the bishops, are by them willed to make choise of a speaker for them, whom they call the proloquutor: when they haue chosen him, they doo present him vnto the bishops: and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and dooth all things as

the speaker of the lower house for the commons dooth, as well for the ordering of the clergie & of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things doone among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onlie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their dooings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vnlesse they be confirmed by act of parlement: but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the kéeping thereof; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) doo consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others: these shall suffice for this matter.

Of extraordinarie persons which ought to be summoned to the parlement.

BESIDES the personages of the former degrés, which ought to be summoned to the parlement: the king also must warne and summon all his counsellors both of the one law and of the other; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namelie the two chéefe iustices and their associats of the kings bench and the common plées, the barons of the exchequer, the sergeants, the attorneie, the sollicitor, the maister of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue counsell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtfull cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceiued and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and reforme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie counsellors to the same.

They are all reteined at the kings charges.

Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namelie the chancellor of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are reteined at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is alreadie particularly declared.

Of the daies and houres to sit in parlement.

ALL daies of the wéeke are appointed, sauing and excepted the sundaies and all principall feasts, as namelie the feast of Alhallowes daie, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and saint Iohn the baptists daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the morning, and dooth continue vntill eleuen of the clocke.

They doo not sit at afternoones, for those times are reserued for committées and the conuocation house.

In the morning they beginne with the common praier and the letanie, which are openlie read in the house.

Of

Of the king, his office and authoritie.

HAVING declared of all the estates, degrees, and personages of the parlement, it resteth now to speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in all, the beginning and ending, and vpon whome resteth and dependeth the effect & substance of the whole parlement. For without him and his authoritie nothing can be doone, and with it all things take effect. Neuerthelesse, when he calleth & assembleth his parlement, there are sundrie orders which of him are to be obserued, and which he ought to see to be kept and executed; or else the parlement ceaseth to be a parlement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these be the chéepe which doo insue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assigning and appointing the time, daie, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least fortie daies before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and prouide all such officers as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens, burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the common house, or proloquutor of the conuocation house: but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, orders, and customs of the realme, as they were woont and ought to be, and the kings good aduise yet not to be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow to all and euerie of the estates, and to euerie particular man lawfullie elected, and come to the parlement, all and euerie the ancient freedoms, priuileges, immunities, and customs, during the parlement; as also during the times and daies, comming and going to and from the parlement: but yet the same humblie to be requested of his highnesse by the speaker in his oration at the beginning of the parlement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the parlement thrée daies at the least, during the time of the parlement; that is to saie, the first daie, when the whole estates according to the summons make their appearance, which is called the first daie of the parlement. On the second daie, when the speaker of the common house is presented, which is counted the beginning of the parlement. And the third daie, which is the last day, when the parlement is proroged or dissolved: for vpon these daies he must be present, vnlesse in case of sicknes, or absence out of the realme, for in these cases the king may summon his parlement by commission, and the same is of as good effect as if he were present in person: and as for anie other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propone to the parlement house in writing all such things & matters of charge, as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accordinglie as the same shall then by the consent of all estates be aduised, concluded, and agréed: so the king either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can (of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish anie bill; but accept the same as it is presented vnto him from the estates of the parlement, or else altogether reiect it.

Also the king as he dooth prefix and assigne the daie and time when the parlement shall begin; so also he must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall be proroged or dissolved: which ought not to be as long as anie matters of charge, weight, or importance be in question, and the same not decided nor determined.

Of

Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie of the parlement, and of the orders of the same.

THE parlement is the highest, cheefest, and greatest court that is or can be within the realme: for it consisteth of the whole realme, which is diuided into thrée estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons, euerie of which estates are subiect to all such orders as are concluded and established in parlement.

These thrée estates may iointlie and with one consent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, orders, and statutes for the common wealth: but being diuided, and one swaruing from the other, they can doo nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and his lords onelie, nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king doo anie thing of auaille. And yet neuerthelesse, if the king in due order haue summoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not yet appeere; or if they come and appeere, yet will not doo or yeeld to any thing, then the king with the consent of his commons (who are represented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses) may ordeine and establish anie act or law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectuell, as if the lords had giuen their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summoned and will not come, or comming will not appeere, or appeering will not consent to doo anie thing, alleging some iust, weightie, and great cause; the king (in these cases) cannot with his lords deuise, make, or establish anie law, the reasons are these. When parlements were first begun & ordeined, there were no prelats or barons of the parlement, and the temporall lords were verie few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parlement, which authoritie was hitherto neuer abridged. Againe, euerie baron in parlement dooth represent but his owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are represented the commons of the whole realme; and euerie of these giueth not consent onlie for himselfe, but for all those also for whome he is sent. And the king with the consent of his commons had euer a sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordeine, and establish good and wholesome lawes for the commonwealth of his realme. Wherefore the lords being lawfullie summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or consent in parlement, can not by their follie abridge the king and the commons of their lawfull procéeding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all in one house, but for the auoiding of confusion they be now diuided into two seuerall houses, and yet neuerthelesse they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houses being named and counted a péere of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, 'censure, and iudgement of a meane burgesse, is of as great auaille as is the best lords, no regard being had to the partie who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called péers, as it were fathers, for *Pier* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, lerned, and expert men of the land: for such were the senators of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisdom and care that was in them in gouerning of the commonwealth. They are also called counsellors, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good counsell, in making and deuising of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgesses, ought to be well aduised

advised that they doo elect and choose such as being to be of that assemblie, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and carefull men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithfull and trustie counsellors) should doo that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, otherwise they doo great iniurie to their prince and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his coming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or sute taking effect which during that time is begun, entred, or commenced against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murther, and felonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person hauing voices in parlement, hath free libertie of speach to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to anie matter proponed; or of himselfe to propone anie matter for the commoditie of the prince and of the commonwealth: but hauing once spoken to anie bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgesse, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a laieman. But if by error a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no briber nor taker of anie rewards, gifts, or monie, either for deuising of anie bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to doo all things vprightlie, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behauiour; none taunting, checking, or misusing an other in anie vnseemelie words or deeds: but all affections set apart, to doo and indeuour in wisdom, sobrietie and knowledge, that which that place requireth.

Also if anie one doo offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, gales, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to anie of them by the said parlement houses, or anie of them: howbeit most commonlie the tower of London is the prison which is most used.

Also if anie one of the parlement house is serued, sued, arrested, or attached by anie writ, attachment, or minister of the Kings bench, Common plees, Chancerie, or what court so euer within this realme: the partie so troubled and making complaint thereof to the parlement house: then forthwith a sargeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelie aduertising that the partie so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said processe, and not to deale anie further against the said partie: for the parlement being the hiest court, all other courts as inferior yeld and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of sutes to be commenced against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, vpon paine of imprisonment,

imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and adiudged.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to kéepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and doone in the parlement house, to anie manner of person, vnlesse he be one of the same house, vpon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or otherwise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leaue obtained of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recorded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one comming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entreth and commeth in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to doo his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bareheaded, and speake his mind plainlie, sensible, & in decent order.

If anie come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must staie at the inner doore vntill they be called in, and then being entred, must first make their obeisance; which doone, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to staie vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwards must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie; and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be doone at the departure.

Also when anie knight, citizen or burgesse dooth enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And you shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shew himselfe in his apparell. For in time past, none of the councellors of the parlement came otherwise than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men readie to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse words to choose such for knights as be girded with the sword; yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed: but be such as be skilful in feats of armes, and besides their good aduises can well serve in martiall affaires. And thus the Romane senators vsed, who being men of great knowledge and experience, as well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat alwaies in the senat house and places of counsell in their gownes and long robes. The like also was alwaies and hath béene the order in the parlements of this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old customes, and good orders thereof were kept and obserued.

Also if anie other person or persons, either in message or being sent for, doo come: he ought to be brought in by the sergeant, and at the first entring must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeisance, and being past in the middle waie, must make one other; and when he is come before the speaker, he must make the third, and then do his message; the like order he must kéepe in his returne. But if he doo come alone, or with his learned counsell, to plead anie matter, or to answer to anie obiection: he shall enter, and go no further than to the bar within the doore, and there to doo his three obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committées haue not authoritie to conclude, but onelie to order, reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed vnto them, and

and of their dooings they must giue report to the house againe, by whome the bill is to be considered.

Also euerie bill, which is brought into the house, must be read three seuerall times, and vpon thrée seuerall daies.

Also euerie bill, which vpon anie reading is committed and returned againe, ought to haue his thrée readings, vnles the committées haue not altered the bill in anie substance or forme, but onelie in certeine words.

Also when anie bill vpon reading is altogether by one consent reiected, or by voices after the third reading ouerthrown, it ought not to be brought anie more to be read, during the sessions of parlement.

Also if anie man doo speake vnto a bill, and be out of his matter; he ought to be put in remembrance of the matter, by the speaker onelie and by none other, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoever anie person dooth speake to anie bill, he ought to stand vp, and to be bareheaded, and then with all reuerence, grauitie, and séemelie spéech to declare his mind. But whensoever anie bill shall be tried either for allowances, or to be reiected: then euerie one ought to sit, bicause he is then as a iudge.

Also euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, before he doo enter into the parlement, and take his place there, ought to be sworne and to take his oth, acknowledging the king to be the supreme and onelie gouernour of all the estates within this realme, as also to renounce all forren potentates.

The order of the beginning and ending of the parlement

ON the first daie of the summons for the parlement, the king in proper person (vnlesse he be sicke or absent out of the realme) being apparelled in his roiall and parlement robes, ought to be conducted and brought by all his barons of the cleargie and laitie, and the commons summoned to the parlement, vnto the church, where ought a sermon to be made by some archbishop, bishop, or some other famous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in like order be brought to the higher house of parlement, and there to take his seat vnder the cloth of estate: likewise euerie lord and baron (in his degré) ought to take his place.

This doone, the lord chancellor, or he whom the king appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh his oration to the whole assemblie, declaring the causes whie and wherefore that parlement is called and summoned, exhorting and persuading euerie man to doo his best indeuour in all such matters as shall be in the said parlement proponed, as shall be most expedient for the glorie of God, the honor of the king, and the commonwealth of the whole realme. Then he directeth his talke vnto the knights, citizens, and burgesses, aduertising them that the kings pleasure is, that they doo repaire to their house; and there according to the old and ancient custome, doo choose and elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among themselves to be speaker for them, and giueth them a daie when they shall present him to the king. And these things thus doone, the king ariseth, and euerie man departeth. This is accounted for the first daie of the parlement.

The second or third daie after, when the speaker is to be presented: the king with all his nobles (in like order as before) doo assemble againe in the higher house, and then come vp all the commons of the lower house, and then and there doo present their speaker vnto the king. The speaker foorthwith maketh his dutifull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his oration before the king, and prosecuteth such matters as occasion serueth, and as is before recited in the office of the speaker; and

this doone, euerie man departeth. And this is accounted for the beginning of the parlement, for before the speaker be presented, and these things orderlie doone, there can no bills be put in, nor matters be intreated of.

Lastlie when all matters of weight be discussed, ended, and determined, the king commandeth an end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles, and commons doo againe assemble in the higher house in their robes, and in like order as is before recited, where the speaker maketh his oration, and is answered by the lord chancellor or speaker of the higher house. Then all the bills concluded and past in both houses, that is to saie, in the higher house of the lords, and in the lower house of the commons, are there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his consent or dissent to euerie of them as he thinketh good. And when the titles of all the bills are read, the lord chancellor or lord speaker, by the kings commandement, pronounceth the parlement to be proroged or cleane dissolved. And this is called the last daie or the end of the parlement, and euerie man is at libertie to depart homewards.

The mondaie following, sir Christopher Barnewell and his complices, hauing better considered of themselues, were quiet and contented, and the parlement begun with some troubles had his continuance and end with better successe. In the time of this parlement, and after the same, sundrie grievous complaints were exhibited to the lord deputie and counsell by the late wife of the deceased baron of Dunboin, Mac Brian Arra, Oliuer Fitzgiralde, sir William Ocarell, and diuerse others the quéenes good subiects, against sir Edmund Butler and his brethren, for sundrie routs and riots, spoiles and outrages which they were charged to haue doone vpon hir maiesties subiects. Wherevpon first letters and then commissioners were sent in to the counties of Kilkennie and Tiporarie for the hearing and redressing thereof: but they returned without dooing of anie thing. For sir Edmund, conceiuing some hard dealings to be meant toward him by the lord deputie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and gard, did not appeere before the said commissioners, but both he and his brethren combined themselues with James Fitzmoris Odesmond, Mac Artie More, Mac Donagh, and the seneschall of Imokilie and others of Mounster, who before (and vnwitting the Butlers) had sent the vsurped bishops of Cashell and Emelie together with the yoongest brother of the erle of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine, for reformation of the popish religion, & for fréeing the land from the possession of hir maiestie and of the imperiall crowne. Which mater in the end brake out into an open and actuall rebellion, and the lord deputie by proclamation published them all to be traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting. But before the same was fullie prepared, he sent his letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew knight then being at Leighlin, to enter into the action of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Malbie, capteine Basenet, and others, latelie sent vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his commandement, and first assaulted the castell of Cloughgriman in the Dullogh belonging to sir Edmund Butler, and tooke it, and gaue the spoile vnto the souldiers.

From thense they remooued to Kilkennie towne, where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle of Ormonds, espieng vpon a certeine daie sir Peter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell of Kilkennie alone, he charged his peece, and leueled the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the castell. At which verie instant a chapleine of the said earls & his steward, comming by him, & suspecting some euill thing towards, turned vp the mouth of the peece, which therewith was discharged, and so no bodie hurt; and vnderstanding the thing was meant against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and

Commissioners sent to heare the complaints made against the Butlers.

The noblemen and gentlemen in Mounster sent their messengers to the pope.

The noblemen & gentlemen in Mounster proclaimed traitors. Sir Peter Carew is commanded to serue against the Butlers.

Cloughgriman taken.

Sir Peter Carew in danger to haue bene killed.

and for a time thrust him out of the house. Whilest these capteins laie at Kilkennie, it was aduertised vnto them, that a great companie of the rebels were incamped about thrée miles out of the towne, & were there marching in verie good order. Wherevpon sir Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled all the capteins, and taking their aduise what was best to be doone, they concluded that Henrie Dauels a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman, who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had married his wife out of that towne, and him they sent out to discouer the matter, who about thrée miles off had the view, and espied a great companie of about two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in battell araiie. When he returned with this report, then sir Peter Carew appointed the voward to capteine Gilbert, who together with Henrie Dauels and twelue other persons of his companie galloped before the rest, and finding as it was before aduertised, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie followed with the like hast vnder sir Peter Carew, and then capteine Malbie, and capteine Basenet, séeing and assured that all things were cleere behind them, followed so néere, that all the companie euen as it were at one instant gaue the like charge, where they slue foure hundred Gallowglasses at the least, besides others. The residue of the companie were fled into the mounteins fast by, and none or few escaped but the horsemen and Kerns. And of hir maiesties side no one man slaine, but a man of capteine Malbies was hurt.

Henrie Dauels
sent to discouer
the enimie.

Sir Peter Carew
and the English
capteins giueth
charge vpon the
rebels & haue
the victorie,

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obtained this victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with all his companie to the towne of Kilkennie, euerie capteine and souldier carieng two Gallowglasses axes in his hand, but left the spoile to their followers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not in the campe, but was at his vnckles house at dinner. The townesmen of Kilkennie were verie sorie for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet neuerthelesse not long after, Iames Fitzmoris came to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being well garonised with certeine soldiers, & they themselues well appointed, did so carefullie and narowlie looke to themselves, that they defended and kept the towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the countrie and other small townes did not so escape, for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Powre, the countie of Dublin, and all the countrie were spoiled, preied, and ouerrun; and among all others the old Fulco Quimerford a gentleman, of long time seruant to thrée earles of Ormond, was robbed in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in monie, plate, and houshold stuffe, besides his corne and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford, which thing had not lightlie béene séene before, and at a faire kept then at Enescorth, there the souldiers committed most horrible outrages, lamentable slaughters, filthie rapes, and deflourings of yoong women, abusing mens wiues, spoiling the towne, & slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape the sword were caried captiues & prisoners. From hense they went into Osserie and into the quéenes countie, and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villages, murdered the people: and then they met with the earle of Clancare, and Iames Fitzmoris Odesmond, with whom they then combined; and agreed to cause Tirlough Lennough to procure in the Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and to the king of Spaine. Finallie, nothing was left vndoone, which might anie waies tend to the subuersion of hir maiesties imperiall crowne of Ireland, and to discharge that land from all Englishmen and English gouernement, and by these means (the English pale and the good cities & townes excepted) the most part, if not the whole land, was imbrued & infected with this rebellion.

Iames Fitzmoris
besiegeth Kilkennie.

Fulco Quimerford
spoiled & robbed.

A wicked massacre
at Enescorth.

A wicked conspiracie
and combining of the
traitors.

The earle of Ormond himselfe, a man of great honour and nobilitie, was all this

The earle of Ormonde lands spoiled.

The good affection of the earle of Ormonde to his brethren.

The earle of Ormonde offereth to serue against his brethren.

The earle of Ormonde arriueth at Wexford.
The earle repairerth to the lord deputie.

Edmund Butler submitteth himselfe.

Sir Edmund Butlers excuses.

1569

The iocund grauntie of the earle of Ormonde to his brethren.

time in England: but from time to time was aduertised of the troublesome state in that land: and whereof no little detriment redounded to his lordship, by reason that a great and most part of all his lordships throughout that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so much gréue him as the follies of his brethren. For great were his griefs, & verie much was he vnquieted therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his brethren, nature moued him, and reason persuaded him, that no such outrageous parts could proceed from them, which in anie waies should either concerne hir maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his house, which hitherto hath beéne alwaies found sound and true. Wherefore, when he heard of anie matter against them herein, he would plead their innocencies, and defend their causes, vntill such time as by credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw apparant matter and manifest proofes of the contrarie. Which reports albeit they gréued him verie much, yet (as I said) nothing gréued him more, than their disloialtie and breach of dutie against hir maiestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Wherefore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards hir highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others, by the sword, or by some other means, to recouer and reclaime them.

Wherevpon hir maiestie, standing assured of his fidelitie, and hauing a speciall trust in him, sent him ouer into Ireland, who arriued at Wexford the fouretéenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked massaker was committed and doone at the faire at Innescorth. Immediatlie vpon his landing, he aduertiseth vnto the lord deputie his comming, and with all conuenient spéd maketh his repaire vnto him, who then was incamped and laie néere Limerike: and then and there offereth his seruice with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open view and sight of the whole campe did yéeld and submit himselfe simplie to hir maiesties mercie, confessing his follie and crauing pardon. And then was he deliuered to the earle his brother vpon his bonds, to bée foorth comming before the said lord deputie at his comming to Dublin: and also promised to doo the like with his two other brothers, which he did vpon the sixtéenth of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and councell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causers whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord deputie did not brooke nor like him, for he could haue no iustice at his hands, nor against sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered vpon some part of his lands, nor yet against any other person. Then that the said lord deputie had threatened him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his loftie lookes. Thirddie, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would doo manie things.

When all these things were heard at full, and nothing in proofe falling out as was auouched, the thrée brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which sir Edmund escaped, and made breach: neuerthelesse the earle brought him againe. And vpon the last of Februarie 1569 he brought also his two other brethren, for whome he had vndertaken, and presented them before the lord deputie and councell, where the matter being heard at large, the councell conferred hereof among themselues, and in the end they all the thrée brethren were againe called before the lord deputie and councell, and then and there knéeling vpon their knées, did confesse their follies, and submitted themselues in all dutifulnesse and simplicitie to the quéens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturallie as a brother made humble petition for them: but grauelie as a father recited their errors, reprooued them of their outrages, and counselled them to their duties: and in the end condescended in the due consideration of hir maiesties roiall estate. And therevpon they

were

were committed to safe kéeping within hir maiesties castell of Dublin, at hir highnesse disposition; and not long after vpon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the matter againe.

The lord deputie folowed his first begun hosting, who when he was incamped neere Clomnell, where it was thought he should haue béene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the cite of Waterford, to send vnto him the assistance of a few souldiers onelie for thrée daies; who did verie insolentlie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their liberties with hir maiesties prerogatiue, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they shewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disloialtie to hir highnesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within half a mile of Clomnell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thense went into the towne, where the soueraigne and his brethren receiued him with all the honour they could, and gaue him a banket in their towne-house, where, vnto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speach, teaching them the dutifulnesse and obedience of a subiect, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the contrarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore laieng before them their present estate for example, did mooue and persuaue them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they owght to hir maiestie, and not to be dismaid at the dooings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the prince, and vnder whome all kings and princes doo rule, hath béene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: euén as of the contrarie he sendeth his manifold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subiect. And so hauing vsed sundrie and notable sentences and examples to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

And from thense he remooued and marched towards Cashell, which lieth in the countie of Tipporarie, néere vnto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie approching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared themselues to defend the pile. The lord deputie taking the same as a defiance, approached therevnto and besieged it: and whilest the assault was in preparing, it was yéelded by composition, and after restored to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thense by iourneies he marched and went to Corke, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Roch and Barrie, and by sir Corman Mac Teege: and being aduertised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Imokillie, a principall rebell, and combined with Iames Fitzmoris, had spoiled and preied the whole countrie, and had also warded and vittelled his castell of Balie martyr, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to mainteine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end tooke it full of vittels. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

The spoile was giuen to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was giuen to Iasper Horseie, & so he returned to Corke, and from thense he tooke iourneie to Kilmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and named Humfreie Gilbert hir maiesties seruant to be coronell, and besides his owne band of an hundred horssemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeine Kernes there to remaine. And there he did knit and conioine vnto him by oth, and vnder good pledges, the vicounties of Roch and Dessis, with the lord Powre, the lord Courcie, sir Corman Mac Teege, sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Oge, and the most part of the freeholders in the counties of Limerike and Corke. And this doone he passed by iourneies to Limerike, and from thense he went to Gallewair, and there established a president and a councell, and placed sir Edward Fitton to be lord pre-

The cite of Waterford standing vpon their liberties refuse to send aid to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie went into Clomnell & vsed verie good speeches vnto them.

Balie martyr a castell of the seneschals besieged and taken. The seneschall escapeth out of his castell.

Humfreie Gilbert made coronell of Mounster.

Sir Edward Fitton made president of Connagh.

sident, the earles of Thomond and Clanricard, and all the noble men & septs of gentlemen of that prouince yéelding to the same.

Capteine Gilberts good service.

Thense he marched to Athlon, taking in the waie the castell of Rosocomen, which he left with the ward of twentie horssemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by iourneies trauelled and came to Dublin, and there remained. Capteine Gilbert in the meane time, hauing a speciall respect and regard to his charge, his valiancie and courage was such, and his good hap so well answering his woorthie and forward attempts, that he in short time broke the hearts, and appalled the courages of all the rebels in Mounstèr, and no rebell knowne left in effect, which dare to withstand and make anie resistance against him. And to such an obedience he brought that countrie, that none did or would refuse to come vnto him, if he were sent for but by a horsse boy: for all yéelded vnto him, some by putting in recognisances, & some by giuing of pledges, and all in séeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare submitteth himselfe to capteine Gilbert.

And that proud earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before vsurped this name to be king of Mounster; euen he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limerike vnto him, and there falling vpon their knées acknowledged their tresons, and most humblie desired hir maiesties pardon: and offered to put in his eldest sonne, and the sonnes of his chieftest fréeholders for pledges and hostages. Likewise the president of Connagh in such wisdom, courage, & vprightnesse, directed his gouernement, that he was obeied of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The wicked he spareth not, but being found faultie either in open sessions, or by martiall inquisition, he causeth to be executed: and by these meanes hauing rid awaie the most notable offenders and their fosterers, the whole prouince rested in good quietnesse and in dutifull obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes.

The good service of sir Edward Fitton lord president of Connagh.

The Cagenaghs submissions.

Turlough shot through with two bullets.

The Cagenaghs, the ancient enimies to the English gouernement, and who in the rebellion were conioined with the Butlers: these bordering vpon the frontiers appointed to sir Peter Carew, were so by him chased and persecuted, that finding no place of rest or quietnesse, he hath brought them to submit themselues simplie to hir maiesties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide such orders and conditions as shall be laid vpon them. Turlough Lennogh in Vlster, being at supper with his now wife, aunt to the earle of Argile, was shot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caliuier, by a ieaster or rimer of the Donilogs. Wherevpon the Scots whome he reteined were in a maze, and the countrie standing vpon the election of a new capteine: howbeit, he was in hope of recouerie. And thus after long troubles was the state of the whole realme recouered to quietnesse. Whervpon capteine Gilbert, when he had settled Mounster in outward appéerance in a most perfect quietnesse, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertised and recounted all his dooings at full.

Drogheda.

Capteine Gilbert dubbed knight.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he desired licence to depart ouer: whome the said deputie did not onelie most courteouslie receiue; but also most thankfullie did accept his good seruice, and in some part of recompense, vpon New-years daie in the church at Drogheda, he did bestow vpon him the order of knight-hood; which he well deserued, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to hir highnesse, and to the lords of the councell. And now by the waie, if without offense a man maie, after the maner of Cambrensis in his historie, and after the vsage of noble gouernors and capteins in other realmes, who for the increase of vertue, and encouraging of woorthie persons, doo attribute to such as doo deserue well their due praises & commendations, I hope it shall not be offensiuie to the reader, nor impertinent to the historie, to set downe somewhat of much, what maie be said of these two woorthie personages,

personages, sir Peter Carew, and sir Humfreie Gilbert: both which were of one countrie and birth, borne in the countie of Deuon, and of néere bloud, kinred, and consanguinitie.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a second brother, and borne of a great parentage, whose ancestors came and descended from the earle of Cornewall, a man of a higher stature than of the common sort, & of complexion cholerike; from his childhood of a verie pregnant wit and good disposition: his father died leauing him verie yoong, and he conceiuing some great good thing to come of his towardnesse, provided some portion of liuing to mainteine and kéepe him to schoole. And after his death, his mother, being no lesse carefull of him, did cause him to be sent to schoole to Eton college: from thense, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was sent to Oxford, & did there prosper & increase verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furnished, they would haue put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named mistres Katharine Ashleie, who was attendant to the queenes maiestie, after that she saw the yoong gentleman, and had had some conference with him, she fell in such liking with him, that she preferred him vnto hir maiesties seruice: and such was his countenance, forwardnesse, and behauiour, that hir maiestie had a speciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarlie discourse and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares spent in the court, he passed ouer into Ireland, being commended by hir highnesse to sir Henrie Sidneie then lord deputie: who gaue him interteinement, and made him a capteine ouer an hundred horssemen: wherein he so well acquitted himse fe, that he was also made coronell of Mounster; and had appointed vnto him, besides his owne band of one hundred horssemen, foure hundred footemen, besides such Geraldines as Thomas of Desmond, brother to the erle of Desmond had procured, & vpon his oth of loialtie and pledges had promised his faithfull seruice.

And albeit he were but yoong of yeares, which might séeme to hinder his credit: yet such was his deuout mind to serue hir maiestie, and so effectuellie to his great praise he followed the same; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he so supplied euen as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie atteine vnto. For in seruice vpon the enimie he was as valiant and couragious as no man more; and so good was his hap to answer the same: for he alwaies for the most part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courage; as did appéere in the ouerthrow giuen néere Kilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with twelue persons gaue the onset vpon a thousand men, of which six hundred were armed Gallowglasses, who then were ouerthrowne: and likewise in Mounster, which was altogether vp in rebellion; and he coronell, did not onelie in martiall affaires shew himselfe most valiant; and in short time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the proudest of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but fíue hundred against sundrie thousands; and inforced that proud earle of Clancart to follow him to Limerike, and there humblie vpon his knees to aske pardon and mercie: but also, after that he had subdued and ouercome them, did most vprightlie order and direct his gouernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, and determine the complaints & griefs, and compound all the causes of euerie sutor. Which was so rare a thing in one of his yeares, as scarce was credible, had not eiewitnesses and dailie experience proued and iustified the same.

After that he had established peace and tranquillitie in that countrie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his seruices, and the good successe thereof; and in what quiet state he had left the countrie, he desired leaue to passe ouer into England, for and about certeine matters of great importance, which he had to follow, which he did

The description
of sir Humfreie
Gilbert, and
his descent.

The valiantnes
in seruice, and
the wisdom in
gouernement of
sir Humfreie
Gilbert.

he did obtaine: as also in reward of his seruice, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honored and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to hir maiestie, and the lords of the councell, he departed. Assoone as he had presented himselfe before hir highnesse, hir good countenance and fauour, in respect of his good seruice to hir maiestie was increased and doubled; and he speciallie aboue all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was married to a yoong gentlewoman, and an inheritrix: and thensefoorth he gaue himselfe to studies pertaining to the state of gouernement, and to nauigations. He had an excellent and readie wit, and therewith a toong at libertie to vtter what he thought. Which being adorned with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notablie discourse anie matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good prooffe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisdom, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwelth of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in nauigations; and finding out by his studies, certeine nations and vnknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made hir maiestie acquainted therewith, and obtained of hir a licence to make a nauigation, which he tooke in hand. But before he could compasse the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Onelic he of all his brethren had five sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giuing a hope of a good towardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceased, yet in their visages, and in the memoriall of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall liue in fame immortall. Thus much without offense, and not altogether impertinent, concerning this gentlemen, and now to the historie.

Sir Humfreie
Gilbert is
drowned.

Turlough Le-
nough prepareth
to inuade the
English pale.

The earle of
Thomond
revolteth.

The earle of Or-
mond followeth
the earle of Tho-
mond, and driu-
eth him out of
the land.

Lucas Dillon
made chief
baron.

Sir Iohn Perot
appointed to be
lord president of
Mounster.

Turlough Lenough thinking to inuade vpon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repressed, and driuen to keepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wearie of the other; and his wife and he not agrieing, they were vpon a point to sunder. The earle of Thomond reuolteth from his due obedience, and becommeth a rebell: whome the earle of Ormond so hardlie pursued, that he draue him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thense into England. For the discouerie of whose treasons and rebellions to hir maiestie & to the lords of the councell, one Rafe Rockeleie chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long sute made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receiue according to his deserts: hir maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from iudgement of death.

This yéere the queenes maiestie, considering the good seruice of Lucas Dillon hir generall attorneie in Ireland, was vpon the death of baron Bath made chiefe baron of the exchequer there; & capteine Piers for his good seruice at Knockfergus was liberalie considered and countenanced by hir maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, sutes, and requests made to hir maiestie for a president and councell to be established in Mounster; and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sicknesse and vnabilitie of sir Iohn Pollard, appointed to be the president, it was lingered and deferred, is now reuiued and renewed; and sir Iohn Perot knight was made lord president, and a councell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, interteinment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Penbrokeshire in Southwales, and one of great reuenues and worship, valiant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more méet to gouerne and tame so faithlesse and vnruilie a people, as ouer whome he was now made ruler.

They

They heard no sooner of his comming, but as a sort of wasps they fling out, and re-
volting from their former feined obedience, became open rebelles and traitors vnder
James Fitzmoris an archtraitor, and as dogs they retorne to their vomit, and as swine
to their durt and puddles.

The rebelling of
Mounster
against the pre-
sident.

And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, effrenated, bar-
barous, and vnfaithfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a
wicked and peruerse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant,
faithfull in that they be alwaies vnfaithfull, and trustie in that they be alwaies
trecherous and vntrustie. They doo nothing but imagin mischeefe, & haue no de-
lite in anie good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the good, and
such as be quiet in the land. Their mouths are full of vnrighteousnesse, and their
toongs speake nothing but cursednesse. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their
hands imbrued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in
the paths of righteousness they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, nei-
ther is his name called rightlie vpon among them. Their queene and souereigne
they obeie not, and hir gouernment they allow not: but as much as in them lieth doo
resist hir imperiall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much aboue a yeare
past, that capteine Gilbert with the sword so persecuted them, and in iustice so exe-
cuted them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselues, craued pardon,
and swore to be for euer true and obedient: which, so long as he maistered and kept
them vnder, so long they performed it; but the cat was no sooner gone, but the
mise were at plaie; and he no sooner departed from them, but forthwith they
skipped out, and cast from themselues the obedience and dutifulnesse of true subiects.
For such a perverse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obe-
dient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebelles. Such is their stubbornesse
and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be brideled; and such is the hardnesse
of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer
feare, no longer obedience; and no longer than they be ruled with seueritie, no
longer will they be dutifull and in subiection; but will be as they were before, false,
trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much vnlike to Mercurie called quicke siluer,
which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire con-
sumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while vntouched nor medled with, it will retorne
again to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And euen so
dailie experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For withdraw the sword,
and forbear correction, deale with them in courtesie, and intreat them gentlie, if they
can take anie aduantage, they will surelie skip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and
the sow to the durt & puddle they will retorne to their old and former insolencie,
rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishrie and sauage people,
who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obe-
dience; the more they are vnder their Obrian gouernment, the lesse dutifull to their
naturall souereigne and prince. But concerning the inhabitants in the English pale,
and all cities and towns, the contrarie (God be praised) is dailie seene.

The nature of
the Irishmen.

The nature of
quicke siluer.

Well, this worthie knight knowing that he should haue to doo with a sort of netles,
whose nature is, that being handled gentlie, they will sting; but being hard crushed
together, they will doo no harme: euen so he began with them. The sword and the
law he made to be the foundation of his gouernement, by the one he persecuted the
rebell and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and gouerned in iustice and iudgement.
Great troubles he had in both, but little he did preuaile in the latter, before he had
ouercome the first: and therefore minding to chastise the rebelles, and to bring them
to obedience, he followed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs he pur-
sued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plaines he fought with them, and

The gouernment
of sir Iohn Perot.

His seruise
against the
rebelles.

James Fitzmoris
seeketh for
peace, and sub-
mitteth himselfe.

The c. will go-
vernment of sir
John Perot.

The quietnes and
safetie in Moun-
ster.

Sir Iohn Perots
assistants.

George Burchier
his birth and
seruices.

George Burchier
taken prisoner.

George Welch
a lawyer, well
learned, and vp-
right.

in their castels and holds he beseeged them, and would neuer suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, vntill he had tired and wearied them out, and at length inforced Iames Fitzmoris and his complices to come vnto Killmalocke vnto him, and there simple to submit himselfe, and vpon his knees in the open sight of all the people to confesse his disloialties, and in all humble manner to craue mercie and pardon. Whome though vntill hir maiesties pleasure knowne he did forbear, yet the residue he spared not; but after their deserts he executed in infinit numbers. And hauing thus rid the garden from these wéeds, and rooted vp the fields from these thornes, he entred into the gouernement by order of law, and from place to place throughout all Mounster he trauelled and kéepeth his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans complaints, and redresseth their gréefs, and in short time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could passe through the cuntry, but was in danger to be murdered and robbed, and no man durst to turn his cat-tell into the fields without watch, and to keepe them in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with a white stick onelie in his hands, and with great treasures might and did trauell without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by triall knew it to be true) and the white shéepe did kéepe the blacke, and all the beasts laie continuallie in the fields, without anie stealing or preieng.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and settled all things in good order, then he beginneth to reforme their maners in life and common conuersation and apparell, suffering no glibes nor like vsages of the Irishrie to be vsed among the men, nor the Egyptiacall rolles vpon womens heads to be worne. Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat greeued, yet they yéelded: and giuing the same ouer, did weare hats after the English manner. In this his seruice he had two verie good & notable assistants, the one concerning the martiall affaires, and the other for his gouernement by the course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires martiall George Bouchier esquier was ioined with him in commission, and did him notable good seruice, he was the third sonne to Iohn earle of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loines of kings, and men of great honor and nobilitie; and they were no more noble of blood than valiant, wise and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices of chivalrie and matters of policies, and whereof the histories of England in manie places doo make mention and report. And this gentleman, hauing some motion of the value and valiantnesse of his ancestors deriued and descended vpon him, was affected and giuen to all feats of chivalrie, and especiallie to the seruice in the warres, wherein he prooued a verie good souldior, and an expert capteine, both as an horsseman, and as a footeman, both which waies he serued, as the seruice and time required. If he serued vpon foot, he was apparelled in the manner of a Kerne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as no Kerne swifter: for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in passes, and in streicts whatsoever; and neuer leaue them, vntill he did performe the charge and seruice committed vnto him. If he were to serue vpon his horsebacke, his dailie seruice can witnes sufficientlie how much, and how often he preuailed against the enimie, and appalled their courages, and with whome he would incounter if he might by anie meanes.

Notwithstanding, as couragious and circumspect as he was, that he would not be lightlie intrapped in the field, yet was he deceiued in the house. For vnder the colour of a parlée, and vpon a truce taken, he was inuited to a supper: and little thinking that anie breach of the truce should be made, he went into the castell whereas he was bidden. But in his being there, he was taken prisoner, and handfasted, and so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was restored and set at libertie. Concerning his other assistant, his name was George Welch borne in Waterford, and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he was brought vp in learning, and was a student in the

innes

innes of court at London, and prospered verie well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yoong, yet his knowledge, grautie, and sinceritie counteruailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all matters he was vpright and iust, being not affectionated nor knowne to be corrupted for anie mans pleasure. In iudgement vpright, in iustice seuer, and without respect of persons would minister what the law had prescribed, he spared neither partie, nor would be affected to anie; by which meanes he did maruellous much good in that seruice, and happie was that gouernor that had so good a counsellor.

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouernement in Mounster, sir Henrie Sidneie had libertie and licence to returne ouer into England, and receiued hir maiesties letters dated the thirteenth of December one thousand fye hundred seuentie and one, & in the thirteenth yeere of hir maiesties reigne, for the placing of sir William Fitzwilliams to be lord deputie in his place. Which when he had doone, he passed ouer the seas, and by iourneies came to the court. He was verie honorablie receiued, and by hir highnesse well commended, there being sundrie noblemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him before he came to Whitehall, where hir maiestic then laie, who (as time conuenient serued) did recoune vnto hir the whole estate in all things of the realme of Ireland, which hir maiestic liked verie well.

But this sir John Perot president of Mounster continued still in his office, and there remained for certeine yeares vntill he was reuoked, which was too soone for that countrie. For neuer man was more fit gouernour for that effrenated and hard-necked people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same vnto. Happie was that prouince, and happie were those people, which being eaten out, consumed and deuoured with caterpillers, he had brought and reformed to a most happie, peaceable, and quiet estate; and he left it euen in the same maner. Which if it had béene continued by thelike, to haue followed him in the gouernement, the same would so haue continued: but the want of the one was in short time the decaille of the other, and that reformed countrie brought to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may appéere.

Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a speciall care and respect to his charge and office, disposeth all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the counsell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, sauing Mounster, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he being a wise and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he draweth the plot of his gouernement into certeine speciall points and articles. First, that the religion established according to Gods holie word, should haue a frée passage through the whole land, and by euerie man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, imbraced and followed. Then that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutinies and diuisions to be cut off. Thirddie, that hir maiesties great and excessiue charges to the consuming of hir treasure might be shortened, and hir reuenues well husbanded and looked vnto, according to hir sundrie commandements tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should vprightlie minister iustice to each man according to his desert, and that all the souldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them apperteineth.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole counsell, and well liked of euerie good subiect, because the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons: yet it tooke not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irishrie, in whom

1571

Sir William Fitzwilliams made lord deputie.

The points of sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputies gouernement.

Religion.

The common peace.

The sauing of expenses.

Lawes to be executed.

Souldier to be kept in discipline.

Brian Mac Kahir his warres in Wexford.

was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to hir maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuersation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best oportunitie and time to breake out into their woonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places begin to plaie their pagents. The first was Brian Mac Kahir of Knocking in the countie of Caterlough Cauenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Browne of Malrenkam, he tyrannized ouer the whole countrie, committed manie outrages and spoiles, preied the countrie, & burned sundrie towns. Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Wexford, and namelie sir Nicholas Deuereux knight, being gréeued with the death of Robert Browne, who was his nephue, being his sisters sonne, were as vnquiet on their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Kahir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole countrie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Wexford men following their matters verie egarlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they sought out Brian Mac Kahir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and tooke them at that aduantage, that although he and his companie were but small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the foile and ouerthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about or aboue thirtie persons.

Brian Mac Kahir hath the victorie of the Wexford men.

Thomas Master-son.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drunken of the same cup, was driuen to leape vp on horsebacke behind another man, and so escaped, or else he had neuer béene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge vnsought, yet by little and little it quailed. About two yeares after, Brian Mac Kahir made humble sute to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, confessing in writing his fowle disorders and outrages; and yet firmlie auouching that the quarell did not begin by him nor by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obtained the same. And according to his promise then made, he did thenseforth vse and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Cauenagh, and the sonne of Charels, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the counties of Wexford & Catherlough. And this Brian Mac Kahir Mac Arthur was a yoonger sonne to Charels, but the chieftest for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisdom; and none of all the sept of the Cauenaghs, though they were manie and valiant men, to be compared vnto him euerie waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place.

Brian Mac Kahir his submission.

Brian Mac Kahir what he was.

The strength of Brian Mac Kahir.

Brian Mac Kahir is a follower to sir Peter Carew.

Now he being assured of them, and also being alied by marriage vnto Hewen Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the Obirnes and of the Omeroughs, & so a man of great strength and abilitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer brake his promise, but stood him in great stéed aswell in matters of counsell, as of anie seruice to be doone in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfullie he serued, and so much he honoured sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awaie, and died in peace.

The Omores rebell.

All Connagh in actual rebellion.

The Omores, notwithstanding the earle of Kildare was waged by hir maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without anie resistance or impechment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They inuaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie townes and villages, and carried the preies and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh

was

was altogether in actual rebellion by the earle Clanricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irishrie were of diuerse nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogether giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their harts were altogether imbrued in bloud and murther. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made sute to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would vndertake to bring in his sons, and to quiet the countrie.

The false assembling of the earle of Clanricard.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the councell enlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectually performe in déed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgot his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the Ochonners and the Omores, accompanied with a rable of like rebels, fall into open rebellion, spoile the countrie, deuoure the people, and make all wast and desolate. Tirlough Lenough in Vlster was readie to reuolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Essex, who lieng vpon the fines and marches in Vlster, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set Odoneile in open warres against him. Mounster was likewise in open rebellion. But 'sir Iohn Perot then president so coursed and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league was betwéene Iames Fitzmoris and all the rebels in Connagh and Leinster, yet he kept them asunder and so sharpelie pursued Iames, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor anie followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue apalled the best and wisest gouernour, these three things increased his grieve and sorrow. First the losse of a most faithfull counsellor and one of his chiefest and trustiest assistants doctor Weston then lord chancellor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, vpright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currentes of yeares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of councell most sound and perfect, in iustice most vpright and vncorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountious and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his houshold, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings appertained. Then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in praiers and exhortations.

The Ochonners and the Omores rebell.

The distressed mind of the lord deputie.

The death of doctor Weston lord chancellor.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his houshold and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the councell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the councell, perswading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie, and lastlie remembring their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to performe the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honor to the quéene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie & effectually, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this doone he bid them farewell, and not long after he being feruent in his praiers, he died most godlie, vertuously, and christian like.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing giuen his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being doone in

The earle of Desmond breaketh prison.

so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would insue thereof. Wherefore not onelic in that land, but in England also, hir maiestie vpon knowledge did cause musters to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if anie occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatlie doubted what would follow of that his breach, sauing that the president in Mounster was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt anie disorder that waie.

The reuocation
of the earle of
Essex.

The third was the reuocation of the earle of Essex, who had taken vpon him to recouer the whole prouince of Vlster to obedience, with hir maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was cashed, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterprise dissolued. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed vp anie man in the gulfe of despaire, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and hir maiestie most graciouslie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his reuocation, which hir highnes by hir letters vnto him granted; and

Sir William Fitz-
williams dis-
charged of the
deputiship.

immediatlie wherevpon he (after foure yeares painfull seruice) was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Manie good & notable things were doone in the time of this mans deputation worthie to be remembred, and for euer to be chronicled. But forsomuch as the records and presidents of the same cannot bee had, and the imprinter cannot staie his impression anie longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of this honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserued well and honourable of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment.

1575

Sir Henrie Sid-
neie lord deputie
the third time.

After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was deliuered vnto sir Henrie Sidneie, who now the third time entred into the gouernment of this cursed land, and arriued at the Skirries the twelue of September 1575, who at his comming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispersed, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardlie find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And euen as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the northerne Vlsterians brake out. For he was no sooner knowne to be entred into the land, but for a bien veneu to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make preie of the towne, & so prouidlie assailed the same, that he slue a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortie of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whome some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuerthelesse by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the preie was rescued, and the Scots perforce driuen awaie.

The pestilence
great in the Eng-
lish pale.

Serlo Boie as-
saulteth Knock-
fergus.

The lord deputie, considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the euent and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand preuented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delaies be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old saieing *Principijs obsta serò medicina paratur*, &c.) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of hir maiesties priue counsell, as could in that quesie time be assembled, he tooke order for the safe kéeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his absence, to certeine gentlemen of best account and wisdom, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him hir maiesties armie, which was then about six hundred horssemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and counsellors as he had appointed for that seruice, tooke his iourneie towards Vlster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, sauing the

The lord deputie
maketh a iourneie
into Vlster.

the Newrie, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Glins and Routs which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killultagh.

Now in all that iorneie few came to submit themselves, sauing Mac Mahon, and Mac Gwier, & Tirlough Lenough, who first sent his wife; and she being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue hir husband to liue like a good subiect, and to be nobilitated. Tirlough himselfe followed verie shortlie after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostage, and simple & without anie condition did submit himselfe in all humblenesse and reuerence to his lordship, making the like sutes as his wife before his comming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuerthelesse to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, vsing himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifulnesse, subiection, and reuerence, did in like manner take his leaue, and returned to his owne home. And as for Odonell lord of Tirconell, and Mac Gwier lord of Farmanaugh, albeit they came not in persons, yet they wrote their most humble letters of submission, and offered all such rents and seruices, as to them appertained to yeeld, making request that they might onelie serue vnder hir highnesse, and be discharged from the exactions of all others.

Tirlough Lenough submit-
teth him in all
humilitie.

After that the lord deputie had performed this iourneie, and was returned to Dublin, then he made the like iourneies towards the other parts of the land. And beginning in Leinster, he found the whole countie of Kildare, and the baronie of Carberie, extreamelie impouerished by the Omeries, both in the time of the late rebellion, and also since, when they were vnder protection. The kings and queenes counties were all spoiled & wasted by the Oconners and the Omores, the old native inhabitants of the same, and of them Rorie Og had gotten the possession and the setting of himselfe in sundrie lands there, whether the tenants will or no, and as a prince occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. Neuerthelesse, vpon the word of the earle of Ormond, he came to the lord deputie at his being in Kilkennie; and in the cathedrall church there he submitted himselfe: and in outward appearance repented his former faults, and promised amendment: but how well he kept and performed it, his rebellions in the yeare following can witnesse.

The iourneie of
the lord deputie
in Leinster.

Rorie Og vpon
the word of the
earle of Ormond
came vnto the
lord deputie, and
submitted him-
selfe.

The lord deputie at his comming to Kilkennie was receiued by the townsmen in all the best maner they could, and the earle of Ormond himselfe feasted and intreated him most honourable, and had great care that his lordship and all his traine should not want anie thing. At this towne the two cousins and kinsmen of sir Peter Carew late deceased, that is, Peter Carew, and George Carew, and the gentleman who had béene his agent in all his causes within that land, came before the lord deputie, and there communicated with his lordship the state of the deceased knight, and of his countrie; submitted the same to his order and direction, as also made humble sute vnto his lordship for his presence at the funerals at Waterford, where it was appointed he should be buried. Whose lordship as vpon the first newes of this knights death, so now also vpon the new ricitall thereof, maruelouslie lamented and bewailed the losse of so worthie a knight, and the want of so wise and faithfull an assistant and councillor. And then he tooke order therein, shewing most honourable not onelie the offices of a faithfull and good friend to the dead; but also the like good will to the two yoong gentlemen, of which one was then his heire, and to inioy his baronie. And according as things were determined, the corps was remooued from Rosse where he died, and caried to Waterford against his comming thither, where it was buried in verie honourable maner, as shall hereafter appeare, being not impertinent to the historie to set downe some short discourse of this most woorthie gentleman and of his life.

The lord deputie
intertained ve-
rie well in Kil-
kenie.

Sir Peter Carew
his death.

Sir Peter Carew
died at Rosse, &
was buried at
Waterford verie
honourable.

Sir

- Sir Peter Carew** his life, birth and conditions.
His descent. Sir Peter Carew was descended of noble and high parentage, whose first ancestor was named Montgomereie, and in the time of king Henrie the second he married the ladie Elisabeth daughter to Roesius prince of Southwales, by which marriage he was aduanced to honour, and made baron of the castell of Carew, whereof his posteritie in time tooke their surnames, being called Carews. And some of them passing into Ireland did grow to be mightie men, and of great honor and possessions in that land, being marquesses of Corke, barons of Hidron and Lexnew, lords of Maston, and inheritors to sundrie great lordships and seignories in that land. And likewise in England they were men of great credit, seruice, and honour, and by waie of mariages matched and combined with honourable and great houses.
- His stature.** This foresaid sir Peter, who was lineallie descended from them, was of stature meane, but verie stronglie and well compacted; of complexion cholerike, from his childhood vpwards bent and giuen to an honest disposition, and in his tender yeares he serued vnder, and was page to the prince of Orenge beyond the seas, and by that means had the greater delight & skill in martiall affaires, wherein he had good knowledge, as did well appeare in the manifold seruices he did vnder king Henrie the eight, king Edward the sixt, and quene Elisabeth, in sundrie places beyond as also on this side the seas. He was in his yonger years a great traueler, and had béene at Constantinople in the Turkes court, at Vienna in the emperours palace, at Venice, and in the French kings court, and in the houses of the most of all christian princes; in cuerie of which places he left some tokens of his value. He was blessed of God with manie singular good gifts, as well of the mind as of the bodie, being vertuouslie disposed euen from his verie infancie, sincere in religion (and for which he was partlie an exiled man in the Marian daies) dutifull to his prince, and faithfull to his countrie, vpriight in iustice, politike in gouernement, and valiant in armes, skilfull in the Italian and French toongs, and a great student in such bookes as those toongs did yéeld; and by that means some knowledge ioined with his pregnancie of wit, he would discourse verie substantiallie in anie matter concerning policie or religion, peace or warres, good to euerie man, hurtfull to no man; bountifull & liberall, abhorring couetousnesse and whordome: a great housekéeper, and of great hospitalitie. And if anie fault were in him, it was rather of too much spending, than in reasonable sauing; he would be soone warme, but without gall, and against his enimie most stout and valiant: finallie such was his vpriight dealing, honest conuersation, and zeale to the commonwealth, as no man was more honoured nor vniuersallie beloued than was he.
- His title to his lands in Ireland.** When he had spent the greater part of his age, he bethought himselfe vpon such lands as his ancestors had in Ireland, and which in right did descend vnto him: and finding his title to be good, he acquainted hir highnesse therewith; and obtained hir fauour and good will to passe ouer into Ireland, to follow the recouerie thereof. Which he did, and made such good proofes of his title, as well by records as by euidences, that he recouered so much as he did then put in sute, namelie the lordship of Maston, of which he had béene dispossessed of about seauen score yeares, which he departed with vnto sir Christopher Chiuers knight, then tenant to the same, and the baronie of Hidron then in the possession of the Cauenaughs, the ancient eninies of the English gouernment, and who had expelled his ancestors about two hundred yeares past. But being put once in possession, he dealt in such good order with them, and so honourable vsed himselfe, that they all voluntarilie yeelded vp their lands, and submitted themselves to his deuotion; and finding him to be a verie rare man in manie and sundrie respects, as of the like they had not heard nor knowne, they much reioised of him, and counted themselues happie and blessed
- His skill and seruice in the warres.**
- His trauels.**
- His religion.**
- His qualities.**
- His learning.**
- His cōditions.**
- His anger without malice.**
- His zeale.**
- He recouereth some part of his lands in Ireland.**
- His good dealing with his tenants.**

blessed to be vnder his gouernment. At his first comming he resumed the whole baronie into his owne hands, and thereof he gaue some péecces in fréchold, to such gentlemen as he thought good; and for the residue euerie of them what he had before, he tooke it againe vnder writing by lease. He diuided the baronie into certeine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betwéene them were ended and determined after the English maner, according to iustice & truth. He would not suffer anie wrong to be doone vnto them, neither would he beare with anie of them dooing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifferencie he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a verie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not béene tofore knowne among them; and for which he was maruellouslie beloued, and his fame spred throughout that land. His housekéeping and hospitalitie.

He kept continuallie of his owne priuat familie, aboue or néere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse fortie horssemen well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred Kerns, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as laie vpon the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselves simplie to his mercie: & the residue willing to serue him at all néeds. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first staied and was interteined according to his calling, for his cellar doore was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all commers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them interteinment, and vittelled them at his owne charges, and paied readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present paiement he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning hir maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for hir highnesse, and so profitable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselves happie to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumspect, and in martiall affaires verie valiant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experience: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land. Readie paiement for all things.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first serue at Cloghgreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Malbeie, and capteine Basnet, and Henrie Dauels, and their bands, assaulted the castell, tooke it, and gaue the preie to the souldiers: Then they went to Kilkennie where they issued out and made a sallie vpon the whole armie of sir Edmund Butler: which being about thrée miles from the towne, gaue them the ouerthrow, and put all the Gallowglasses and the rest to the sword, sauing the horssemen and Kernes which fled into the woods: and then méeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres vntill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to hir maiestie. Likewise in Vlster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Essex, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe. His seruice in the Irish wars.

The fame and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisdom, valiantnesse, experience, vprightnes, houskéeping, bountifulnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spred through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all men. And certeine gentlemen in Mounster, knowledging and confessing that Sir Peter Carew's seruice in Vlster. he

The offer of the
gentlemen to be
his tenants.

he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending lineallie from the marquesse of Corke) was their lawfull lord, and to whome they ought to yéeld their lands; some of them made their repaire, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelic truelie to instruct and to aduertise him throughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Corke, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselues, and yéeld vp their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his fréends, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, bicause he had made hir highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obtained hir letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir Iohn Parret then lord president of Mounster, that they should assist him in his sutes, and to call the contrarie parts, and to persuade them with all quietnesse to yéeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the writer heereof to Corke, where and before whome there came Mac Artie Riogh, Corman Mac Teege, Barrie Og, the Omalions, the Odriscots, the Odallies, & sundrie others, who of their owne fréewill offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, thrée thousand kine; and so manie shéepe and hogs and corne, as according to that proportion; and would also yéerelie giue him in the like maner such a portion as should be to his contentation and good liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Corke for him: the said sir Peter did set the house of Leighlin to his kinsman and cousine Peter Carew, who afterwards was his heire, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his houshold stuffe to Corke. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sicke at the towne of Rosse, he died the seauen and twentieth of Nouember 1575, and was buried verie honorablie and in warlike manner at Waterford, the fiftéenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honor as to his degré appertained, there being then present sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, and the councell. And thus much concerning that worthie knight sir Peter Carew.

The death of sir
Peter Carew
1575.

His buriall.

The receiuing of
the lord deputie
at Waterford.

The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Ormond vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honourablie receiued at his entrie into the citie, by the maior & his brethren, and an oration congratatorie made vnto him in the Latine toong by a yoong scholar clad in white attire, verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of ioie and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And whiles he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing méet and conuenient for the interteinement of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in good part; as also aduertised it to the lords of hir maiesties honourable priuie councell in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Sitiracus one of the thrée brethren, which came out of Norwaie, called Easterlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the riuer of Suire, which riseth in the hill or mount Blandina, named in Irish Slough blome: and fleteth by Thurles in Tipporarie, whereof the earles of Ormond are vicounts: from thense to the Holie crosse, Ardmale, Cahir Dowske, Ardfinan, Inislouagh, Clomnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterford.

The description
of the citie of
Waterford.

The situation.

It was of it selfe a verie little pile, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares vpon occasion of warres enlarged in the time of king Henrie the seuenth and in-

closed

closed with a strong wall: when Lamberd (named Perkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great controuersies betwene them and Gilbert erle of Kildare. For the said erle being then lord deputie sent his letters to the said maior & his citizens, requiring them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other good cities had doone: who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he threatened them that he would take their citie perforce and hang the maior. Wherevpon hot words grew on euerie side, & the same like to haue growne to hand fight: the Waterfordians offering to wage the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their truth at that time auailed them much afterwards, and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the seuenth and king Henrie the eight, by whome their liberties and franchises were enlarged.

A controuersie betwene the earle of Kildare and the Waterfordians.

The Waterfordians refuse to acknowledge Perkin to be their king. The Waterfordians in fauour with the kings of England.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hils and rocks, and the lesse profitable for lacke of good manurance and husbandrie: but what faileth in the land, is recompensed with the sundrie commodities which the riuier yeeldeth, which is not onlie plentiful and abundant of all sorts and kinds of fishes, but also it is a goodlie hauen and a receptacle for all sorts of ships: & for this it is called *Larga porta*, The great or large hauen. The resort of merchants from out of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie populous and rich, & is the chiefest *Emporium* of that prouince. Great be the priuileges which the kings of England gaue to the maior & citizens, as well concerning the riuier as the citie, by king Iohn, king Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The commodities of the riuier.

Larga porta.

The riuier was bounded and limited from the mouth of the seas, betwene Rindowan where Hoke tower standeth vpon the east side, and Rodibanke vpon the west side, and from thense vnto Caricke vpon Suire: and so farre beyond, as the said riuier ebbeth and floweth that waie: & from the said mouth vnto the Inostiage vpon the riuier of Oire, and so far as the same water ebbeth and floweth; and likewise from the said mouth, vnto saint Molins vpon the riuier of Barrow; and so farre beyond the same, as the water ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great controuersies haue bene betwene this citie and the towne of Rosse, which lieth vpon the riuier of Barrow, concerning the bounds and limits that waie, because they of Rosse doo claime a priuilege vpon that riuier as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigod earle marshall: who married Isabell the eldest daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in hir right was lord of Rosse and of the riuier of the Barrow. Wherevpon certeine inquisitions were taken in the time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard the second: and then at Clomnell vpon the othes of six knights and eightene esquiers, it was found for the citie of Waterford. And these are the bounds of the port or hauen of Waterford; within the which bounds and limits the citie of Waterford, by the grants of sundrie kings vnder their charters, haue these priuileges: That no ship shall be laden nor vnladen, but at the citie of Waterford, and there to paie all such customes and duties as belong and are due for their merchandize: Also that they haue the prisage wines and the iurisdiction of the admiralitie, within the limits of the said riuier.

The limits of the riuier.

A controuersie betwene the Waterfordians and the towne of Rosse for the riuier of Barrow.

A verdict passed in the behalfe of the Waterfordians.

The priuileges of Waterford vpon the water.

The citie it selfe was first incorporated by king Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king Iohn, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with augmentations. The maior hath the sword borne before him by the gift of king Edward the fourth, and king Henrie the seauenth, by the name of the sword of iustice. They haue cognisance of all maner of plects as well reall, personall, & mixt. They are iustices of oier and determiner, & maie sit vpon triall of treasons, murthers, and felonies, without anie speciall commission to be sued out for the same. Also that no officer nor officers of the kings or queenes of England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor exercise anie authoritie nor iurisdiction, within the citie and liberties,

The incorporation of the citie. The priuileges of the citie of Waterford. The sword of iustice.

but onlie the maior & officers of the same. Also they haue a maior and officers of the staple yearlie to be chosen, who haue the liberties for taking of statutes and recognisances staple, not onlie within their owne towne & concerning themselves, but also of sundrie townes in Leinster and Mounster, and the counties of Waterford, Kilkennie, Wexford, and Tipporarie. Also they haue libertie from time to time to transport, lade, and carrie awaie corne, vittels, wooll, horsses, & hawks; and to licence anie other within the limits of their iurisdiction to doo the like. Also all forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, felons goods, and deodands goods, they haue to their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the words of their charters should be expounded to the best sense, and if then there were anie further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king or his counsell in the realme of England. Also that they should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue in anie hosting, except the king himselfe or anie of his sonnes were present in person.

An admonition
to the citizens
of Waterford.

*Waterfordia semper
manet intacta.*

An exhortation
to the citizens of
Waterford.

The princes pro-
rogative.

These and manie other like priuileges of the kings of England from time to time, of their bounteous liberalitie, and in consideration of their dutifull and good seruices, did giue and bestow vpon them. All which, O you the inhabitants of Manapia and citizens of Waterford, the ofspring of so good ancestors, ought to be lessons and presidents vnto you, for your continuance in the like offices and duties: that you maie thereby shew your selues to be as were your predecessors, faithfull, loiall, and obedient: and that your apophthegme maie be for euer found true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*. Otherwise brag neuer so much of your worthinesse, & glorie neuer so much of your values (as the Iewes did of their father Abraham) yet it shall so little auaille you, that their honour shall be your reproch, and their glorie your shame, if you doo not also the like; and in the end your vtter confusion. For as the holie scripture saith: If you be the children of light, then as children walke you in the light; otherwise that light which is in you shall be darknesse. If you be the children of Abraham, then doo you the workes of Abraham: otherwise God, who is able and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to Abraham, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a people which shall bring forth the fruits of dutie and obedience. For so did he with his owne peculiar people, the Iewes, whom for their disobedience against himselfe, and against his annointed princes, did after sundrie punishments and no amendment giue them ouer vnto their enemies hands: who put their yoong men to the sword, & their priests to slaughter, their virgins were deflowred, their widows defiled, their citie vtterlie destroied, and not one stone left vpon an other; and all the people which escaped the sword, carried awaie captiues, & made vagabonds, euen to this daie vpon the face of the earth. If he did this to his owne peculiar people, doo not you of Waterford, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke that you dooing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements. Wherefore if you will eschew the wrath to come, beware by their examples, and humble your selues in all dutifulnes & obedience to God and to your prince. Examine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your priuileges with his authoritie, nor doo you dispute your liberties with his prerogative. For notwithstanding your priuileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugne the least part of the princes prerogative: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods owne ordinances, when he first erected and established a king, who gaue him so high and so absolute authoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humblenesse obeied: bicause he is Gods minister especiallie when it concerneth the interest of hir maiesties imperiall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the deliuerie of your selues and that realme from the enemies and rebels.

And

And doo not you thinke that this digression is impertinent to the historie. For as your ancestors good dooings are set downe to their praises and commendations; so the same shall be doone of yours, either to your praises for your well dooings, or for your reproch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had giuen thanks to the maior and his brethren for his good interteinement, he departed thense by iournies towards Corke, and by the waie at Dungaruon the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and verie humblie offered him all the seruice he was able to doo to hir maiestie, and did accompanie him from thense vnto the citie of Corke, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of good will and dutifulnesse as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townesmen or of the souldiers. To this towne resorted vnto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancar, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Mounster, and their wiues, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, murthers, spoiles, and thefts doone throughout that prouince; wherevpon dailie sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which threé and twentie verie notable and notorious offenders were executed and put to death.

The earle of Desmond humblie offereth his seruice to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie receiued honorable into Corke.

All the noblemen in Mounster repaire to the lord deputie.

Executions at Corke.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarmes and clusters of the idlers, which like waspes troubled the whole land, and liued onelie by spoile and rapine; that euerie nobleman and gentleman should giue and deliuer in the names of euerie seruant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found vnbooked and not registred, that he should be vsed as a felon where so euer he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gave their full consents, and forthwith the same was openlie proclaimed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all ioy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatlie they gaue in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts settled in good and quiet order, he tooke his iournie towards Limerike, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in anie place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in kéeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of poore mens complaints, and tooke the like order for registering of euerie noble and gentlemans follower, as he had doone at Corke. Which when he had doone, he rode thense vnto Thomond, where he was complained vnto of manie great murthers, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, whereof he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed throughlie to doo iustice and iudgement therein; he referred the same to certeine commissioners appointed for the purpose: sauing that he committed the principall offenders to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, vntill further order were taken for them.

Euerie nobleman and gentleman to answer for his men.

The lord deputie honorable receiued at Limerike.

Thomond is cleme out of order.

From thense he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallewaie, where he found the towne much decaied and almost desolated, sundrie of the good housholders hauing sought new habitations vnder Mac William Eugther, and the countie through out altogether spoiled and deuoured by the Mac an Earles, the hopeles (but much better if they had beene hoplesse) sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, whose outrages were most heinous and horrible. But when these graceles impes perceiued of the great complaints made against them, and doubting what would be the sequele if some waie were not taken, they voluntarilie went to Gallewaie towne, and came to the church vpon a sundaie at the publike seruice, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knées confessed their

The towne of Gallewaie in great decaie.

The earle of Clanricards sonnes submit themselves.

faults,

1576

faults, submitted themselves, and most lamentable craued pardon, promising vnfainedlie amendment, and neuer to reuolt more from their dutifull obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes. The deputie mooued herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduise of hir maiesties counsell thinke it good, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he tooke his iournie towards Dublin, where he came the thirteenth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed through the countrie, and placed his garrisons in places conuenient.

The ruine of the
ecclesiastical
state.

Manie in Ireland
not christened.

The spoile of
the churches.

An order for the
reformation of
religion.

William Gerard
to be lord chan-
cellor.
Sir William
Drurie to be lord
president.

1576

The earle of
Clanricards
sonnes brake out
into rebellion.

The earle con-
sented to his
sonnes disioialtie.

Athenries spoiled.

In this his iournie he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a speedie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill gouernment were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was too too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the parish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no seruice said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministred. And therefore it appeered, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbezelled. A lamentable case, for a more deformed and a more ouerthrowne church there could not be among christians. The deputie considering and bethinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in store some wrath and indignation for this defiling of his holie sanctuary, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to hir highnesse, and most earnestlie praied hir princelie authoritie for redresse thereof; and therewith most humbly requested, that the commonwealth being destitute of a chancellor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the gouernement, might likewise with all speed be sent ouer. When hir maiestie and counsell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a redresse was taken forthwith: and the matters concerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to archbishops and certeine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the gouernment one William Gerard esquier a professor of the laws was sent to be lord chancellor, & sir William Drurie to be president of Mounster, which arriued at Dublin, the one the sixteenth of Iune, and the other the three and twentieth of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his roome. And then his lordship prepareth to take a iournie towards Waterford, to doo the like with sir William Drurie. But when he was passed a daies iournie, word was brought vnto him from the bishop of Meth, who laie then vpon the confines of Meth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the maior of Gallewaie, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crieng out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that basterlie brood, which not scarse two moneths past had humbled themselves to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craued pardon, and had most firme protest and sworne most dutifull and continuall obedience.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stollen ouer the riuer of Shennon, and there cast awaie their English apparell, and clothed themselves in their old woonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come awaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglasses, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met together, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenrie, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat awaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the quenes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set vp. Bad and wicked they were before,

fore, but now ten times worse than euer they were; being come, euen as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his woonted diet, returneth vnto the house from whence he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other seuen wicked spirits, and entreth and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is woorse than the first. And if a man should aske of these bastardlie boies, and of their sier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie reuolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing beene so courteouslie vsed, so gentlie interteined, so friendlie countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pithilie perswaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surelie nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a litle of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For bastardlie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the good tree onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, & which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and briers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman bestow neuer so much husbandrie vpon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so good a peare vpon him, the same shall be but a stonie peare; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will reuolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clenched from thornes, brambles & briers, prepared for the fire: euen so shall the magistrate inioie the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and iudgement is executed; when the good are preserued and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallows) according to their deserts are punished.

Selfewill cause
of the rebellion.

Punishment of
the wicked
maketh a quiet
common wealth.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is sweet, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the discord of that one marreth and disgraceth all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subiect is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and liueth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be vnpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden ouergrowne with weeds) in perill and danger to be ouerthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good conserued. And experience teacheth, that a theefe, murtherer, a traitor, & such malefactors doo neuer better seruice to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallows, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie vpon these aduertisements, finding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altereth his intended iourneie, and returneth to Dublin, vsing such expedition, that within three daies following he was entered into Connagh. The brute thereof when it was blowne abroad, it was scarce credited by the rebels, bicause it was so sudden and with such speed. But finding it to be true, and they affraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mounteins, sauing certeine gentlemen of the earls countrie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castels were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and crauing of pardons, he was sent to the castell of Dublin, and there kept in close prison. But the lord deputie he passed thense to Gallewaie, and after he had there staid a few daies, for the comforting of the townesmen, who stood much dismaied of their estate, and in feare to be surprised

The lord deputie
altereth his
course, and en-
treth into Con-
nagh.

The earle of
Clanricard is
sent to the castell
of Dublin and
kept in close
prison.

and

§ William
Drurie
the lord president

and taken for pledges: he passed through Thonond, and came to Limerike, where he settied sir William Drurie (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thence being accompanied and attended vpon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Corke, & there the lord president remained.

The earle of Desmond
or sir William
Drurie.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernement of that prouince, did beare himselfe so vprightlie, and in so honourable a sort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and maners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the cuill men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subiects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be doone vpon the enimie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer cease to pursue him, vntill he had either taken him, or driuen him out of the countrie. If anie matters were in variance betwéene man and man, or anie bills of complaints exhibited vnto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuilitie, & their maners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did maruellouslie reforme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, sauing the countie palatine in Kerrie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse anie iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the most loose and dissolute life there vsed, and that it was a sanctuarie for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of iustice was now become a cloke and a shrowd for all licentiousnesse: he purposed and was fullie determined to make a iourneie into that priuiledged place, to make a passage for law and iustice to be there exercised, euen as he had tofore doone in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leaue a scabbed sheepe, nor good for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The earle of
Desmond will
haue no officer to
intermeddle in
his countie pa-
latine.
The countie pa-
latine, a sanctu-
arie of sinne and
wickednesse.
The lord, resi-
dent purposeth
to doe iustice in
Kerrie.

The erle, when he perceiued this, he was in a great furie and agonie, and vsed all the waies he could to dissuade the lord président from the same. Which when he by no means could compasse, then according to his accustomed dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the seruice he could doo to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to vse his house and countrie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waie; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissemblinglie and in secret deuised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing mistrusting anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granteth the earles request; and when he saw time, he taketh his iourneie into Kerrie, hauing no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of six score, or seuen score persons: and as he passed through the countrie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard euerie mans complaint: and at length as his iourneie laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earle. The earle hauing the gouernor (as he thought) within his clooches, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had deuised secretlie; had appointed in a readinesse seuen hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intrapped his lordship; and in sted of a bien venu into the countrie, to haue cut him off for euer comming more there. Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship saw and vnderstood; and considering that he was so néere vpon them, as that he was either to aduenture vpon them, or with dishonor to hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his

The lord presi-
dent entruth into
Kerrie.

The treacherous
practise of the
earle to haue in-
trapped the lord
president.

The lord presi-
dent greeteth the

companie

companie together, and with verie good and pithie words incourageth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forwards, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, notwithstanding they were all well armed, and seuen to one of the other: yet being as it were astonied at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & through all that land: both the earle and his companie turned their heeles, forsooke the field, and dispersed themselues into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorow and heauinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigaell went and met the lord president, fell vpon hir knées, held vp hir hands, and with trilling teares praied his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could hir husbands follie, saieng that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting; nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men séeing his lordship could not be persuaded to make anie staie: and so praied his lordship to take it. And herein she so wiselie and in such modestie did behaue hir selfe, that his lordship granted hir request, and temporised with the earle. But he followed his determination, and vsed his authoritie to decide matters in and throughout the palantine of Kerrie.

This gréeued the earle to the hart, who hauing no other waie to be reuenged, he deuiseeth certeine articles against the president, which he with great exclames exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Corke, he returned to Dublin, where he was aduertised that the Mac an Earles in Connagh had hired a new supplie of two thousand Scots, and were in actuall rebellion. Wherevpon he prepared a new iourneie thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were vp in campe and in outragious maner spoiling the countries. But before his comming they had besieged Bailie Riogh which was the earles their fathers house, and for his treacherous dealings confiscated.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thense, had placed Thomas le Strange, and capteine Colier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsmen to lie in garrison; but the earls sons, thinking themselues of sufficient strength to recouer the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and inuironed it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not preuaile; but the garrison within did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and slue at sundrie times six of their principall capteins, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they saw they could not preuaile, they raised their siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countrie; but especially vpon Mac William Eughter, from whome they tooke sundrie of his castels, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not slacking nor slowing his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who skipped to and fro in such sort, that in no case could he find them at any aduantage. Wherefore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursute to be made vpon them. And by that meanes, although he could not méete with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full aduantage vpon them; yet manie times he met with some of them, slue them, hanged and executed them, tooke their preies from them, and gained awaie their holds and castels. And at length hauing good espials, it was aduertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confines and marches of Mac William Eughters countrie: and therevpon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie manie of them fell into his lap, who had their rewards. Vnto whose lordship resorted the said Mac William with all the force he had & could make; who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of power in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew

charge vpon the
earle of Des-
mond.

The earle com-
plaineth against
the lord presi-
dent.

The Mac an
Earles in Con-
nagh rise in re-
bellion.

The earls sons
doe besiege
Bailie Riogh.

Maister William
Eughter his
countrie spoiled.

The lord deputie
followeth the re-
bels.

The Scots in-
camped in Con-
nagh.

Mac William
Eughter com-
meth with all the
force he could
make vnto the
lord deputie.

himselfe most loiall, and did the best seruice that was doone vpon the rebels: and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recouered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castels, which in this rebellion had béene taken from him.

The Scots for-
sake Connagh
and returne
home.

The Scots, when they heard of the approaching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenlie dispersed themselves, and the most of them, being verie of their abode and intertainment, fled into the rout in Vlster. The residue like vnto the bare arsed rebels sculked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the galles of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by iournies returned towards Dublin, and hauing a little before receiued hir maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Malbie hir seruant, whome she commended for his sufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes: and as well for the incouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; hir pleasure was to commit vnto him the chéefe charge and gouernement vnder the said deputie in Connagh, and willed that he should be forthwith established in that office, & to be sworne one of hir priuie counsell, & to haue that countenance, authoritie, & interteinement as was méet, conuenient & agréable for the place, office, & person. Which the said deputie most willinglie & gladlie performed, dubbed him knight, and made him gouernor by the name of a coronell of Connaugh: thinking himselfe most happie, that he was assisted with such a man, as who for his experience in iudgement, his discretion in gouernement, and his painefulnesse and skill in martial seruice was sufficient and compleat; and best able, partlie by force, partlie by persuation, and chieflie by ministring of iustice, was (I saie) best able, and would frame the rude and barbarous people of that prouince to ciuilitie and good order. And thus much he aduertised vnto hir maiestie by his letters, with thanks for hir choise of so méete and apt a man. During the time of this seruice and being of the lord deputie in

The death of the
earle of Essex.

Connagh, the earle of Essex, a man of great nobilitie and parentage died in Dublin. Great doubts were made of his death; some thinking that he should be poisoned, because he was then in the best time of his age, of a verie good constitution of bodie, and not knowne to haue beene sicke anie time before his death. But the matter examined by all the meanes that could be deuised, there was no such thing then found: but supposed, that for so much as he had a flux, which was a spise of a *Dysenteria*, and wherewith he had beene oftentimes before troubled, by the inspection and iudgement of such physicians & others who were present, it was iudged and found that it was some cause of his death. Some thought rather that he should be bewitched, as that countrie is much giuen to such dailie practises. But how far is that from all christianitie, all wise and godlie doo know, and euerie good christian should vnderstand. It is against the word of the Lord and all christian religion; and therefore not to be credited. It was thought and so affirmed by the most part

Dysenteria.

The sundrie
opinions of his
death.
Poisoning.
Witchcraft.

Sorrow and griefe
of mind.

No physicke
against the sorrow
of the mind.

of all men, that some inward griefe of the mind and secret sorrow of the hart had hastened that, which no infirmitie of the bodie nor anie other deuises extraordinarie could compasse. For where that maladie is once entered, and hath seized and taken possession, and which by no physicke can be releued or cured: it is but in vaine to minister the same to the bodie, which can not indure when the other faileth, no more than can an accident remaine, when the substance is gone; or else as the imbers or ashes giue heat, when the wood is burned and consumed.

He was no more honorable of birth and parentage by his ancestors, of whome some descended out of kings loines; but as singular a man for all the gifts both of mind and bodie, as that age had not manie better. Towards God he was most deuout and religious, whome he serued according to his holie word in all truth and sinceritie, and his whole life according to his vocation he framed after the same;

The vertues of
the earle of
Essex.

being

being not spotted with drunkennesse, couetousnesse, whoredome, incontinenzie, or anie other notorious crime: a great fauourer of the godlie, a friend to the professors of the gospell, & an extreame enimie to the papists & enimies of the true religion: to his prince & souereigne most dutifull and humble, faithfull & obedient: his superiors he honored, his elders he reuerenced, his equals he loued, his inferiors he fauored: to his countrie trustie, to the commonwealth zealous, to all men courteous, and to the poore and oppressed bounteous and liberall.

In matters of policie he was verie prudent, and of a great reach: in causes of counsell sound, and of a deepe iudgement: in martiall affaires most valiant and of great courage, and of so heroicall a mind, that if his abilitie had answered his good will, he had not bin a second, neither to Lacie, nor to Courcie, nor to anie the first conquerors of Vlster to the crowne of England. For such a plot he had laid for the regaining therof, that it could not be denied, but if the same had béene followed, great good would haue insued in processe of time to hir maiestie, in obedience and reuenues, and a great suertie to that estate, and the like increase of benefit to the whole commonwealth. The more noble were his good and worthie attempts, the more he was crossed and contraried: but by such secret meanes, as which he did rather for the most part coniecture amisse, than hit aright: but yet such was the great valour of his mind, and the magnanimitie of his stomach, that his good meanings & attempts, for the honor of his prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth, being so contraried and ouerthwarted, he whome no trauels, no paines, no seruice, no hardnesse could breake; the verie grieve of mind and sorrow of heart (as it was thought) did onelie consume and ouerthrow. He was also verie learned, and of great reading, and sometimes a scholer in the vniuersitie, and had verie good knowledge in all kind of letters, as well theologicall as humane, and of a verie quicke wit to conceiue, of a good capacitie to vnderstand, and of a readie toong to vtter and deliuer in a verie good order what he had conceiued; and so well he would discourse and argue anie matter, as few scholers better, and not manie so skilfull in anie one, as he was generallie in all good vertues. A more noble man euerie waie, not England, nor anie other nation hath lightlie affoorded. And certeinlie, if it had pleased God that Lachesis had bene idle, or had spun a longer thread, that he might haue liued to haue béene imploied according to his excellent vertues, either in matters of counsell, of policie, or martiall, no doubt he would haue prooued a most worthie and beneficiall member vnto hir maiestie, and hir whole commonwealth. As his life was, so also was his death most godlie, comfortable, and vertuous, the one answerable to the other, euen as S. Augustine writeth; *Vix malè moritur qui benè vivit*. In all the time of his sicknesse, which was about twentie or one and twentie daies, although he were manie times tormented with greuous pangs in the bellie: yet was he neuer heard to grudge or murmur, nor to speake anie angrie or idle word, but most patientlie and meekelie tooke all things in good part. After he perceiued that nature began to faile and defect, he yéelded himselfe to die, and was verie desirous that his friends and welwillers should haue accesse vnto him, and to abide by him at their pleasure. And by that meanes he had continuallie about him diuerse men of all degrees, as well of the clergie, as of the laitie, both men and women, gentlemen & seruants, before whom he did shew most apparant arguments of a godlie and vnfeined repentance of his life past, and of a most christian and perfect charitie with all the world, fréelie forgiuing euerie offense doone vnto him, and asking the like of all others. His faith he openlie confessed, and witnessed a most vndoubted assurance of his saluation in Christ Iesus, purchased for him in his bloud and death: and manie times he would with a lowd voice saie; *Cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo*. He spent most part of the time, when the extremitie of his sicknesse did not let him,

A plot for the regaining of Vlster.

The earle of Essex contraried in all his attempts.

The earle verie well learned.

A godlielife hath a godlie end

His patience in his sicknes.

His repentance and charitie.

He confessed his faith.

His praier and hearing the word.

in praier, and in hearing the word read vnto him, and would vse such godlie admonitions, such pithie persuasions, & so graue instructions, as he neuer did, nor thought he could doo in all his life time: for he neuer seemed in all his daies to be halfe so wise, learned, and eloquent. The néerer that death drew, the more feruent he was in praier, and requested all his companie to doo the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Iesus. And when his toong gaue ouer to speake anie more, he lifted vp his hands & eies to the Lord his God, vntill most swéetlie, mildlie, and godlie he did yéeld vp his ghost, which manie times before he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man vpon the two and twentieth daie of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his fréends, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaine of himselve, who by all apparant arguments and testimonies of his vndouted faith, dooth assure vs of his euerlasting ioie, and eternall felicitie.

His letters to the lord deputie.

About thrée daies before his death, he wrot his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good freendships past betweene them, and wished that the good and faithfull dealings betweene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. Then he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a speciall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselve should die to his fréends, yet his sonne the earle of Essex might liue to the seruice of his prince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his buriall, and herewith he sent vnto his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memoriall of the loue and goodwill past betweene them. And now leauing this honorable earle in his heauenlie ioie and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this effere and effrenated nation.

The effect of the earles letters to the deputie.

The disagreem-
ents betweene
the earls of Des-
mond and Tho-
mond.

The prouince of Mounster was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betweene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which vpon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeie, vntill *Volens nolens* he were pressed therevnto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie wilfull man, notwithstanding he had at Corke yéelded himselfe (of his owne frée consent) to abide the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countrie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered folowers, he would not be withdrawn from his woonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie cesse; and wrote his letters to the lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell in England, complaining much, and proouing nothing, and aggrauating the taking of the cesse, with most manifest vntruths. And so far he was carried in misliking the gouernment, bicause he saw his owne woonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie faine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiracy with the forelorne sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, as was his brother sir Iohn of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue ioined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Mounster, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which caried the more likelihood, bicause his intention was to put awaie his owne wife, & to haue matched himselfe in marriage with Shanes sister, who was Orwackes wife, & of late forsaken by him. Neuerthelesse, the erle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to espie out both his and all the rest of their dooings, and in such a readinesse to be at inches with them, and vpon their bones if they started out neuer so little, that he kept himselfe quiet,

Sir P. Desmond putteth away his wife and marrieth another maids.

quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which before he denied, being verie notorious malefactors and practisers of vnquietnesse.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward shew more quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whome least suspicion of anie euill was thought, they begin verie inconsideratlie to repine against the cesse: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue maintained it: because that the same was procured for the defense of themselues, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdom, knowlege, and experience, when he considered the fickle state of that wauering and rebellious nation of the Irishrie, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmly promised, sworne, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to hir maiestie: yet vpon euerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and dutie, would fling out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appeasing thereof, and the preseruacion of hir good subiects, hir highnesse was driuen to enlarge hir garrisons, and to increase hir armie to hir excessive charges, and all which companies were vittelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributorie to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and priuileges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the more gréeued, & the greater burthened, to their impouerishing, & the hinderance of their service: the lord deputie caused a through search to be made in hir highnesse court of the exchequer in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and all manner of liberties which at anie time had tofore bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoever: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were vsurped, or by statute repealed.

The gentlemen in the pale begin to repine against the cesse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the cesse.

The records searched for liberties.

Wherevpon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be borne more vniuersallie, and so more indifferentlie; and for the better furtherance of hir highnesse service: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and frédoms to be dissolved, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are gréeued, and therefore doo repine against cesse; and with open mouths crie out, that they were so poore that they could not beare anie cesse, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what cesse is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogatiue of the prince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the quéens price, to all and euerie such souldiors as she is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be yeerelie rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the counsell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices as the souldiors may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his interteinment.

Liberties dissolved by proclamation.

What cesse is.

These things although they were orderlie doone, yet certeine malecontents, finding themselues gréeued, because they should also now beare a portion, and be contributors: first they draw their heads together, and make there supplication to the lord deputie and counsell, which was receiued verie willinglie, and offer made that conference should be had with them, how and what waie it might best be deuised to ease there griefes, & not to charge the quéene. Whervpon at a time appointed they all met,

The malecontents make their supplication to the lord deputie & counsell to be discharged of the cesse.

met, and came in persons before the deputie and counsell, where the said malecontents first opened their griefes, that they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and liberties which were taken from them; then that they were compelled to yeeld to an vnreasonable cesse, which they were not able to beare, and that was will and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and reason, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon them without a parlement or grand counsell.

When the lord deputie and counsell heard them at full, they appointed a daie, when they should come and receiue their answer. In the meane time the lord deputie and counsell consulted and considered of the matter, and resolved themselues vpon an answer. And when the daie came and they appeered, answer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord chancellor, that they had no charters nor liberties at all to be found in hir highnesse records, other than such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for the greatnesse of the cesse, the burden whereof they had alleged to be vnreasonable and not to be borne, bicause they said & auouched that it was ten pounds & twelue pounds of ech plough land; it was offered that they should be discharged, if they would paie but fiue markes for euerie plough land. And whatsoeuer they said in deniall of the paieng of the cesse, it was and is to be proued, that it was not onelie hir maiesties prerogatiue which may not be impeached; but also to be proued by most ancient records, that euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the like charges imposed by the name of cesse by the deputie and counsell, and such nobilitie as were sent for and did come to the same, now in question and by them repined at. Neuerthelesse, they repined and flatlie denied that they would yeeld to anie cesse, saiong and alledging as before, that it was against reason and law, and therefore praied that they might haue his lordships libertie to make their repaire ouer into England, and to acquaint hir highnesse with their case. Wherevnto he answered, that he would neither giue any such leaue nor denie them to go. Wherevpon they assembled themselues together againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie headed lawiers and malecontented gentlemen, who had stirred and set them a worke to conioine themselues to follow this sute, and contributed a masse of monie amongst themselues, for the charge of the said lawiers, namelie Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard Neteruill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing béene sometimes students in the ins of the court in London, & acquainted with Littletons tenures, thought themselues so well fraughted with knowledge in the laws, as they were able to wade in all matters of the deepest points of the law. But if they had first (as it becommeth dutifull subiects) to haue looked in the booke of God, they should haue found it written there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings and established their thrones, and gaue them most excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogatiue, that all inferiors and subiects should and ought in all humblenesse and dutifulnesse submit themselues vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake; bicause so is it the will of God, without sifting of his authoritie or examining his gouernment. For there is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God, & they are ordeined of God; wherefore who so resisteth them, resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences the Lord himselfe hath reuenged oftentimes on the disobedient. Wherefore euerie man is to be subiect in all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all maner of ordinances, being not against God, not onlie bicause of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especially in matters being well considered, & which doo concerne their one benefit and safetie. If this be the infalible truth, how farre were these men ouershot, that thus would dispute the princes prerogatiue with their Littletons tenures; and measure the same with their owne rules

The prerogatiue
of a prince by the
law of God.

rules and deuises? It had bin much better for them, & more to their commendations, if they had (as the scholers of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held their peace, vntill such time as they had beene better studied in their owne lawes: and then they should haue found it written that the prince or king is the head and most excellent part of the bodie of the commonwealth; and through his gouernance the preseruer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the prophet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which causes the lawes doo attribute vnto him all honor, dignitie, prerogatiue, and preeminence aboue all others; and which his prerogatiue dooth no onelie extend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of his owne, but also to all his subiects. And the lawyers themselues doo so far stretch this for a *Maxime*, that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established either for the benefit of holie church or common profit, it is alwaies implied *Salua in omnibus regis prerogatiua*; and that nothing shall be intended to be preiudiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likelihood these men were not so farre read; or if they had, their malice or desire of some pelting lucre, which blindeth manie of that profession, had made them forgetfull of themselves & of their duties. Well, these great lawiers beare the malecontented lords & gentlemen in hand, that their cause & sute was good and reasonable, and by the law to be warranted, & not to be doubted but the same would haue good successe. Wherevpon they made vp their supplication and letters to hir maiestie, with the like letters to hir honorable priuie counsell, dated the tenth of Ianuarie, 1576, and vnder the hands of Rowland vicount of Baltinglas, Ed. of Deluin, Christopher of Hoth, Peter of Trimleston, Iames of Kellew, and Patrike Naugle barons; sir Oliver Plunket, sir Thomas Nugeat, sir Christopher Chiurers, and sir William Searefield knights; Edward Plunket, Patrike Naugle, Patrike Husseie, George Plunket, Francis Nugeat, Laurence Nugeat, Nicholas Tasse, Iames Nugeat, and William Talbot, in the names of all the inhabitants within the English pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered in the like order their letters of attorneie vnto their said agents, and so much monie for their expenses as was thought sufficient, with their order and promise to supplie what soeuer they should need. And thus being furnished with all things to their contentments, they past ouer the seas, and made their repaire vnto the court of England, and there at time conuenient did exhibit their supplications and letters to hir maiestie and the lords of the counsell, which in effect consisted in these points.

The kings prerogatiue by the lawes of the realme.

The impaled gentlemen send into England their agents to complaine.

First, that where there was a cesse imposed by the lord deputie and counsell vpon the English pale for hir maiesties garrisons, they finding themselves grieved therewith, made their complaint thereof vnto the said lord deputie and counsell for redresse, and could not be heard.

1
The effect of these letters & complaints exhibited to hir maiestie and counsell.

Secondarilie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or anie other like to be imposed vpon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vsages of that realme.

2

Thirdlie, that the cesse was a most intollerable and grievous burden, there being exacted out of euerie plough land ten and twelue pounds.

3

Fourthlie, that in the leuieng and exacting, there were manie and sundrie abuses doone and committed.

4

When hir maiestie had throughlie read both the complaints and letters, she forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lords of hir priuie counsell to be considered, and the same to be throughlie examined; who foorthwith assembled themselves, and hauing read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lords & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and counsell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of

The matter is referred to the counsell.

of the matter, that they might the better proue and vnderstand the greatnesse therof, did by hir highnesse commandement call before them the earles of Kildare and Ormond, the vicount of Gormanstone, and the baron of Dunsanie, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the maner of these mens proceedings both héere and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie déed, vnder color to séeke some reliefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of anie cesse, and so consequentlie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogatiue, which hir maiestie & predecessors haue alwaies inioied, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselves preserued.

The answers of
the councell to
the articles of the
complainers.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, séemed to be sorie, and to mislike of their vnaduiséd proceedings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath beene alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subiect, who would denie or impugne the same: although they wished and did praie, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarsitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lords of the councell had proceeded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered vp their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the dooings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: bicause he had written otherwise.

To the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogatiue, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath béene vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecessors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vnlesse hir highnesse would loose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne pursse: neither which extreamities could or might in anie wise be tollerated.

To the third, that the cesse was intollerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounds and twelue pounds should be demanded out of euerie plough land, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and councell the contrarie, & that they were offered at five marks the plough land: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

To the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were doone, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redresse thereof to be ordered.

Hir maiestie of-
fended with the
complainers.

The agents of
the complainers
sent to the Fleet.

Hir maiestie of-
fended with the
lord deputie and
councell for suf-
fering the com-
plainers vn-
punished.

When hir highnesse had read and thoroughlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vndutifullie to be handled by hir subiects, commanded by the aduise of hir councell the said agents which followed their sute, to be committed to the Fleet, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and councell, finding hir selfe griued with the said hir subiects of the pale, that the reléeuing of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse, should be auouched to be a matter against law, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie béene imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed therevnto, in preiudice of hir prerogatiue, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therefore she did not onelie mislike, & was greatlie offended with these their presumptuous and vndutifull maner of proceeding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir councell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogatiue in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which meanes the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue beene remedied. And therefore as hir highnesse had alreadie giuen order for committing them to the Fléet, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their iustifieng and
mainteining

mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore séeking to impeach hir prerogatiue and roiall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole counsell to send for those lords and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and auow the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogatiue, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and auowing to be likewise committed.

The complainers which subscribed to be sent and committed to ward.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the maner of the leuieng the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoever were culpable therein, he should be punished with all seueritie. And herewith also she was contented, and had giuen order for some qualification to be yeilded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and counsell should be thought méet: considering the scarsitie and the dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lords and gentlemen vpon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselues simplie, and vnder their hand-writings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbear (contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in maintenance against the said prerogatiue, to be displaced and discharged out of hir fée, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought méet. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the counsell, the lord deputie and counsell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and counsell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were speciallie noted to be counsellors, ringleaders, and procurors of these letters to hir maiestie and the lords of hir counsell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of frédome from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogatiue, and affirming boldlie in plaine spéeches and without anie sticking, that no cesse could be imposed but by parlement or a grand counsell; and whatsoever was otherwise set downe, was against the law: and so stubbornlie they were bent therein, that they would not yeeld to anie conference: wherevpon they were all committed to the castell of Dublin, notwithstanding some of them (after they had better aduised themselues) yeilded a submission and praied mercie.

The complainers acknowledging their faults to be gentle vsed.

The lawyers of her maiesties fée mainteining the complaints, to be displaced.

The malcontents & their abettors sent for.

The proud answers of the malcontents.

The malcontents are all committed to prison.

Which dooings when the lord deputie and counsell had forthwith aduertised to hir highnesse & the counsell in England; they nothing liking these arrogant and disloiall parts of these impaled malecontents, sent for their agents; and hauing the like conference with them, found them of like disposition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie froward, arrogant, and wilfull: wherevpon they were remooued from the Fléet to the Tower: a place appointed for the offenders in capitall causes, and for such (being impugnors of hir prerogatiue) as be supposed to offend in the néerest degré to the highest. These things when were notified vnto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were maruellouslie gréued; but not the one nor the other would giue ouer, vntill their arrogancies and insolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie conuincéd, and condemned: for which the lord chancellor of verie purpose was sent ouer into England, who so fullie, effectualle, and discrétlie did resolué hir maiestie and counsell in euerie point, which the parties agents could not denie.

The agents for their frowardnesse sent to the Tower.

The lord chancellor of Ireland sent into England.

Now in the end they considered better of themselues, and sent their humble submission in writing vnder their hands to the said lords of hir maiesties priue counsell, confessing that they had disloialle and insolentlie, both in words and

The agents submit themselues.

The agents were released vpon their bonds to appeare before the lord deputie and counsell.

The false accusations made against the lord deputie.

The fidelitie of the english pale to the crowne.

writings offended most gréuouslie; protesting yet that their intent was neuer to denie hir roiall prerogatiue, to vse the same as occasion should serue, but onelie to redresse certeine abuses; and therefore most humble praied they might find some mercie, and that the hard and painfull imprisonment which they had susteined, might be a sufficient punishment for the same. Wherevpon they were released, putting in bonds of one thousand pounds, that within fíue daies they should depart homewards into Ireland; and after their transportation & arriual thither, should make their immediat repaire, without staie or lingering, to the lord deputie and counsell, and there to giue their attendance, vntill by them they should be licenced to depart. At their comming home they performed the conditions of their obligations, and most humble in like order submitted themselues to the lord deputie and counsell, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the counsell in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and counsell in Ireland) the same was after long traourse ended and determined. But heere to set downe what practises, informations, & deuises were made against the said deputie, by the said malecontents, and some (by their means) of no small calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the subiects from loiall obedience, that he had farmed all the whole relme, that he had wasted hir maiesties treasures and reuenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he should for this dealing with hir subiects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduise of others, contrarie to the course of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the imboldening of manie which offended the more.

These and manie such other like vnruths they spred. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifest it to the whole world, that their ouerthrow was his credit, and his preuaile was to their reproch and shame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward gréeses, which for a time by the meanes of their false suggestions he susteined, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great ioy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offense should fall into the consideration of this their resistance, and repining against the cesse, which was then enterprised and taken in hand; when the whole land stood in a broken and doubtfull state, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Desmond frowardlie kicked at the like, and all the lords in Mounster had contrarie to their owne orders and promises, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the English pale; to paie anie cessé; when Iames Fitzmoris being furnished with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was dailie looked for to come and inuade the laud; and when the great ones hauing hollow harts, and addicted to papistrie, did dailie gape and expect for the same; when the disloiall Irishrie in Mounster and Connaugh were combined and ioined in these conspiracies; when Rorie Og, Omore, Connor Mac Cormake, Oconnor & others, animated by the forsaid conspiracies, were vp in open rebellion, and vsed most execrable outrages; when some of the best townes in Leinster did aid, comfort, and mainteine these rebels, and besides manie other circumstances concurring héerewith: might it not be well presumed (and as it was so doubted) that the cause being like, they should also be combined and linked alike? And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better herring? And yet notwithstanding it fell in the end to a better effect. For the lords and inhabitants in the English pale, since the time of the conquest by king Henrie the second, and since their first arriual into this land, it hath not béene lightlie knowne that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in anie warres against the crowne of England, and the kings of the same; sauing as now in respect to saue their purses, rather than meaning anie breach of dutie, had ouer shot themselves: which

which vpon a further consideration of the truth they repented, and vpon their submission were pardoned, in hope and vpon their promise that they would neuer thenseforth offend, nor be found faultie with the like. During the traaverse about the cesse, manie things happened in the land worthie to be reprehended (as great and sundrie were the aduertisements from out of France by such Englishmen as were there imployed) of an intention of Iames Fitzmoris to inuade Ireland, who had béene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and returned from thense with a good masse of treasure, making his retorne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furnished with men, munitions, & treasures, and all things necessarie. Which things were by letters from him signified ynto the chéefest of all Mounster his secret confederats, and they being papists both in bodie & soule, desirous of change of gouernement, and to be vnder a prince of their owne superstition, did dailie languish and expect his comming. Wherefore hir maiestie and counsell, hauing the like intelligences, doo also prepare monie, munitions, vittels, and men, and all other things necessarie for the withstanding of him.

Rorie Og, Omore, and Connor Mac Cormake, Oconnor, and their coparteners, contrarie to their othes, submissions, and promises, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began anew to gather their fréends and confederats out of seuerall places, to the number of a hundred swords, which with his owne made aboue seauen score; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerse mens haggards, poore mens houses, and sundrie villages, and committed manie outrages: and being not resisted, he tooke such incouragement of his successe, that leauing poore villages, he went to great towns, as to the Naas, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same daie that he came thither at night, was the patrone daie of the said towne, commonlie called the church holie daie, which daie after the manner of that countrie, and not much vnlike the festiuall daies which the Ethniks and Pagans were woont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and Venus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkennesse, and surfetting. And after they had so filled their panches, and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, hauing forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put anie watch to ward them. Which thing Rorie Og when he knew, and hauing intelligence that euerie man was in his bed asléepe, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who like vnto a sort of furies and diuels new come out of hell, carried vpon the ends of their poles flankes of fier, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house tooke fier of another, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the towne supposed to be fíue hundred persons in outward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but they being in their dead sléeps, suddenlie awaked, were so amazed, that they wist not what to doo, for the fier was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enimie they were altogether vnfurnished, and durst not to doo it, neither if they would they could tell which way to follow him. For he taried verie little in the towne, sauing that he sat a little while vpon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and triumph, that he had doone and exploited so diuelish an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed vsage in all his euill actions, but yet contrarie to his vsage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he returned he preied and spoiled the countrie, and ranging to and fro, as his wauering head carried him, he came verie shortlie vnto the towne at Leighlin bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

The burning of
the Naas by Ro-
rie Og.

Rorie Og burn-
eth the towne
at Leighlin
bridge.

But George Carew brother vnto Peter Carew, then constable of the said towne

George Carew
with twelve per-
sons against 240
seteth vpon
them & driueth
them to fle.

The castell in
danger to be
taken.

The enimie is
driven to retire
and fle awaie.

Rorie Og by
sight and deceit
taketh capteine
Harington prison-
ner.

A draught made
vpon Rorie Og
by Harepole.

Capteine Ha-
rington is hurt.

Rorie Og escap-
eth.

Capteine Ha-
rington is deli-
uered.

and fort, hauing then but a small ward to defend the violence of the enimie, and yet thinking it should be too great a dishonour vnto him to be bearded with a traitor, and to let him depart vnfought withall: he issued out vpon him, hauing with him onelie seuen horssemen and fife shot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels, being two hundred and fortie, with such a courage and valiantnesse (and they astonied bicause it was so sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of them: and then they with the losse of those men began to fle. But at last when they perceiued his force to be but small, and too weake to resist their great number, they returned and chased him to the verie walles of the castell; where if he and his small companie had not like valiant and good souldiers acquitted themselves, the rebels had entred into the house; for they were within the gate and there fought, but driuen out and the gate shut. At this bickering they lost sixtéene men, and one of their chiefe capteines named Piers Moinagh, who died verie shortlie after of his hurt. Capteine Carew lost but two men and one horsse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie was hurt.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this interteinement, presentlie retired and departed, by which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saued. After their returne from hense, they spoiled sundrie townes and villages vpon the confines & borders of the English pale. And albeit they were verie égerlie followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse of his companie, yet he was so maintained, and his watch and spiall was so good, that partlie by the helpe of his acquaintance, and partlie by meanes of the water bogs and fastenesse in euerie place, he was in safeguard and safetie. In this pursute made vpon him, it happened that a 'parlée' was appointed betwéene capteine Harington and him: vnto whom Rorie Og swore and promised most faithfullie to yeeld himselfe to some conformitie and order. The capteine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much credit to his subtile promises, and did so open himselfe vnto him, that through his owne follie Rorie tooke aduantage, and perforce tooke him and Alexander Cosbie, who was with him in hand, both which he handfasted together, and caried them along with him as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs, threatening them still to kill them. This thing being knowne, great sorow and greefe was conceiued of the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and dailie practises were deuised for their deliueries; and at length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a manner concluded. But before the same

was fullie perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught vpon Rorie: for he knowing where the said Rorie was woont to hant, and by good espials learning where his cooch and cabine was, he being accompanied with Parker lieutenant to capteine Furse and fiftie of his band, earelie in the morning, about two houres before daie, he went and marched to the verie place where Rorie laie, and beset the same. Rorie hearing an vnwoonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddenlie vpon Harington and Cosbie, thinking to haue slaine them, and gessing in the darke to the place where they laie, gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open the doore of the cabin, he tooke as manie as were within prisoners: but Rorie himselfe and one other priuile in the darke stole awaie and crept among the bushes, so that he could not be found. The souldiers in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there, but saued capteine Harington and Cosbie.

Rorie Og albeit he was glad that he was so escaped, yet in a great grieve for the losse of his prisoners, and minding to be reuenged, priuile with all the companies which he could get, besides them which Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh,

Connagh, he went to Catherlough earlie in the morning, and burned a few hag-guards of corne and a few houses, and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hercof, forthwith followeth them with ten or twelue horsse which he had in a readinesse, and at a foord not far off he ouertooke them, and killed sixtéene or seuentéene of his best men, and Rorie himselfe escaped verie narowlie; and so continued still in his former outrages, vntill he was intrapped and taken by a deuise of his owne to intrap others, which was in this manner. Vpon the nine and twentieth of Iune 1578, he set foorth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cunninglie framed, and made apt for the purpose to go to sir Barnard Fitzpatrike lord of vpper Osserie, and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and in secrecie, that Rorie Og had béene of late in the countie of Kilkennie, and there had taken a great preie and spoile of pots, pans, and other houshold-stuffe, which he might easilie take if he would aduenture the matter; and if he did wiselie handle it, he might also take Rorie himselfe and all his companie, which as he said (but vnturlic) that they were but few in number. The lord of vpper Osserie, neither beléeuing nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet forecasting the worst, did put himselfe in readinesse to follow the occasion that was offered; and taking with him a good companie of horssemen and footmen, went towards the place where the bait was laied; and being come néere vnto it made staie, or else he had béene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his men into the woods to serch for Rorie. But the baron himselfe with certeine of his horssemen and shot staid in the plaines, to attend the issue of the matter. The companie were no sooner entered into the woods, but Rorie the rebell shewed himselfe with a thirtie persons, the rest lieng in ambush; and he was of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so great, and of such value among the Irishrie, that no man durst to aduenture vpon him if he once saw his presence. But he was deceiued. For at the first sight and view of him, the lord of Osseries Kerne gaue the charge vpon him, and at their incounter one of them lighted vpon him, and with his sword presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was no sooner doone, but two or three hacked vpon him, & gaue him such deadlie wounds that he fell downe and died, the same being the last daie of Iune before said; and so this bloudie caitife, deliting all in bloud, perished and died in his owne bloud.

Rorie Og burneth Catherlough.

1578

A bait laid for the lord of vpper Osserie.

Rorie Og is slaine.

But before Rorie Og was thus brought to destruction, the lord deputie made a iourne to the borders of Offallie and Lex, to haue met with the foresaid Rorie Og & his companions the Oconnors for the suppressing of their insolencie, who were growen into such a pride by taking of capteine Harington, and their strength so increased, that with most vndutifull termes they breathed out slanderous spéeches against hir maiestie, as which were not to be indured. Wherefore he beset the whole countrie & confines as he thought best, to stop their passage and to annoie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and there by sundrie examinations found people of all degrees in that towne to haue relieued the said Rorie with vittels and all other necessaries, for his feeding and defense, with whome he tooke order according to their deserts. At his being there he sent for the earle of Desmond to come vnto him, because he had refused to come to the lord president when he sent for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said lord president was there to complaine vpon him, as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without anie warrant, gathered together a rable of lewd and vnurlic followers, which harried vp and downe the countrie, eating and spending vpon the same, contrarie to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered.

The lord deputie maketh a iourne vpo Rorie Og.

The earle of Desmond sent for to come to the lord deputie to Kilkennie.

Which earle foorthwith, vpon the receipt of the said letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and there being examined of those his vnséemelic parts, confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and much mistrusted and doubted the president, least he would haue staid him, and haue vsed him hardlie, for which

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The earle of Desmond and the lord president of Mounster are reconciled.

The earle of Desmond discovereth to the lord president Iames Fitzmoris his practises.

Coiners in Connagh.

Orwarke refusing to deliuer the coiners his castell is taken, and he submitteth himselfe.

Tho. Stukeleie suspected to come into Ireland.

Great preparation made against Stukeleie.

The pope his fauour to Stukeleie.

Stukeleie his honour and titles.

The vicount Baltinglasse complaineth to the earle of Ormond against sir Nicholas Bagnoll.

The earle of Ormond aduertiseth the complaint of the vicount to hir maiestie and counsell.

he was blamed and reprooued by the lord deputie. But in the end, when they came together, they were reconciled and made good friends, and then he promised vpon his returne home to disperse abroad his companions, and to obeie the president as hir maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to come vnto him at all commandements, and which things he performed. For not long after he vttered and bewraied to the said lord president the practises of Iames Fitzmoris, who by the arriual of certeine Frenchmen and Irishmen vnto Sligo, in a ship of saint Malowes, did what he could to stirre & make a rebellion in Mounster and Connagh, whereby a plot was laied for the staie of those Frenchmen, and the apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good demonstrations to the 'otter shew of the obedience and loialtie of the said earle, but in truth méere dissimulation, as afterwards it appeared.

Connagh was in some part troubled, by means of Orwarke capteine of his surname; in whose countrie there were certeine coiners of monie, and maintained by him. The coronell vnderstanding hereof, he sent vnto Orwarke for them, and who denied to deliuer anie of them: wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a priuat band of footmen, who distressed Orwarke, slue his men, tooke his castell, and put all the ward to the sword. Wherevpon he came with all humilitie, and submitted himselfe, and craued pardon. All the residue of Connagh was verie quiet, and increased hir maiesties reuenues to the yearelie summe of eightéene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good contentation. And now when it was thought that all things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold sudden aduertisements were giuen both vnto hir maiestie and counsell in England, and to the lord deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukeleie was arriued out of Italie vnto Cadis in Spaine, with certeine men, ships, and munitions assigned vnto him by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine strangers attending vpon him, he was come to the seas, to land vpon some part of the realme of Ireland, in traitorous maner to inuade the same, and to prouoke the people to ioine with him in rebellion. All things, as well men, munitions, monie, vittels, and all other things necessarie were prouided and prepared for the preuenting of them, as well by sea as by land: but in the end, aduertisement was giuen from out of Portugall, that his enterprise was directed another waie, and to another purpose, and so all things were quiet. Neuerthelesse, it appeared that he was in great fauour with the pope, and was appointed to some speciall seruice against hir maiestie, if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the encouraging of him, the pope besides great treasures liberallie bestowed vpon him, he gaue him sundrie titles of honour, and made him knight, baron of Rosse and Idron, vicount of the Morough & Kenshlagh, and earle of Wexford and Catherlough, and marquisse of Leinster, and generall to the most holie father Gregorie the seuenth *Pontifici maximo*.

In the middle of these broiles, the vicount Baltinglasse, one of the chiefe impugnors and malecontents against the cesse, wrote his letters to the earle of Ormond, then attendant at the court of England, and complaineth of great iniuries and spoiles to the value of two hundred pounds in monie, besides numbers of shéepe and kine, doone vpon him and his tenants by the English souldiers, vnder sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Baltinglasse, in the time that they serued vpon the rebell Rorie Og. Which letter was by the said earle shewed to hir maiestie, and to the lords of hir most honourable priue counsell. Vpon which complaint, bicause it seemed somewhat pitious and lamentable, and hir maiestie partlie persuaded (as a matter verie likelie to be true) that such gréuous extortions suffered vncorrected, made hir gouernement

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ment more hatefull to that nation, than did anie of the Irish exactions: letters were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all diligence, that the poore oppressed might be satisfied, and the offenders also be punished, according to the quantities and qualities of their offenses.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained vnto by the said vicount, and sir Nicholas Bagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were objected against him. And vpon the replication of the vicount, sir Lucas Dillon and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for prooffe of the surmises, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be prooued to anie purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first coming to that towne, had giuen great charge to euerie capteine, to foresee that no iniurie should be offred, no spoiles committed, nor anie thing to be taken by anie souldier or other person without present paiement, protesting and proclaiming execution according to marshall law, vpon such as should doo the contrarie.

Likewise at his departure from thense, he made the like proclamation, that if there were anie which had anie cause of complaint for anie wrong or iniurie doone, or that anie thing were taken and not paid for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it dooth appeare, that the surmises were made rather to aggrauat his gréepe conceiued against the imposition of the cesse, than for anie good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices preuailed little in the one, no more had he successe or credit in the other. For the matter was fullie certified vnto the lords of the councell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said vicount might be reprooued, and also terrified to profer or practise any such vntrue and indirect dealings. By these and other the like practises of the said vicount, that bicause he did not brooke nor like of the cesse, he thought by waie of exclames to aggrauat his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of hir maiestie, and be out of fauour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne reproofe and discredit.

When the lord deputie had ended and finished all his businesse, and had set the whole realme in order and peace, being now deliuered from inward and ciuill warre, and from the feare of Stukeleies inuasion, he prepared (according to hir maiesties former letters of the six and twentieth of March last past) to take his passage for England, and to make his repaire to hir highnesse. And so when all things were accordinglie prepared, and the wind & weather so seruing, he deliuered vp the sword according to hir maiesties commandement, the six & twentieth of Maie 1578, vnto sir William Drurie, then lord president of Mounster. And then being conducted by the said now lord iustice and councell, and all the nobilitie, citizens & people to the waters side, he embarked himselfe, taking his leaue in most honourable, louing, and courteous maner of euerie man. And at his verie entring into the ship for his farewell vnto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the 114 psalme, "In exitu Israel de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro;" alluding thereby to the troublesome state of Moses in the land of Aegypto, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwithstanding he had in great wisdom, care, and policie gouerned the stifnecked people of Israell, had doone many miracles and woonderous works to their comfort, had deliuered them from manie great perils and dangers, had preserued and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pharao, and from out of the land of Aegypto, and had giuen them the sight of the land of promise: yet he found them alwaies a froward and peruerse generation, a stiffnecked and vngratefull.

Hir maiestie sendeth letters in the behalfe of the vicount Balinglasse.
The vicount Balinglasse complaineth to the lord deputie against sir Nicholas Bagnoll.

The vicount Balinglasses complaints are vntrue.

The whole land in peace.

1578
The sword is deliuered to sir William Drurie as lord iustice.

The departure of sir Henrie Sidneie, and of his last sayings.

The notable works of Moses, & yet he not accepted.

vngratefull people: euen no lesse as this noble man, and most woorthie gouernour hath found of the people of this most curssed nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie painfull traeller both by daie and night, in fowle and in faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in troubles and in dangers, in scarsitie and in penurie, in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet continuallie studieng, deuising, traelling, toiling, and labouring to doo them good (as he did full manie and often times) which so long as they felt the ease & comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but otherwise most vngratefull and vnthankfull. And offering vnto him the like reward as Licurgus receiued of the most vnthankfull Lacedemonians, who when he had recouered that sauage nation to a ciuill life, and a politike gouernement, and in the end reduced them to that order and maner, as they became to be feared of all their neighbors, they in recompense euill intreated him in verie bad speeches, and strake out one of Licurgus his eies. But these men for thousands and infinit commodities, would not onelie haue béereft his lordship of both his eies, but also doone him a further inconuenience (if successe had happened) according to their malice.

The painfull tra-
uels of the lord
deputie not con-
sidered.

The ingratitude
of the Lacede-
monians to Li-
curgus.

The parentage
of sir Henrie
Sidneie.

Sir Henrie Sid-
neie was brought
vp in the court.

Sir Henrie Sid-
neie the king his
companion and
bedfellow.

The king died in
sir Henrie Sid-
neis armes.

The king dubbeth
sir Henrie Sid-
neie and sir Wil-
liam Cicill
knights in one
daie.

Edm. Melincus.

Sir Henrie Sid-
neie an ambassa-
dor sundrie
times.

And now here by the waie, let it not be offensiue to set downe somewhat of much concerning this woorthie and noble man for the course of his life. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, his father named sir William Sidneie, a knight of great reputation and credit in the countie of Kent, and in great fauour with king Henrie the eight, in whose time, and with his great good liking, he and others lustie yoong gentlemen of the court trauelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and to see the maner of the emperours and other princes courts: his mother descended of the house of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, vnto whom she was verie néere alied. This yoong gentleman, his father being deceassed, and he of verie tender and yoong yéeres, was brought vp in the court vnder the same maister as was king Edward the sixt, and profited verie well, both in the Latine and French toongs, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie forward in all good actions, and whereof was conceiued some good things would come of him: his countenance was verie amiable, and his behauiour verie gentle and courteous, in whome king Henrie the eight (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaiefellow with prince Edward.

The prince fell in such a good familiaritie and good liking of him, that he vsed him not onelie as a companion; but manie times as a bedfellow, and so delighted in his companie, that for the most part they would neuer be asunder, neither in health, nor in sicknesse, vntill the dieng daie of the prince: who then departed his life in this gentlemans armes. Somewhat before his death, the king gaue the order of knighthood to this gentleman, for a memorie and a recompense of his good will and loue: vpon which daie also he did the like vnto sir William Cicill, now lord Burghlie and lord high treasurer of all England: by meanes of which their conioined aduancement, there entred a verie feruent affection and good will betwéene them, with a reciproke answering of beneuolence each one to the other, vntill their dieng daies. This noble gentleman for his forwardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the paragon of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts which God had bestowed vpon him euerie waie. For concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and well compact, and well beseene; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and of so good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so vertuous and so godlie, so discrét and so sober, as he was another Scipio: being but yoong in years, and old in behauiour, and finallie so rare a man, as that age had not afforded manie better. This man for his excellent good gifts, he was made ambassador into France, being but about one and twentie yeares

of

of age; and twice in one yeare after that into Scotland: and by quene Maie ioined in commission with others to attend king Philip his comming into England, for the mariage betweene their maiesties. And now in this hir maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassador into France, to treat a peace or pacification betweene the prince of Condie and the duke of Guise.

In the beginning and about the second or third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, he was made knight of the garter, and lord president of Wales; and after one of hir maiesties most honorable priuie counsell. But before this, immediatlie vpon his returne from out of Spaine, he accompanied the lord Thomas lord Fitzwaters his brother in law into Ireland: where he was made treasurer at the wars, one of the principall offices in the land: and in course of time & yeares for his excellencie in knowledge and experience in that land, he was made lord iustice foure times, and was lord deputie threé times. In which offices, how he did most honorable acquite himselfe, his acts doo declare, and the summarie recitall shall partlie discouer and set downe. He was no sooner placed in gouernement, but first and foorthwith he laid downe his plot, wherevpon he would ground & laie the foundation of his gouernement, and according to it would he frame and direct all his actions: which plot and deuise consisteth in these points; religion towards God, obedience to the prince, the peace of the people, and the well gouernement in all things concerning the commonwealth, either in causes ciuill or martiall.

Concerning religion, he was no more carefull in his owne person, but the like also in his priuat familie, where he had dailie exercises of praiers, both earlie and late, morning & euening, neither would he haue anie to serue him, who was not affected to religion, and of an honest conuersation. Atheists and papists he detested, dronkards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide. And at his first being in authoritie in Ireland, & finding the whole land generallie (a few priuat places excepted) to be either of no religion, or of papisticall religion; and being openlie by a preacher out of a pulpit aduertised, that in the remote places of that land, manie a soule was borne which neuer receiued baptisme, nor knew anie christening; great was his gréeffe, and much was he vnquieted, vntill he had found the redresse thereof. Wherefore he aduertised hir maiestie, & most earnestlie sued & praied for redresse & reformation, which in the end was granted, & a commission sent to him for the same: which foorthwith he committed to the archbishops & bishops to execute, with whom he ioined, furthered and holpe them accordingly to the vttermost. But yet it tooke not that good effect as he wished and willed it might. And as for ecclesiasticall linings which were of his gift and disposition, he would neuer bestow, but vpon such, as of whome he conceiued a good opinion, both for his religion and honestie.

The prince, who was scarce knowne in manie places in that land, he brought both to knowledge and obedience. The wild he tamed, the froward he reformed, the disobedient he punished, the traitors he persecuted, the rebels he chastised, the proud he made to stoope, and that arrogant and most insolent Shane Oneile, who could abide no equall, nor acknowledge a superior, by a draught was brought to his deserued confusion: & whose head for a tropheie, & for the example of Gods iustice laied vpon him, was set vpon a pole vpon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Vlster, with all the mightie personages of the same, he brought to the queenes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he tooke and imprisoned, and his vtamed springals he draue to submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The vnconstant earle of Desmond and all his Giraldines and followers, and the proud and vngratefull earle of Clancar, and all the Irishrie of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselues, and to craue pardon. The Cauenaghs, the Ootoles, the Obirnes, the Ocomores, the Omores, and a rable of other like septs, together

Sir Henrie Sid-
more lord presi-
dent of Wales
and knight of the
garter.

Sir Henrie Sid-
more lord trea-
surer at armes.
He was lord ius-
tice foure times.
The plot of sir
Henrie Sidmores
gouernement.

Religion.

Manie borne in
Ireland neuer
christened.

Shane Oneile
slaine.

All Vlster
brought to obe-
dience.

The earle of
Clanricard im-
prisoned.
The mightie
earles in Moun-
ster brought to
submission.

The rebels in
Leinster tamed.

The malecon-
tents against the
cesse reformed.

Sir Humfreie
Gilbert coronell
in Mounster.
Sir Iohn Perot,
Sir William
Drurie lord pre-
sidents in
Mounster.

Sir Edward
Fitton and sir
Nicholas Mal-
bie gouernors
in Connagh.

English lawyers
placed to be ius-
tices in the
courts.

The statutes to
be reuewed and
printed.

The records
searched and set
up in places
conuenient.

The castell
chamber dale
kepte.

with Rorie Og, Phcon Mac Hew, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare loialtie and subiection. Lastlie, the malecontents against hir maiesties prerogatiue for the cesse in the end cried *Peccaui*, and conformed themselves in all dutifulnesse. And when he had trauelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, vnlesse they by some other meanes might be kept vnder gouernement: he by pithie persuasions, sound arguments, great reasons, and continuall sutes to hir maiestie and counsell, obtained to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces, and sound, learned, and vpright iust lawiers out of England to be sent ouer, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end hir maiestie most gratuslie granted, and he most ioifullie obtained.

In Mounster therefore first he placed a coronell to breake the ise; namelie sir Humfreie Gilbert, a valiant, a worthie, and a notable man, both for his martiall service, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthie gentleman sir Iohn Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Drurie, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a verie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasurer at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Malbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and verie wise and of good knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie exactlie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he (I saie) was made coronell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their capteins, and how vprightlie they ministred law and iustice by the aduice of the counsellors in their seuerall prouinces, the records and registers of their dooings doo at large witnesse and set foorth. The like order he tooke also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are hir maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all sutors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of kinred, affinitie, and priuat affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest sutes to hir maiestie, procured them to be remoued, and their roomes to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, attorneie, and sollicitor. And further also, whereas there were manie good lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid vp and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and vtterlie vknowne to the most part of the whole land, and euerie man ignorant in the lawes of his owne natie countrie, he caused a through view, and a review to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in vse and execution: which being doone, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

And likewise for the records, which were verie euill kept, not fensed or defended from raine and foule weather, but laie all in a chaos and a confused heap, without anie regard; he caused to be viewed and sorted, and then prepared meete roomes, presses, and places for the kéeping of them in safetie, and did appoint a speciall officer with a yearelie fee for the kéeping of them: and for all such matters as were to be heard and determined in the castell chamber, before the lords, as it is in the starchamber in England; he would be for the most part present at euerie court, and alwaies would haue the assistants and persons of hir maiesties learned counsellors. Neuerthelesse, he himselfe had a maruellous head to conceiue, a dépe iudgement to vnderstand, and a most eloquent toong to vtter whatsoeuer was requisit to be spoken, either in that place, or in anie other assemble; which he would deliuer in such an eloquent phrase, and so pleasantlie it would flow from him, with such pithie reason, sound arguments, and effectuall discourses, as that

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the lesse learned he was, the more strange it was that such great good things could come out of his mouth. And such was his amiable countenance, his comelie behauior, his commendable personage, that he would and did conquer their hearts, and gaine the loue of euerie man; and the people of all sorts would and did fall in loue with him for his vprightnesse, indifferencie, and iustice, in determining of euerie mans cause. And he knowing the nature and disposition of that people, who could not abide anie long sutes in law, he was so affable and courteous, that euerie sutor should haue accesse vnto him, and forthwith he would heare his cause, and with such expedition would cause the same to be determined, that he purchased to himselfe the vniuersall loue of all the Irishrie, who thought themselues the more happie, if their causes might be once brought to his hearing, & the more willing to leaue their Obrian law, & to embrace the course of the English lawes. Wherevpon he deuised, and consequentlie with great policie and wisdom executed the diuision and distribution of the wild, The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires. sauage, and Irish grounds into shire grounds and counties, appointing in euerie of them shiriffes, constables, and all such kind of officers as are vsed to be in all other counties: by which meanes hir maiesties writ had passage amongst them, and they brought to the order of the English lawes & gouvernement, which neuer tofore was heard or knowne among them.

When he had doone all such things as are before recited, for and concerning the due course of gouernment by order of law: then also he bethought himselfe vpon such other things as were necessarie in sundrie respects to be doone, as the castell and house of Dublin, which before his comming was ruinous, foule, filthie, and greatlie decayed. This he repaired, and reedified, and made a verie faire house for the lord deputie or the chiefe gouernor to reside & dwell in. The towne of Carigfergus, being open to the northerne rebelles, he began to inclose with a wall and to fortifie, which for shortnesse of time he could not finish. A gaole at Molengar he builded, a verie necessarie thing in those parties, for restraining and safe kéeping of malefactors. The towne of Athenrie in Connagh he caused to be reedified, & the faire bridge of Athlon ypon the déepe and great riuer of the Shenin he builded with masonrie and frée stone, and raised vp the walles & battlements verie faire. By building of which bridge a passage (neuer tofore had) was made open & fiée betwene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, apalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had doone. Sundrie like common workes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his forsaid doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to hir maiestie. And for easing whereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also promised and deuised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and hir highnesse be reléued of the great and intollerable charges which she dailie was at in that land, he did by good means inlarge and increase hir reuenues and yearelie receipts to about eleuen thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he haue doone, if he had staid there but a short time longer than he did. The quéenes great charges to be releued.

Thus much brieflie of his generall actions, and concerning his priuat dealings and conuersation. He was godlie disposed, & a zelous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent spéeches, such pithie sentences, such persuasorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor atteine vnto. He had some sight in good letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, seldome or neuer in anie distempered or extraordinaries choler, vpright in iustice, frée from corruption, and liberall to euerie deserveng person, a bounteous housekéeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable The good vertues and disposition of Sir Henrie Sidneie. Religious. Eloquent. Affable. Temperat. Liberal. A housekepe

See more of this
sir Henrie
Sidneie in the
English chron-
icles, An. Dom.
1586, noted by
Edm. Molineux.

The ingratitude
of Ireland.

The nature of
the viper.

This was a trou-
blesome parlie-
ment.

The cesse im-
pugned.

The corrupt and
vngratfull nature
of the Irishmen.

The fatall desti-
nie vpon all gou-
ernors in Ire-
land.

norable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a louer of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, whome he would honor and esteeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most louing maister to all such as serued him, whom he loued full dearlie. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not doo anie thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were priue to all or most part of his actions; sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawier, and yet not ignorant in anie thing pertaining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a deepe iudgement and experience in all matters of policies. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Meus fidelis Lucas*; and the other *Meus fidus Achates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinit respects, as partlie by the course of this historie it dooth appeare, he hath deserued most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for euer amongst them: yet most vnnaturallie and vngratefullie they haue requited and recompensed him. Not much vnlike the viper, who when he hath doone the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturalles saie) it is doone by the mouth, she immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroiet him; and likewise the yong, conceiued with the death of their sire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and readie now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most vnnaturallie doo know out hir wombe and bellie to hir confusion; and so they are conceiued with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This ungratfull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the dailie purchasing of their wealth, preservation, and safetie, could ne would be euer thankfull. As besides manie examples it appeared at the parlement holden in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, where when lawes were to be established for their benefit, and the abolishing of certeine wicked and lewd vsages, which were among the Irishie, they not onelie did impugne and resist that assemblie, as much as in them laie: but recompensed the good things (for their benefits established) with open war and rebellion against hir maiestie. Also, when a reasonable and a vsed cesse was to be set and leuied for the benefit of the inhabitants and dwellers in the English pale; and for the repress of their enimmies which thirsted after their confusion: they immediatly repine and doo resist the same: For this is their corrupt nature, that if he did at anie time pursue the enemie for their peace and quietnesse, and did aduenture neuer so great dangers for them, were his successe neuer so good, yet would they enuie at him. If he by the aduise of the counsell did determine anie thing for their behoofe, yet would they mislike it. If anie thing well meant had euill successe, they would like it; and vpon neuer so little occasion offered they would make their complaints, libels should dailie be exhibited, and accusations be deuised, with open mouths they would exclaime, and nothing would they leaue vndoone which might turne to his discredit and impeachment of his gouernement. But truth the daughter of time, which in the end was manifested; and when he had yéekled before hir highnesse and counsell a true and a perfect account of all his dooings, and had trulie manifested the course of his gouernement, then their glittering gold was found to be worse than copper, not abiding the hammar; he according to his desert receiued thanks, and they reproch and ignominie. Wherefore great good cause had he to be glad and ioifull, that he was to be deliuered from so vngratfull a people and vnthankfull a nation. But shall a man saie the truth? It is a fatall and an ineuitable destinie incident to that nation, that they cannot brooke anie English gouernor; for be he neuer so iust, vpright, & careful for their benefit, they care not for it: let him be neuer so beneficiall to their commonwealth,

commonwealth, they account not of it; let him be neuer so circumspect in his gouernement and aduised in his dooings, they will discredit and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then like a sort of nettles they will sting him; if he be seuer, they will curse him; and let him doo the best he can, he shall neuer avoid nor escape their malice and spite.

This noble and worthie man, who aboue all others had best triall thereof, thought himselfe most happie when he was deliuered from them, and gone out of their Egypt, and now returned to his owne natiue countrie of Chanaan, who thenseforth sometimes attended the court, and serued hir maiestie as a most faithfull, graue, and wise counsellor: sometimes he followed his charge and calling of president in Wales, which office he did most honorable vse and discharge. In the end, when Lachesis had spun out the thread of his life, and Atropos readie to execute hir office, he fell sicke at Worcester: and féeling a decaie of nature, and that he did dailie wax weaker and weaker, he yélded and humbled himselfe to die; and holding vp his hands, and lifting vp his eies, he continued in most hartie and incessant praiers vnto God, crauing with a most penitent hart, pardon for his sins, and commending his soule into the hands and mercie of God, thorough the blood of Iesus Christ. And when his hands gaue ouer, his toong ceased, and his sight failed, he yélded vp his spirit, and departed this life in a most godlie and christian maner the fift daie of Maie, one thousand five hundred eightie and six. His bodie was imbowelled, and his entrails were buried in the deans chapell of the cathedrall church in Worcester: his hart was carried to Ludlow, & there intoomed in the toome that his welbeloued daughter Ambrosia was buried, which he had builded in the collegiat church of the same towne; wherin he had erected a certeine monument for a perpetuall remembrance to that town & to Tikenhill, to which he was verie much affected, & made his most abode during the time of his prescience. And from thense his bodie by easie iournies was verie honorablie caried to his house of Peneshurst in Kent, & in his parish church there he was interred in all honorable maner, as to his estate did agréé vpon the one and twentieth of Iune, in the yeare one thousand five hundred eightie and six, he being then about the age of seauen and fiftie yeares. And thus this noble and worthie knight, who had spent the whole course of his life in the dutifull seruice of his prince, and to the great benefit of the commonwealth, is now deliuered vnto the euerlasting seruice of the eternall God, in whose celestially heuens he resteth in blisse and ioie with the foure and twentie elders, who there are now beholding the face of God, and praising his holie name for euer.

The death of
Henrie Sidneie

Edm. Malmer.

But to returne to the lord iustice, who being entered into the gouernement, and finding it in some quiet state, did by the aduise of the counsell follow that course as néere as he could, as which was left vnto him; and by that meanes kept the whole land verie quiet and in peace. For almost a yeare after his entrie into that office and gouernement, vntill that Romish cockatrice, which a long time had set abroad vpon hir eggs, had now hatched hir chickins; which being venemous as were their sire, raised, wrought, and bred great treasons, open warres, and hostilitie through out that land. For Iames Fitzmoris a Giraldine & cousine germañe to the earle of Desmond, who not manie yeares before had beene an archtraitor, and a principall capteine of the warres and rebellion in Mounster; and wherein he was then so followed at inches and pursued by sir Iohn Perot, then lord president of Mounster; that after manie and sundrie conflicts, he was in the end compelled and inforced to yeeld and submit himselfe, and to craue hir maiesties gracious pardon: insomuch that he came in simple into the towne of Kilmallocke, and there in the church before all the people

Sir Williams
Drurie the lord
iustice foloweth
the course of his
predecessor to
rule in peace.

Iames Fitzmoris
an archtraitor.

Iames Fitzmoris
submitteeth him-
selfe and swear-
eth obedience.

did humble and prostrate himselfe before the said lord president, and asked pardon, swearing and promising then all dutifulnesse, truth, & obedience for euer to hir highnesse, and to the crowne of England.

James Fitzmoris
hath his pardon
sent vnto him.

Euen this perjured caitle, who for his treasons and great outrages, villanies, and bloudsheds, had deserved a thousand deaths, and yet in hope of amendement hir maiestie gaue him his pardon, and sent it vnto him by hir seruant Francis Agard esquier: euen this man (I saie) most traitorouslie fled into France, and there comming into

James Fitzmoris
fleeth into
France and of-
fereth the
croune of Ire-
land to the
French king.

the kings presence, did offer to deliuer into his hands the whole realme and land of Ireland, if that his maiestie would giue him aid, and furnish him with men and monie, and such furniture as he should haue need of in such an action. The king at the first gaue him good countenance, great rewards, & liberall interteinement, and accepted his offer: but when he had well considered the matter, and had further looked into the same, he changed his mind. James Fitzmoris, who had staid there in the French court about two yeares, and saw nothing go forward, & the French king waxed cold; who in the end gaue him no other answer, but that he would commend him by his letters to his sister the queene of England, for obtaining of a pardon for him, and for hir good countenance towards him: he forsooke France, and made a iourne into Spaine vnto king Philip. The king who had received the gift of Ireland of the pope by meanes of the bishop of Cashell, being not willing to deale therein, without his assistance & aduise; James Fitzmoris made his iourneie from thense to the pope, vnto whom he declared that he had béene with king Philip, as dooth appeare by his letters of credit to his holinesse; and that he would deliuer and cause to be deliuered the kingdome of Ireland vp into their hands, and reduce the same againe to the holie church of Rome, if he might haue men, monie, and such furniture of munitions, & other necessities as should be requisit in that seruice. The pope was verie glad of this sute, and liked it verie well, and did accept this offer, as also gaue him good countenance and interteinement. And in the end vpon sundrie conferences betwéene the pope and king Philip, it was agréed betwéene them, that Fitzmoris should be furnished with men, monie, and all things necessarie for this seruice. James Fitz-

James Fitzmoris
seeketh to king
Philip, and to
the pope.

James Fitzmoris
his promise to
king Philip and
the pope.

The pope is glad
of James Fitz-
moris offer.

James Fitzmoris
falleth acquaint-
ed with doctor
Sanders and
doctor Allen.

moris during his being in Rome, he fell acquainted with doctor Sanders an English Iesuit, & doctor Allen an Irish Iesuit, and both traitors to hir maiestie and crowne; and these two men being glad of such a sute, & they in great fauor with the pope, folowed the sute verie earnestlie, and promised to follow it to the vttermost in their owne persons.

James Fitzmoris
is furnished with
ships and all ne-
cessaries.

Now when all things were concluded betwéene the pope and king Philip, doctor Sanders, doctor Allen, and James Fitzmoris made their last repaire to the pope, who forthwith made Sanders his legat, & gaue him the holie ghost, with authoritie to blesse and curse at his will and pleasure; and to him and the others he gaue then also his blessing: and therewith his letters of commendation to king Philip, who according to the conclusion made betwéene them both, he was furnished with all things méet and necessarie for them. Wherevpon when time serued they imbarcked themselues, and their companie in thrée ships well appointed for the purpose, and arriued at Smereweke, *aliàs* saint Marie wéeke, in the beginning of Iulie 1579, néere the Dingle a cush in Kerrie in Ireland: where he landed, and all his companie, being about the number of foure score Spaniards, besides a few Englishmen and Irishmen, and there builded a fort in the west side of the baie for their safetie: and drew their ships close vnder the said fort.

James Fitzmoris
landeth at Saint
Marie weeke in
Ireland with
foure score Spa-
niards.

The two doctors, when they had hallowed the place after their popish maner, promising all safeties, and that no enimie should dare to come vpon them, and trouble them: neuerthelesse they were beguiled. For at that instant, there was in

Kensale

Kensale a Deuonshire gentleman and a man of warre, named Thomas Courtneie, and he hearing of the landing of this Iames Fitzmoris, and of the popes traitorous legate, was contented, and by the persuation of Henrie Dauels, being then in those parts; and hauing a good wind, did come about and doubled the point, came into the baie of Saint Marie weeke or Smerweeke; and finding the three ships of Iames Fitzmoris at anchor, was so bold in the waie of good speed to take them. And after that he had staid there a while in that seruice, he tooke them all along with him: whereby Iames Fitzmoris and his companie lost a péece of the popes blessing, for they were altogether destituted of anie ship, to ease and reléeue themselues by the seas, what need soeuer should happen. As soone as they were thus landed, newes was sent and carried abrode foorthwith to Iames & Iohn brethren to the earle of Desmond, and so consequentie to the whole countrie. These two brethren, who had long looked for the arriuall of this their cousine, and archtraitor, assembled all their tenants, folowers, and friends; and out of hand made their present repaire vnto him: whose commings and companies he accepted verie thankefullie, sauing that he had not a thorough and a full liking of his cousine sir Iohn of Desmond. Which when sir Iohn perceiued, he deuised how he would salue that sore, as most wickedlie afterwards he did.

Iames Fitzmoris and his brethren were taken away by one Thomas Courtneie a gentleman of Deuon.

Sir Iames and sir Iohn of Desmond the earles brethren came to Iames Fitzmoris

The earle of Desmond at this time was in reedifieng of a castell, which he had in the confines of Brenne Agonessis countrie, who assoone as he heard of the arriuall of his cousine Iames Fitzmoris, he foorthwith did discharge and dismisse his whole companie of workemen and labourers, pretending in outward shew what he neuer meant, that he was to withstand and resist his cousine and all his companie, and foorthwith maketh his repaire into Kerrie, and there assembleth all his followers and force, as though he would doo great things and worke miracles. And foorthwith likewise he sent his letters to Mac Artie More earle of Clancar, & willeth him in all hast to assemble all the force he could make, and to make his spéedie repaire to him, for vanquishing (if they could) of the enimies now landed at S. Marie weeke. The earle of Desmond in the meane time had receiued a péece of the popes blessing, and his heat was abated. But the erle of Clancar returned his answer, that he would come vnto him with allspéed, and lie in campe with him where he would, as néere to the Dingle as he might: and accordingly he came to the place appointed. Which Desmond séeme to like well though it were against the splene, neuerthesse when he saw the forwardnes of Clancar, albeit he would not, nor yet well could in open termes fall out with him, yet he deuiseeth matters wherevpon he might haue some occasion to dislike with him, & to make him wearie of his companie. Which when Clancar perceiued, and saw the vnwillingnesse of Desmond to doo anie seruice against the rebels, but rather inclined towards them, he tooke the best opportunitie he could, and departed awaie from him, and dismissed his companie.

The erle hearing of the landing of Iames Fitzmoris giueth ouer his buildings.

The earle of Desmond pretending some seruice against the rebels sendeth to the earle of Clancar to iome with him.

The earle of Clancar attendeth the earle of Desmond.

Desmond liketh not Clancars readinesse.

Clancar departeth from Desmond.

The lord iustice, who was at Dublin, as soone as he was aduertised of Iames Fitzmoris landing, he maketh all the preparation he can, & marcheth with all the quénies force towards Mounster, dispatching also a messenger to hir maiestie of these toward broiles and rebellion. But before he could prepare all things, as to such a great action did appertine, he sent Henrie Dauels an English gentleman before him, that he being verie well acquainted with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, should practise with them to prepare themselues to be in a readinesse to assist his lordship, for the resisting against those enimies. Who being accompanied with one Arthur Carter prouost marshall of Mounster, made his spéedie repaire to the earle of Desmond & his brethren being in Kerrie, and aduertised vnto them the lord iustices pleasure, as also as much as in him laie did persuaue them to the like, who as then had all his force and souldiers about him. From thence he departed to

The lord iustice prepareth to march into Mounster.

Henrie Dauels sent to the earle of Desmond.

Henrie Dauels persuaueth Desmond to serue against the rebels.

the

Desmond refuseth to giue the onset vpon Iames Fitzmoris.

the fort, whereof when he had taken the view, & saw the force as yet not so great but might be easilie as yet ouerthrowne; he returned backe to the earle, and gaue him aduise to draw all his force and companie towards the fort, persuading him to assaile it while it was but weake, of small force, and easie to be taken, and that in so dooing it should be greatlie to his honour. But the earle being not of so good a mind, or bent to doo so good a péece of seruice, answered; that he would not aduenture to take so great an enterprise in hand with so small a companie as he then had. Then Dauels went to sir Iames and to sir Iohn of Desmonds the earles brethren, and persuaded them to aduise their brother the earle, either to doo that seruice which would be to his great honour and commendation, or else that they would take it in hand; which if they would also refuse it, that then the earle would spare to him a companie of his Gallowglasses, and about thrée score of his shot, and he would ioine with capteine Courtneie who laie then within the baie with his mariners, & he would giue the assault by land, and the other should doo the like by sea.

The earle refuseth to doo anie seruice.

Henrie Dauels departeth from Desmond.

Sir Iohn of Desmond followeth Dauels and corrupteth the porter.

Henrie Dauels most cruellie murdered.

The faithfulnessse of a boie to his maister.

But the earle, being mouued hereof, would not yéeld to this motion, but answered that his shot was more méet to shoot at foule than fit to aduenture such a peece of seruice, and his Gallowglasses were good men to incounter with Gallowglasses, and not to answer old soldiers. Wherevpon when he saw the bent and disposition of the earle, that he minded not to annoie, but rather to ioine, aid, and helpe the traitors: he together with the prouost marshall tooke their leaue of the earle, and minded to returne backe vnto the lord iustice, to giue his lordship to vnderstand how all things stood, & what successe he had had in his message. And by the waie they laie that night at Traleigh, which is about fiue miles from castell Maine, and laie that night in one Rices house, who kept a vittelling house and a wine tauerne, the house being both strong and defensible, but so little that their companies and seruants were dispersed, and laie abroad in other places where they might have lodging. But sir Iohn of Desmond, whose hart was imbrued with a bloudie intent, followed him, but somewhat late, and came to the towne of Traleigh, and immediatlie set spies vpon Dauels, as also had corrupted the man of the house which kept the gate, that he should leaue the doores open. Henrie Dauels mistrusting no hurt, and least doubting of that tragedie which was so néere at hand, especiallie to be done by him, whom of all the men borne in that land he least doubted, & best trusted, gat him to his bed; & Arthur Carter the prouost marshall with him. Now about the dead of the night, when they were in their déepe sléepes, sir Iohn according to his wicked deuise came to the house, the castell doore being left open for the purpose, with all his companie, euerie one being armed and their swords drawne, and went forthwith vp into the chamber where Dauels & his companie were in their beds fast asléepe, but with the noise they were suddenlie awaked. When Dauels saw sir Iohn of Desmond armed and his sword drawn, he was somewhat astonied at that sight, and rising vp in his bed said vnto him (as he was ever woont to saie verie familiarlie) "What sonne! what is the matter?" But he answered him; "No more sonne, nor no more father, but make thy selfe readie, for die thou shalt." And foorthwith he & his companie strake at him & his companion, both naked in their shirts, and most cruellie murdered them both. Then they searched the whole house & spared none, but put all to the sword, sauing a boie named Smolkin, who laie in the chamber, and had béene a continuall messenger betweene Dauels and this Iohn Desmond. This boie séeing his maister to be thus murdered ran vpon Iohn of Desmond, and held him by the armes as well as he could, crieng; "What wilt thou kill my maister?" But he answered; "Go thy waies Smolkin, thou shalt haue no harme." But the boie seeing blowes still to be giuen, cast himselfe downe vpon his maister, crieng: "If thou wilt kill him then kill me also." And so saued him as well, and so long

long as he could. But it auailed not, for slaine and most cruellie he was there murdered.

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, borne in Deuon, and descended of a verie Henrie Dauels what he was, and of his conditions. ancient and a worshipfull house, and being but a yonger brother, and hauing but a verie small portion left vnto him, when he came to some yeares and knowledge, he gaue himselfe to serue in the warres. And king Henrie the eight, hauing then warres against the French king, he entred into France to séeke his aduenture: and there he had verie good interteinment, and proued to be a verie good soukliour. After whose warres he serued in Scotland, and was in garrison at Barwike: and from thense he was remooued into Ireland, where he serued vnder sir Nicholas Herne knight conestable of Leighlin, and seneshall of Wexford; and so well he behaued himselfe there, that he was commended for his good seruice towards the prince, well beloued of his countriemen, and in maruelous fauour of the Irish people; for no seruice was too hard for him in the kings causes; and so well he was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better knew and had the skill to serue than he could there. As for The loue of Dauels to his countrimen. his countrimen, he was so déere and louing towards them, as he was more like a father than a fréend, and more like a fréend than an vnacquainted countriman: for he was an host and a harbinger to euerie one of them, of what estate and condition so euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentleman or a begger, he was fréendlie to euerie one; and no man did or could lacke that interteinment, that he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and affoord: which a number of Englishmen tried and found to their great comfort, and to his euerlasting fame.

And as for the Irishmen, the longer he liued the better beloued among them: for as he would not iniurie them, no more would he suffer them to be oppressed or iniured: a great housekéeper amongst them, which they maruelouslie estéemed. When he was in office among them, he was vpright and iudged righteouslie; if out of office, louing & fréendlie to euerie man, and by that means so well (as no man better) beloued and trusted. For what he had once said and promised, that would he The credit of Dauels word. surelie keepe and performe, and thereof it came into a bie-word in the countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of them had spoken the word, which was assuredlie looked to be performed, they would saie; Dauels hath said it: as who saith, it shall be performed. For the nature of the Irishman is, that albeit he kéepeth faith for the most part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was so carefull of his word, that if he once promised, he would not breake it for anie mans pleasure; and by that means he was so well beloued, that his verie horseboies had frée passage euen through the enimies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And that which is more, as the writer hereof speaketh vpon knowledge, that if anie Englishman had anie occasion to trauell in that countrie throughout Leinster or Mounster, if he had but a horseboie of his, he should not onelie passe fréelie thorough the countries without impeachment, but should haue also verie good and fréendlie interteinment. Among the noblemen he was greatlie estéemed, and was in great fauour with the earles of Ormond and Desmond: who although they were for the most part at iarres and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was in such fauour, as he could and did passe to and fro in the greatest matters of importance betwéene them: wherein he bare so indifferent a hand, as both parties imbraced him for his vprightnesse and indifferencie. The erle of Ormond himselfe loued him so well, as no Englishman better; and all his brethren found such a fréend of him, and such interteinment with him and especiallie sir Edmund Butler, that at all needs and in all distresses they were sure to haue him to their fréend; and manie times it stood them in good stéed.

Henrie Dauels
alwaies a fast
freend to sir
Iohn of Des-
mond.

And as for the earle of Desmond, though he were a verie vncerteine and a mutable man, yet Henrie Dauels could preuaile with him; and were his furie neuer so hot, and he neuer so hastie, yet could he appease and quiet him. And as for sir Iohn of Desmond the earles brother, such was his profession and outward affection towards him, of a most firme freendship; that it was thought to be impossible, that the loue and goodwill betweene them could by anie meanes be dissolued. For in what distresse so euer sir Iohn of Desmond was (as he was in manie) Henrie Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at sundrie times redéemed him out of prison, yea out of the castell of Dublin, when he was committed for capitall crimes, and became suertie for him in great sums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie for him; Dauels purse was at his commandement, his house at his deuotion, and what he had at his disposition. And so farre this good will grew betweene them, that Iohn of Desmond, as one knowledging himselfe most bounden to him, did call him father; euen as the other called him sonne. And now séc, when treason and treacherie was entred into him, how contrarie to all faith, fréendship, and humanitie, the sonne most vnnaturallie bereft the father of his life, and most cruellie murthered him. Wo worth to so wicked a villaine, that so bereft the prince of so faithfull a subiect, the gouernors of so trustie a seruitor, the commonwealth of so good a member, of a man most dutifull to his superiors, vpright in iustice, trustie in seruice, expert in the warres, faithfull vnto his freend, louing to his countrie, fauoured of all men, hurtfull to no man, of great hospitalitie to all good men, good to all men, a father vnto the distressed, and a succorer of the oppressed; finallie such a rare man of his degree and calling, as few like haue béene found in that land; and yet against all pittie and mercie, most cruellie murthered by a traitor to God and his prince, euen to the gréepe of the traitors of his owne brood. But here it falleth out that is of old said; Saue a murtherer or a theefe from the gallowes, and he shall be the first that shall cut thy throte.

The brags of
Iohn Desmond
for killing of
Dauels.

His crueltie mis-
liked.

The popes doc-
tors doe allow
and commend
the murther.

When this bloudie murtherer had executed this crueltie vpon his good freend, he forthwith made his repaire to Iames Fitzmoris, and to his doctors and companie in great brauerie, recompting vnto them what a noble act and a valiant seruice he had doone in murthering of an honest, faithfull, & friendlie gentleman, saieng; I haue now killed an English churle (for so maliciouslie the Irishmen terme all Englishmen) & said to his cousin Iames; Now thou maist be assured of me and trust me, for now that I haue begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now stand to the matter with thee to my vttermost. Iames Fitzmoris when he had heard him at full, although both he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the Spaniards did reioise and were glad of his death, yet Iames did blame and abhorre the maner of his death, blaming and reproouing him verie much, that he should murther him in his bed, being naked and scarce awaked out of his sléepe, which he said was too cruell, bicause he might otherwise haue had aduantage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwise to his commendation. Howbeit, doctor Sanders terming his bloudie murther to be a sweet sacrifice before God, did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie remission of all his sinnes. The earle himselfe likewise, when he heard hereof, he was maruelouslie gréeued and offended with his brother, and gaue him such sharpe spéeches and reproofes, as it was thought they would not so soone haue beene fréends againe: but wicked dooings amongst the wicked establish and confirme them in their wickednesse. At this present time, there was with the earle (as verie often he had béene) one Appesleie an English capteine, who could doo verie much with him, and vpon the hearing of the death of his good friend Henrie Dauels, he began to doubt and mistrust of himselfe and of his owne assurance. Wherefore he goeth to the earle,

and

and dissembling his griefe, persuadeth him to draw his companie together, and to remooue from thence to his house of Asketten, which is about fourtéene miles from Limerike, and there to abide the comming of the lord iustice, and to ioine with him in this seruice against the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing lesse than so to serue, dissembled the matter, and followed this counsell, and remooued from thence to Asketten, where he laie close and did nothing, but still séemed in speeches and outward shewes to mislike with Iames Fitzmoris and all his companie; and yet dailie his best followers and soldiers flocked and repaired to Iames Fitzmoris, manie of them for zeale to the popish religion, wherein they were as deuout as the popes legates and the Spaniards: but manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for feare and auoiding of his displeasure. The Spaniards, who had continued there in the fort and elsewhere, and not finding the repaire of the souldiers, nor yet anie other thing answerable to that seruice as it was promised them, began to mislike it; and distrusting of anie good successe, did repent and were sorie, wishing themselves at home againe: but such was their case, that they could not shift for themselves to escape neither by sea nor by land; and therefore necessitie so compelling, they resolved themselves to abide the brunt.

Iames Fitzmoris, perceiuing their discontented minds, had conference with them, & persuaded them to be of a good comfort, for they should verie shortlie haue a greater supplie and companie which he dailie looked for, and all things should be had according to their owne minds: aduertising them that in the meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of thrée or foure daies iournie from thence, called the holie rood or crosse in Tipporarie, and there to performe a vow which he had before made when he was in Spaine, praieng their patience. But in verie truth his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into Vlster, and in both his waies, his neerest waie was through Tipporarie, and there to focke and draw vnto him all and so manie of the rebels as he could wage to ioine with him, whereof he made no doubt, but assured himselfe to find as manie readie to go as he willing to haue. And so taking his iournie with thrée or foure horssemen, and a dozen Kernes, he passed through the countie of Limerike, & came into the countrie of sir William Burke his verie néere cousine and kinsman, and who before in the last rebellion did ioine with him, to the great danger of his life and losse of all his goods.

And when he came so farre in his iournie, being now about thrée score miles from S. Marie wéeke, his cariage horsse (which they terme garons) waxed faint, and could not trauell anie further: wherefore he commanded some of his men to go before, & looke what garrons they first found in the fields, they should take them and bring them vnto him. And as it fell out they espied a plow of garrons plowing in the field, which they foorthwith tooke perforce from the poore husbandmen two of them, and caried them awaie. Wherevpon according to the custome of the countrie, the hobub or the hue and crie was raised. Some of the people followed the tract, & some went to their lords house, which was sir William Burke being néere at hand to aduertise the matter, who hauing three or foure of his somes and verie tall gentlemen at home with him, they tooke their horsse and a few Kernes and two shot with them, and followed the tract, and ouertooke them at a fastenes fast by the woods side, where they found Iames Fitzmoris, whome before they knew not to be come into those parties, to make head to answer them. But when he saw that it was his cousine Theobald Burke and his brother and his companie, who had beene his companions in the late rebellion when sir Iohn Perot was lord president of Mounster, he spake ouer vnto them, and said; "Cousine Theobald (who was the eldest son to his father) two carriage horsse shall be no breach betweene vs two; and I hope that you which doo know the cause that I haue now in hand, you will take my part there

The earle of Desmond remooueth to Asketten.

The earles chiefe men turne to the enimie.

The Spaniards like not their coming.

Iames Fitzmoris persuadeth the Spaniards to patience.

Iames Fitzmoris pretendeth a pilgrimage.

Iames Fitzmoris stealeth garrons.

The Burkes follow the preie.

This was a draught made by the lord president.

Iames Fitzmoris maketh head to resist.

Iames Fitzmoris persuadeth the

Burke to rebellion.

in, and doo as I and others will doo:" and so continuing some speeches, did what he could to draw him and all his companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he answered that he and his father had alreadie dealt too much that waie with him, and that he will neuer doo the like againe: for his father, he, and all his brethren, had sworne to be true, obedient, and faithfull to the quéenes maiestie, and which oth they would neuer breake: cursing the daie and time that euer they ioined with him in so bad a cause against hir maiestie, and therefore required to haue his garrons againe, or else he would come by them aswell as he could.

James Fitzmoris slaine.

Some think that this peece of seruice was a draught made by sir William Drurie lord iustice.

The conditions of James Fitzmoris.

James Fitzmoris standing vpon his reputation, thought it too much dishonorable vnto him to depart with that which he had in hand; and therefore vtterlie denied the deliuerie, and therevpon each partie set spurre to the horsse and incountered the one the other. The skirmish was verie hot and cruell, and Theobald Burke & one of his yoonger brethren were slaine, & some of their men. James Fitzmoris likewise and his companie had the like successe, for he himselfe was first hurt and wounded, and then with a shot stricken thorough the head, and so was slaine, with sundrie of his companions: wherein he found that the popes blessings and warrant, his *Agnus Dei*, and his graines had not those vertues to saue him, as an Irish staffe or a bullet had to kill him. Thus was hir highnesse most happie, and that whole land most happiest, that they were deliuered from so wicked and bloudie a traitour, and that the great & venomous hydra was thus shortened of one of his heds. For otherwise it was to be doubted that if he had liued, he would haue bin the cause of much bloudshed, and all the rebels in that land would haue ioined with him. For he was of verie good credit & estimation through the whole land, he was of a verie good gouvernement, and of a great reach; but a déepe dissembler, passing subtile, and able to compasse anie matter which he tooke in hand, familiar to all men, and verie courteous, valiant, and verie expert in martiall affaires, but so addicted to poperie and that baggage religion, that he became a most horrible traitour to hir maiestie, and a mortall enemie to euerie good man: and so far he was imbrued herein, that a man might saie that he was borne to the same end, euen to be a traitor and a rebell to God, to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

James Fitzmoris his quarters set vpon the gates of Kilmallocke.

Sir William Burke being made a baron sowned for ioy & shortly after died.

The Spaniards amazed with the deth of Fitzmoris.

Sir Iohn of Desmond suppliech James Fitzmoris roome.

Sir William Drurie lord iustice maketh a marche into Mounster.

After that he was thus dead, and the same made knowne to the lord iustice, he gaue order that he should be hanged in the open market of Kilmallocke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to be set vpon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a perpetuall memoriall to his reproch for his tresons and periuries, contrarie to his solemne oth taken in that errour. Hir maiestie, when she was aduertised of this peece of good seruice of sir William Burke and the losse of his eldest sonne, she wrote hir letters of the good acceptation of his seruice, comforted him for the losse of his son, and in recompense did create him baron of the castell of Connell by hir letters patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentieth yeare of hir reigne, & gaue him the yearelie pension of a hundred marks, to be paid at hir maiesties exchequer yearelie during his life, wherof he tooke so sudden ioy that he sowned, and séemed to be dead.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmoris was brought to the fort at S. Marie weeke, great sorow was amongst them all, they being all amazed and wist not what to doo, especiallie the Spaniards who depart could not, and to submit themselues they would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue ouer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which purpose they would haue followed, if that sir Iohn of Desmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he hauing imbrued himselfe so vnnaturallie in bloud, and doubting the same would neuer be pardoned, did follow the matter. The lord iustice (as is aforesaid) immediatlie vpon the newes of the arriuall of these Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Dauels, made his preparation of all the forces

forces which hir maiestie had in that land, which was but foure hundred footmen and two hundred horssemen, a verie small companie for so great seruice towards: yet considering that the victorie consisteth not in the arme of man, nor in horsse or mule, but onelie in the good gift of God; he marcheth foorth in his iournie, hauing in his companie of Englishmen sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, sir Nicholas Malbie coronell of Connagh, Iaques Wingfield master of the ordinance, and Edward Waterhouse one of hir maiesties seruants, Edward Fitton, Thomas Masterson, and others. And of the Irish lords he was accompanied with the earle of Kildare, sir Lucas Dillon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the baron of vpper Osserie, and the baron of Dunboine, who had of themselues two hundred horssemen, besides footmen and Kernes: and so they marched forward by iourneis vntill they came to Kilmallocke, where not farre from the towne they all incamped: & then he sent from thense a messenger to the earle of Desmond, and so likewise to all the principall gentlemen of the best accompt in those parties, to come vnto him.

The lord iustice
incampeth nere
to Kilmallocke.

The earle in outward appéerance seemed verie willing to come, but vntill he had receiued some promise of fauour from the lord iustice, he still lingered and trifled the time and came not. But in the end his lordship being verie well accompanied with horssemen and footmen, he went to the campe, and presented himselfe before the lord iustice, and made a shew of all dutifulnesse, obedience, & fidelitie, whereas indéed no such thing was ment. For though his bodie were there, his mind was elsewhere: for whiles he was in the campe, sundrie trecheries were practised by him; yet they were not so secretlie doone but they came to light, & were discouered to the lord iustice. Wherevpon he was committed to the custodie of the knight marshall. Whiles he was in his ward, and fearing least some greater matters would be reuealed against him, he praied accesse to the lord iustice; and then he humbled himselfe verie much, and promised and sware vpon his honour & allegiance, that he would faithfullie and to the vttermost of his power serue hir highnesse against the rebels. Whose humblenesse and promise the lord iustice by the aduise of the counsell did accept, and so enlarged him: which was in the end the vtter confusion of the earle himselfe and all his familie, and in the meane time great troubles, causes of much bloudshed, and vndooing of all Mounster.

The earle of
Desmond com-
eth to the lord
iustice to the
campe.

The earle of
Desmond is com-
mitted to ward.

The earle of
Desmond dooth
humble himselfe
and sweareth to
serue trulie.

While the lord iustice laie thus in campe about Kilmallocke, newes was brought vnto him, that sir Iohn of Desmond was incamped with a great companie of the rebels vpon the borders of Slewlongher. Wherevpon his lordship remooued and marched thitherwards, the earle then promising that he would in person incounter and fight hand to hand with his brother. Now when they were come to the place of seruice, the earle being best acquainted with the countrie, gaue aduise to the lord iustice, that he should diuide the armie into two parts, and the lord iustice should take one waie, and he the earle would take another waie: which aduise was followed. But because that place of the present seruice is adioining to a great wood, and wherein were manie fastnesse, the lord iustice did diuide the rest of his companie into two other parts, and so euerie of these three companies tooke waie into the wood & serched it throughout, but there they found no bodie. For sir Iohn had some secret knowledge of the lord iustices comming, and so was gone before.

Iohn of Des-
mond incampeth
at Slewlongher.

The daie being spent to small purpose, & the night drawne towards, he incamped that night in the same places where the rebels had lien before, & there he remained somewhat longer than he thought: because he would spend and wast the forrage of that countrie, which was one of the chieftest places of reliefe that the enimies had. And from thense he went backe againe towards Kilmallocke, where he incamped himselfe at a place called Gilbons towne, which lieth in the plaines betwéene Lime-rike and Kilmallocke towards Emeleie and Harlo; & there he continued about nine

wéekes

wékes in continuall toiling and traueilling to and fro, in all such seruices as was dailie offered to be doone vpon the enimie, from which he had no rest neither day nor night. Whervpon for the better seruice he diuided his bands, and tooke out of the Irish companies one hundred, and deliuered them to the guiding of capteine Iohn Herbert, a man of verie good seruice, and one other hundred to capteine Prise.

Sir Iohn of Desmond lieth in an ambush for the English capteins and discomteth them.

The Deuonshire souldiers arriue at Waterford.

Sir Iohn Perot sent to serue on sea.

Knights dubbed in the field.

Sir William Bourchier falleth sick and goeth to Waterford.

Sir Nicholas Malbie made gouernor of Mounster.

These two capteins had made spiall vpon certeine rebels, which shrowded themselves in the great wood called the blacke wood, vpon whom they made a sallie, and did verie good seruice vpon them. But as they were to returne to the campe, which laie beside Getenbre castell, the said Iohn of Desmond, who laie in ambush for them, met and incountered them, where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two capteins with the most part of their companie slaine: & Iohn of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men was a great weakening to the lord iustice his armie; his enimies being strong and manie; and his companie weake and few, sauing at that instant the souldiers sent out of Deuon and Cornewall arriued at Waterford to the number of six hundred men, vnder the leading of capteine George Bouchier, capteine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose comming at so present a distresse was both ioifull and also gladsome.

And néere about this time, it was aduertised vnto the lord iustice, that Iohn of Desmond was at Connell, which was about sixteene miles from the campe: and his lordship being well furnished & prepared, and he minding to doo some peece of seruice vpon him, made verie secretlie a iourneie thither: but Desmond wanting not his good espials, had an inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so shifted himselfe awaie, wherevpon the lord iustice returned to his campe. The queens maiestie and counsell, being alwaies mindfull of hir Ireland, and by reason of the newes that the enimies were dailie stronger and stronger, she sent ouer sir Iohn Perot late president of Mounster, with six ships well furnished and appointed, whereof he was admerall; and William Gorge master porter of the tower and a pensioner, viceadmerall: and all these arriued vnto the citie of Corke. Whereof the lord iustice being aduertised, was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred vnto sir William Stanleie, who before was capteine of certeine horssemen, and one other hundred be assigned vnto capteine Hind. And séeing now some good seruice towards, and to incourage certeine gentlemen to be the more willing to follow the same, called before him George Bouchier, William Stanleie, Peter Carew, and Edward Moore, and vsing vnto them verie good spéeches, to incourage and persuaade them to doo hir maiestie good seruice in these hir affaires, and in hope they would performe the same, he dubbed them knights: who accordinglie did acquit themselves, and some of them with the losse of their liues ended their daies in this seruice.

And he further also for his owne part, the more hée bethought himselfe of the great seruice and charge laid vpon him, the more carefull he was to doo what the same required: where, in his owne person he so toiled and trauelled, and so ouercame himselfe with studieng, watching, labouring and traueilling, that he ouerthrew his owne health, and was no longer able to indure the same: but being ouercome by sicknesse, and driuen to yéeld therevnto, was determined to haue dissolved his campe, and so to haue returned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time. But the capteins séeing the necessitie of the present seruice, persuaaded him not to dissolve the armie, but to take some order herein for hir highnesse seruice, and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health. Vpon whose aduises he prepared himselfe to trauell towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the seruice did commit the gouernement to sir Nicholas Malbie, who was then gouernour by the name of coronell of Connagh;

Connagh; and then by easie iourneies hée came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe euerie daie more weaker than other, and in the end did distrust his owne reconerie.

And yet mindfull of hir maiesties seruice, he to incourage other therein, sent & called before him William Pelham esquier, William Gorge esquier viceadmerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and heire to sir Iohn Perot, and Patrike Welsh maior of the citie of Waterford, and gaue vnto them the order of knighthood, vsing the like persuasions as heretofore he had doone vnto others in the like case. And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet that was no sufficient physicke to recouer his helth of bodie, but that still decaied. And douting verie much of his recouerie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chancellor, and to the ladie Thame his wife, for their speedie comming vnto him, who accordinglie satisfied his request. But he inioied their companie a verie short time: for he died within two daies after their comming, being the last of September 1579, and after his death his bodie was caried vnto Dublin, where it was buried.

Knight dubbed
at Waterford.

Sir William
Drurie died
the death.

But here by the waie (which should before haue béene said) as he came towards Waterford through Tipporarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him, and brought with hir hir onelie sonne and heire to the earle; and being a sutor in the behalfe of hir husband, presented him to the lord iustice to be a pledge for the truth and fidelitie of the earle hir husband. For after the time that he was set at libertie in the campe néere Kilmallocke, he neuer repaired any more to the lord iustice, but stood vpon his owne kéeping; notwithstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie and obedience, which he neuer meant. For in verie truth he was (notwithstanding his dissembling) a verie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie shortlie appeare, to his owne deserued confusion.

The countesse of
Desmond giueth
hir son to be a
pledge for his fa-
ther.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Malbie, who immediatlie vpon the departure of sir William Drurie vnto Waterford, according to the office & charge laid vpon him, he set in hand forthwith to follow and performe the same. For he was able to do it being of great experience in martiall affaires, hauing béene seruitor that waie vnder sundrie kings, & in strange nations; as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great knowledge in matters of policie, hauing béene a student in good letters, and a great traueeller in sundrie nations, & therein did obserue the maner of the seuerall governments in euerie such place as where he trauelled. He had vnder him in the whole an hundred and fiftie horssemen, and nine hundred footmen, to command; and diuiding them according to the seruice then in hand, he sent sir George Bouchier, capteine Dowdall, and capteine Sentleger, vnto Kilmallocke with three hundred footmen, and with fiftie horsmen, there to lie in garrison, and a speciall place méet for the same, & which the enimie most speciallie coueted to possesse. But the more his care was that waie, the like was their diligence, vigilancie, & care of the other waie to kéepe the same. Then with the residue of the companie he marched himselfe to the citie of Limerike, where he staid and remained for a time to refresh his souldiors.

The commendation of
sir
Nicholas Malbie.

During his abode and being there, it was thought good by him and his capteins, to send vnto the earle of Desmond for his repaire vnto him, and to haue conference with him, to vnderstand his bent and aduise for hir maiesties seruice against the enimies. The earle hauing receiued the gouernours letters, gaue verie good words, & promised much, but performed nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe sent for from time to time, but he came not, but laie still at his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike. For albeit as yet he was not in anie actuall rebellion, yet it was not vnknowne but that he was secretlie combined with his two brethren, which as open traitors were in open rebellion and in armes against hir maiestie. Which the earle, suspecting the same might be laid vnto his charge, would

The gouernour
sendeth for the
earle of Des-
mond.

The earle giueth
onely words and
dissembleth.

not

not adventure himselfe to come in person to the gouernor; but still fed him with faire words and fruitious answers. Wherefore the gouernor thought good to spend no more time in vaine to looke for him, but left Limerike, and went into the fields, where he incamped himselfe, and so set forwards to doo some seruice vpon the enemie, hauing then in his companie six hundred footmen vnder the ensigns of sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, capteine Fisher, capteine Furse, capteine Piers, & capteine Hind; and he himselfe and capteine Apeslie reserued one hundred horssemen betweene them. Now being aduertised that a great companie of the rebels were incamped in Connilo vnder their capteine Iohn of Desmond, he marched towards them. And being come néere to an abbeie or monasterie called Monaster Neuagh, seuen miles from Limerike, there appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of horssemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand or there abouts, marching in battell arae, and had cast out their wings of shot, and placed euerie thing verie well and orderlie.

The gouernor
remoueth from
Limerike to
Connilo.

When the gouernor perceiued and beheld this, being verie glad that some péece of seruice was towards, he likewise conferreth with his capteins, and by their aduises setteth his companie in like good order, and brought them into a quadrant proportion, setting out his flankers in seuerall places according to the seruices, & appointed verie good leaders for the same: but his cariages he placed in the rereward, with shot sufficient for their safeguard. Now when all things were thus ordered, he marched forwards to the enemies. Iohn of Desmond, when he saw that he must fight or flie, and that brags would not beare out the matter, by the counsell of doctor Allen, who had the holie ghost at commandement, to giue them the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displaid; and then marching forwards in verie good order, hee tooke a plaine ditch in the open field: and minding to abide the fight, disposeth his horssemen, footmen, Galowglasses, and his shot for his best strength and aduantage.

The gouernor
marcheth to in-
counter with
Iohn of Des-
mond.

The popes ban-
ner displaid.

The battell be-
tweene the go-
uernor and sir
Iohn of Des-
mond.

The Irish lost
the field.

Doctor Allen is
slaine.

Doctor Allen
encouraged the
campe to fight.

The gouernor setteth onwards, & giueth the onset vpon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the first & second volées, & answered the fight verie well, euen to the couching of the pikes, that the matter stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fiercelie & desperatlie set vpon them afresh with the third volée, that they were discomfited and had the ouerthrow giuen them, and fled. Iohn of Desmond, as a woorthie Xerxes, who (as the historiographers write of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat vpon his horse all this while and gaue the looking: who soeuer turned first, he was the first that was gone: for he put spur to the horse & fled awaie as fast as he could, shewing a faire paire of léeles, which was better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one, and three score others of good account. And in the chase, there were slaine and hurt, which died shortlie after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen was an Irish man borne, and the chiefest cause of this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom he knew to be verie skilfull, and also dreaming the victorie by his inchantments to be at his commandement, encouraged Iohn of Desmond forwards: and in the campe in the waie of good spéed would néeds saie masse, and as the prophets of Baal in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God Mazim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come; for his God was asléepe and could not heare. Notwithstanding, he stood so much vpon the credit of his offrings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a victorie, and that he himselfe would be the first that should that daie giue the first blow; but whether he so did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the iust reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and disloiallie forsooke the dutie and allegiance, which by the word of God he did owe vnto hir highnesse, and deuoted himselfe a professed Iesuit to the Romish antichrist, and an open

open traitor vnto his lawfull prince. The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of Lexnew stood in the view & sight of it, vpon a little hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thense: but the whole companies were there, and had part of the breakefast.

The earle of Desmond was in view of the fight.

This baron of Lexnews eldest sonne, named Patrike, was seruant to hir maiestie and sworne, and serued in the court; but had leaue of hir maiestie to come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no sooner come, and entred into his fathers house and home, but he forsooke his faith and oth to hir highnesse, and became a wicked rebell, and most traitorouslie bare armes against hir, and so continued a ranke traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth the nature of himselfe, and of the

The baron of Lexnews son, seruant to the queene and sworne, beareth armes against hir.

brood of that cursed generation, among whome there is neither faith, nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well resembled to an ape, which (as the common prouerbe is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple and veluet: euen so this wicked

No faith nor regard of an oth among the Irishie.

impe. For notwithstanding he was trained vp in the court of England, sworne seruant vnto hir maiestie, in good fauour and countenance in the court, and apparelled according to his degré, and dailie nurtured and brought vp in all ciuilitie: he was no sooner come home, but awaie with his English attires, and on with his brogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knaue of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as dailie experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Iupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well estéemed and honored: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the historie.

Iupiters cat.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernor incamped himselfe fast by the riuer side of the monasterie aforesaid, and there laie that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: euen then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation vnto the gouernor, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and ioifull of his good successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to hir maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of hir great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernor answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference together, and ioine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraw himselfe and his companie from thense, vlesse he could giue him a good reason, he would not yéeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantise.

The earle of Desmonds dissembling, & his counsell.

And therefore he remained thensefoorth in the same place thrée or foure daies, expecting still the earles comming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that hensefoorth he became a rebell in open action, and in armes against the gouernor, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to vse delaies and faire spéeches to gaine time to serue his turne, remoued from thense to a towne of the earles named Rekell, and there incamped himselfe. They were no sooner settled, but the scoutmaister, hauing bene abroad, declareth to the gouernor that he had discovered a great companie of horssemen and footmen which were within a mile of the campe, & therewith was the alarum made, & sundrie horssemen & shot according to the direction of the gouernor issued out, & met with the enimies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and tooke some prisoners.

The earle of Desmond sheweth himselfe to be an open rebell.

The gouernor remoueth to Rekell.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had beene euer since the last ouerthrow of his brother Iohn of Desmond; and likewise declareth the whole bent of the earle and his brother. This péece of seruice being doone, and the night drawing néere, the watch was charged,

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

The earle of Desmond secret-
lie in the night
stealeth to the
gouernors campe
to intrap it.

A garison placed
at Kekell.

Asketten the
earle of Des-
monds chiefest
house.

A letter sent to
the earle of Des-
mond to perswade
him to submis-
sion.

The house of
Desmond.

The earle of
Desmond will
not be perswaded.

The earle of
Desmond fortifi-
eth his castles.

and euerie man tooke his rest. But the earle and his brother minding to doo some mischief, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking aduantage of the time, when men were wearie and in their sleēpes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too short and missed of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernor considering the intent of the enimies was to doo what they could to remoue him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enimies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enimies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water, they had a continuall recourse to & fro that waie: he before his departure from thense did plant & place a ward in the castell adioining to the bridge, which did from that time annoie the enimies verie much: and then from hense he marched towards the earles house of Asketten, and by the waie he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the riuer, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother Iohn were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the riuer, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernor hoping of some good seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbeie house of Asketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the capteins what were best to be doone, it was agréed and thought good, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to perswade him to submission. The gouernor, who was a verie good secretarie, and could pen a letter verie excellentlie well, did draw a letter, vsing manie good words, termes, and reasons to perswade him to conformitie and obedience to hir maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the vtter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Roestus the great prince of South-wales by his mother Nesta, daughter vnto the said Roesius, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And herewith by the waie of a parenthesis, it dooth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Giraldines came out of Italie; but perhaps out of Normandie: and the first of them placed in England had some interteinement and liuing at Windsor, and thereof was called Giraldus de Windesora: and he gaue not the armes of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancestors were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and perswading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie; that he would reclaime himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancestors might not be buried in his treacheries and follics. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pitthie, true, and effectuall reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue perswaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Pharaos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yéeld and relent: but leauing his former and woonted dissimulations, returneth the messenger with a flat deniall that he will not yeeld anie further obedience to hir highnesse. And forthwith to confirme the same, he fortifieth his strongest and best houses and castells: as namelie Asketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castels of Carigofioile and Strangicullie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernor,

nernor, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordinglie; news was brought him that sir William Drurie lord iustice was dead, who decessed at Waterford vpon the third of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto hir highnesse seruice.

Sir William
Drurie dieth

This sir William Drurie was verie valiant, wise, and a gentleman of great experience, descended of a verie ancient and a worshipfull house, being a yoonger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferior to his elder brother anie kind of waie in the gifts of wisdom, valiantnesse, knowledge, and experience of matters politike or martiall. In his youth he was a page, and serued in the court; and as in yeares, so in knowledge of all courtlie seruices he did grow and increase, and became to be as gallant a courtier as none lightlie excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord Russell lord priue seale, and after earle of Bedford, who gaue him good countenance and interteinment: for vnder him he serued in France at Muttrell and Bullongnois, and after the warres ended, he went to Calis, and oftentimes being there he issued out, and did manie good seruices about Cambraie and in Artois: and in the end about Bruxelles he was taken prisoner. Not long after he was redéemed and ransomed, and then he would néeds serue at the seas, and hauing gotten a ship well appointed for the purpose, he aduentureth that seruice. The beginning of it was so hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall storme, and in great despaire for euer to recouer: neuerthesse, whom the sword could not make afraid, the seas could not dismaie; but was euer one and the same man, of a good mind and great corage: and the storme being past, he followed the seruice which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maritimall man, and verie expert in all seruices at the seas. When the time of this his seruice was expired, he returned into England; & attending vpon the earle of Bedford, he accompanied him in the seruice against the rebels of Deuon, at the commotion or rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the sixt one thousand five hundred fortie and nine, and did there verie good seruice. After which in course of time, he went to serue at Berwike, where his valor and behauior was such, that he was made prouost marshall vnder the earle of Sussex being lord lieutenant, and for his sundrie notable good seruices he rewarded him with the degré of knighthood.

The conditions
and manners
of sir William
Drurie.

His seruice at
Bullongne.

He is taken pri-
soner.

He serueth at
seas.

His seruice at
the commotion
in Deuon.

His seruice at
Berwike.
He is prouost
marshall.
He is dubbed
knight.

Not long after that, there was a péece of necessarie seruice to be doone in Scotland by the said earle vpon the quéenes commandement; but he was verie sicke, and at that time he could not performe the same: wherfore he deputed in his place this worthie knight, whome he then made generall of the armie: and with such forces as were thought méet he entreth into the seruices appointed vnto him, being accompanied with the earle of Lennox, sir Thomas Manners, sir George Carie, and sir Robert Constable, with sundrie other capteins, to the number of twelue hundred footmen. And his commission being to serue at Edenborough, which then by the reason of the diuision among the noblemen, about the murthering of the earle of Murreie, he tooke, spoiled, and burned sundrie forts and castels: and in the end besieged and tooke the towne and castell of Edenborough, and deliuered the same, according as he was commanded, to the vse of the king: and so he returned againe to his old charge, with great praise and commendation, as in the chronicles of England and Scotland is at large recorded.

He is generall of
the armie, and
dooeth a good
péece of seruice
in Scotland.

He besiegeth and
taketh Edenbo-
rough castell.

In verie short time after, hir maiestie hauing good experience of the valor of this knight euerie waie, as well for his valiantnes in martiall affaires, as for his wisdom in ciuill gouernement, she calleth and draweth him from his office and charge at Berwike, and remooueth him into Ireland, there to be imployed in the office of a lord president, and assigneth vnto him the gouernement of the whole prouince of Mounster, where he shall

Sir William
Drurie sent into
Ireland to be
lord president
of Mounster.

Sir William Drurie is made lord iustice of all Ireland.

The rebellion of the Desmonds in Mounster.

The death of sir William Drurie.

The campe is dissolved and dispersed into garrisons.

Sir William Stanleie and capitaine George Carew are assigned to Adare.

The garrisons are besieged and ruined by the Irishie.

Sir James of Desmond belegeth Adare.

The Irishmen leave to ruin the garrison.

shall haue sufficient matter and occasion to vse both the sword & the law, iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued hir highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh his voiage & repaire into Ireland: & being now settled in his roome and office by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, he acquiteth himselfe verie well euerie waie, being as seuer a iudge and earnest persecutor of the wicked and rebellious, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedient, to the great good liking of hir maiestie, the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the good, and the benefit of the commonwealth. After some time of his triall in this office, and sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie being reuoked into England, he who had serued well in part, is called now to serue in all: and from a particular president is called to be a generall gouernor: and is in place of the departed deputie made lord iustice. He was no sooner entred into the office, but forthwith the rebellion and warres of the Desmonds began in Mounster vnder Iames Fitzmoris, and the Italians latelic come from the pope, and vnder the earle of Desmond and his brethren, who had long breathed and looked for this time. For the pacifieng, or rather subduing of this wicked rebellion, he tooke such continuall trauels and troubles, & so brused his bodie, that being not able to hold out any longer, he fell sicke & died (as is before-said) in the cite of Waterford, and from thense his corps was remooued to Dublin, and there buried; his bodie resting in peace, his soule in euerlasting blisse, and his fame in this world for euer immortall.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, who was chiefe gouernor of Mounster, now that his commission by the death of sir William Drurie was expired and ended, gaue ouer to follow anie actuell warres or ciuill administration in Mounster; but remooued himselfe and the whole campe vnto Lougher, and there dispersed them abroad in townes and villages to lie in garrison, and vpon their owne gards, vntill it were knowne who should haue the sword, and be the principall officer. Amongst the capteins thus dispersed into seuerall places, sir William Stanleie, and capitaine George Carew were assigned to lie at Adare. The traitors & rebels, hearing of the death of the worthie knight of whose prowess and valiantnesse by the sword, & of whose wisdom & vp-rightnes in gouernement, they had good triall; yet not abiding to be alienated from their old leauened and wicked vsage, they were not a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were most sorowfull for the losse & lacke of him. Wherefore now they pull vp their spirits, & confer together how they may in this inter-reigne win the spurs, and be vtterlie deliuered from the English gouernement. Wherefore it is agreed among them, that vpon euerie seuerall garrison of the most principall capteins, they would set seuerall companies to watch & keepe them in their holds, that they should not issue out, but to their perill. Some therefore are appointed at Kilmalocke, some at Carigfoile, some at Asketten, and some at one place, and some at another. And at Adare, where these two gentlemen sir William Stanleie & George Carew laie, sir James of Desmond brother to the earle with foure hundred Kerns and fiftie horssees was appointed to serue and watch; which he did so carefullie & narrowlie, that none durst to peepe nor looke out but in danger of some perill. But when vittels waxed short within doores, the souldiors, who could nor would be pined, gaue the aduenture to fetch that which was without doores: and as want of vittels did increase, so did their issuings out vpon the enimies grow and increase. And so often were their sallies and incountrings with the enimies, that in the end they finding & feeling the courage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering euer lost some of their companie. Wherevpon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a generall gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captens were not to seeke, nor yet failed to doo the seruice which vnto them did appertene, either for seruice or safetic

safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lieng in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to doo a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the breake of the daie, they tooke a bote or a cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their soldiours vnto the other side of the riuer, which lieth betwéene Adare and the Kerrie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & appertaining to the knight of the valleie, who then was in actuall rebellion against hir maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, where they then laie at a castell named Ballilloghan, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two capteins had burned and spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoeuer they thought good: in their returne before they could recouer the riuer, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the valleie, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horsmen, gaue the charge vpon these two ensignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue six score persons to the vttermost. These two capteins answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the pusk of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot and Kernes; and sir James himselfe with others gréuouslie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, sauing sundrie were shrewdlie hurt and wounded. Atlength these two capteins recouered their bote, and caused all the souldiors to be transported; they themselues being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, stood afterwards vpon a better force.

The knight of
the valleie his
countrie spoiled.

The knight of
the valleie a
rebell.

Sir William
Stanteie and
capteine George
Carews seruice
at Adare.

The lords of the councell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselues, and tooke aduise for the choise of some one wise man, méet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolued vpon sir William Pelham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon sundaie being the eleuenth of October 1579, he received the sword and tooke his oth in Christs church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Ormond and Kildare, and the whole councell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whome sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As soone as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancellor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of councell, and of hir maiesties good acceptance of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degré of knighthood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Sir William
Pelham chosen
to be lord
iustice.
1579

Sir William
Pelham hauing
taken the sword,
dubbeth the lord
chancellor
knight.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late treasurer of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the counsell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate: and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of anie countenance and calling, persuading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Ormond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the yoong lord Girald sonne and heire to the earle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Mackworth, and he to bring or conueie him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the brode seale was sent to sir Warham Sentleger, to be knight or prouost marshall of all Mounster. These and other things doone concerning the kéeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who

The earle of
Ormond made
gouernor of
Mounster.

Sir Warham,
Sentleger made
prouost marshall
of Mounster.

The lord iustice
maketh a iournie
into Mounster.
The lord chan-
cellor sent into
England.

had a speciall eie to the troublesome state of Mounster, prepareth to make presentlie a iournie into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancellor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to hir maiestie and counsell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships iournie towards against the rebels: who had also in commission to vtter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon hir maiesties demands and counsels. When all things were prepared for his iournie, he appointed the erle of Kildare to defend the borders northward, and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three bands latelie come from Berwike, vnder the leading of capteine Walker, capteine Case, and capteine Pikeman: with so manie others as he thought méet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Neile a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betwéene the earle of Ormond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrike, baron of vpper Ossorie: betwixt whome was a mortall hatred. And bonds were taken betwéene them for restoring ech one to the other the preies, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good interteinment.

The lord iustice
keepeth sessions
at Kilkennie.

The earle of Or-
mond and the
baron of vpper
Ossorie recon-
ciled and made
friends.

The earle of
Desmond is sent
for to come to
the lord iustice.

From this towne he departed the two and twentieth of October, and by iournies he came to Cashell, where the earle of Ormond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the foure and twentieth of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaire vnto him, for the appeasing of the quarrell and controuersie betwéene him & sir Nicholas Malbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cashell or to Limerike. And from this towne he rode to Limerike, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Malbie and sundrie other capteins & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a braue volée of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the maior in all dutifull maner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weaponed and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thense, and went to a towne name Fanings, where sir Nicholas Malbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Vlike Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Vlike, and with most pestilent reasons persuaded him to rebellion. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from hir husband, with letters of hir husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The lord iustice
honorable re-
ceiued into
Limerike.

Doctor Sanders
wicked letters to
Vlike Burke.

The lord iustice séeing the earle to vse but delaies, tooke aduise of the counsell which was with him, what was best to doo. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Ormond should go vnto him, and to conferre with him vpon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him vnto the said Desmond, and to require his resolute answer.

The said articles were in summe as followeth.

The earle of
Desmond is re-
quired to deliuer
doctor Sanders
and the Spa-
niards.

FIRST, that he should deliuer vnto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certeine strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countries, and mainteined by such traitors and in such castels, as be at his deuotion and comandement.

The earle to
deliuer one
of his castels.

That he shall deliuer vp into hir maiesties hands one of his castels of Carigofiole or Asketten, for the pledge of his good behauiour: which vpon sundrie and diuerse reasons is suspicious, and he for his disloialtie greatlie suspected.

That

That he doo forthwith come and simplie submit himselfe vnto hir maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of hir maiestie and counsell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and counsell in Ireland. The earle to submit himselfe.

That he doo forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and ioine with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Ormond, lord generall in this seruice. That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errours past; but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Ormond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Crough the thirtieth of October 1579, vsing therein nothing but triflings and delaies, requiring restitution for old wrongs and iniuries, and iustifieng himselfe to be a good subiect, though he doo not yeeld to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parlee, the lord iustice was remooued to Crome, where he expected the returne of the erle of Ormond, and to that place sir William Stanleie & captaine George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen. The earle sendeth letters but commeth not

The earle of Ormond being returned, & hauing little preuailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could preuaile; then it was thought good by the lord iustice & counsell to procéed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice remooued from Crome to Ratlikill, and he was no sooner incamped, but alarum by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice and the earle of Ormond: & in that skirmish thrée or foure of the traitors were slaine, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustification to be a good subiect, he dailie accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice séeing that neither counsell nor delaie of time could auaille with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the counsell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in the highest degré of treason at Rathkill the second of Nouember 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth. The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his coming in.
The earle of Desmonds butler taken and slaine.
The earle of Desmond proclaimed traitor

The earle of Desmonds treasons articulated.

THE the erle of Desmond hath practised most vnnaturallic the subuersion of the whole state.

2 That he practised to bring in strangers, and practised with foren princes to bring and allure in strangers to inuade this land.

3 That he fostered and mainteined doctor Sanders, Iames Fitzmoris, and others beyond the seas to worke these feats.

4 That albeit to the vtter shew of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie interteined by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrië.

5 That when his brethren most traitorouslie had murdered Henrie Dauels and others

others at Traleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reprooving or blaming of them, and had also commended speciallie the slaughter of Edmund Duffe an Englishman, who at the said murthering laie in the next bed vnto Dauels.

6 That when the strangers at Smérwéeke had no waie to escape by sea, at the coming of sir William Drurie, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commandement giuen vnto him by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Dingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there interteinements.

8 That he distributed the ordinances and artillerie of the forts vnto the rebels, as dooth appéere by a note found in the port mantieu of doctor Allen latelie slaine in the encounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath set at libertie such strangers as he kept colourable as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castels.

10 That he hanged most abhominable Richard Eustace, Simon Brian, and others the quéenes subiects, for whome he vndertooke to the late lord iustice to be safelie brought vnto him.

11 That he sent sundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his houshold seruants, as also his chiefe capteins, which vnder the popes banner displayed most traitorouslie in the fields, did assaile sir Nicholas Malbie knight hir maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Euagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that daie carie.

12 That he hath vtterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, sundrie messages, and all the good means vsed and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onclie refused to deliuer vp doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which doo dailie accompanie him; but hath broken downe his castels, burned his townes, and desolated his countries aforehand, to the intent hir maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he dailie looketh for a further aid and a new supplie of foreners, & dailie solliciteth the chiefe men of the Irish countries to ioine with him in this his most execrable and rebellious enterprise.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherefore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against hir maiesties crowne and dignitie, vnlesse within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submit himselfe. Vnto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Ormond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the vicount Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Malbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

The proclamation against Desmond is sent to all the cities in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dispersed to Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limerike, and other principall townes to be in like order proclaimed. Immediatlie and within an houre after this proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword could consume. From this place the lord iustice remooued to Pople Brian, wherevpon the third of Nouember he tooke a generall muster of the whole armie: and then he deliuered to the erle of Ormond two hundred and fiftie horssemen, and also eight ensignes of footmen,

footmen, of the which companie George Bouchier went to Kilmallocke, and sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew to Adare. And then he remooued and tooke his iournie vnto Limerike, being accompanied with the earle of Ormond, who the next daie left the lord iustice and returned to his charge. After which departure of the lord iustice, the proclaimed traitor of Desmond and his brothers, not able anie longer to shrowd his treacheries, went with all his forces to the towne of Youghall, where against his comming the gates of the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but colourable: for verie shortlie after, without deniall or resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels entered the towne and tooke it, and there remained about fife daies, rifling and carrieng awaie the goods and houshold stufte to the castell of Strangicallie and Lefinnen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards.

The earle of Ormond, assoone as he was aduertised hereof, he caused a barke well appointed to be dispatched from Waterford, & to come to Youghall: the capteine of which bark was named White, a man of that countrie birth, verie valiant and of a stout stomach. Assoone as he was come to the wals of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recouered from the rebels certeine ordinances of the said townes; and being put to vnderstand that the seneshall of Imokellie was comming towards the towne, he set all his men on land; and setting his men in good order, he entered into the towne at the watergate, and marched in good order through the towne, till he came where the rebels were together, and then more rashlie than consideratlie, gaue the charge and onset vpon them: but the number of them being great, and his but a handfull to them, he was in verie short time inclosed and ouerlaied, and there slaine, and with much adoo did a few of his companie recouer their ship againe. The lord generall and gouernour in the meane time, not slacking his businesse, did assemble and muster all his companie, & being accompanied with sir George Bouchier, sir William Stanleie, capteine Dowdall, capteine Furse, and others, made a iourneie into Connilo, which was then the chéefest place of trust that the earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for vittels and forage, and there his greatest force and strength of his sculdors were seized in the townes and villages. And they then little thinking and lesse looking for anie such ghests, were vnawares and vpon a sudden intrapped and taken napping, and the most part of them taken and slaine, and the villages for the most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond at this present time was there, but not knowne in his castell called the New castell, and escaped verie narrowlie. This péece of seruice being doone, the lord gouernour marched towards Mac Willies countrie, and being to go through a certeine passe, he met with the seneshall, vpon whome he gaue the charge, who answered the same verie valiantlie, and the skirmish was verie hot, in which the seneshalls brothers and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though not so manie, amongst whome capteine Zouches trumpeter was one; which so greeued the lord generall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and villages in that countrie and about Lefinnen, which in anie waie did belong to the earle of Desmond, or of anie of his fréends and followers, to be burned and spoiled.

From this he tooke his iourneie towards Corke, and in his waie at Drunfening he tooke a preie of one thousand fife hundred kine or coves, which were all driuen and sent vnto Corke, at which citie assoone as his lordship was come, and had rested a small time, then by the aduise of the capteins he diuided and bestowed his companie into sundrie garrisons and places conuenient, as which might best answer the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furse, he went to Cashell, and by the waie he tooke the maior of Youghall, whome foorthwith he examined, and for his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yéeld vp the towne vnto Desmond, and had before refused a band of English-

The towne of
Youghall taken
& spoiled,

A barke well ap-
pointed at Wa-
terford is sent
to Youghall.

The ordinances
recouered from
the rebels.

White, captein
of the barke is
slain.

The earle of Or-
mond maketh a
rode into Con-
nily, and killeth
a number of
the rebels.

The earle of
Desmond in
danger to be
taken.

The mayor of
Youghall hanged
before his owne
dores.

The towne of
Youghall all
desolate.

The inhabitants
renovled to dwell
and inhabit the
towne.

The Spaniards
being in Strangi-
callie forsake
their fort and in
fleeing are slaine.

The earle of
Desmond lieth
in an ambush.

The diligent ser-
vice of the earle
of Ormond.

A sicknesse in
the campe.

men, which was appointed to lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof, and had promised that he would keepe and defend the same against all men; he carried him along with him vnto Youghall, and there before his owne doore hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman or child therein, sauing one frier, whome he spared, bicause he had fetched the corps of Henrie Dauels from Traleigh, and had caried it to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancell of the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pitieng the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the redifeng of the wals and gates, and placed therein a garrison of three hundred footmen vnder capteine Morgan and capteine Piers, who did verie good seruice in the countrie, and by good means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and im-peopled the towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed thense, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and opportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the capteins for some speciall seruice, and remembring that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hitherto nothing doone or said vnto them; it was agreed betwene his lordship and the capteins, to doo some seruice vpon them, and to trie their value: wherevpon they marched thither and laid siege thervnto.

The Spaniards, who kept alwaies good watch, and had also verie good espials abroad, they were forthwith aduertised that a companie of souldiers were drawing and marching towards the said castell, and when they themselues saw it to be true, and had discovered them, they began to distrust themselves, and to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them. Wherefore abandoning & forsaking the castell, they passed ouer the water, thinking to recouer the woods and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanleie, capteine Zouch, capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, capteine Roberts, and all their companie did so egerlie follow and pursue them, that in the end they ouertooke them, and slue all or the most part of them, and so tooke the castell, wherein the lord gouernour placed a ward. Likewise when he laie at Adare, and vnderstanding that the erle of Desmond was abroad, the garrison minding to doo some seruice vpon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing some intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their returne; and vpon an aduantage he gaue the onset vpon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they brake the most part of their pikes, and were inforced with their swords and with the stumps of their staues to stand to their defenses; which they did so valiantlie, that the earle in the end with the losse of his men was driuen to giue ouer and to flee.

The like seruice did sir Henrie Wallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bouchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Holingworth, and all the residue of the capteins in their seuerall charges and garrisons, who though of themselues they were verie forward; yet the lord gouernour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the formost, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he remooued and dislodged himselfe from Adare, and marched to Boteuant a house of the lord Barries, where a peece of seruice was appointed them to be doone: but suddenlie such a sicknes came among the soldiers which tooke them in the head, that at one instant there were aboute three hundred of them sicke, and for three daies they laie as dead stockes, looking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recovered. This sicknesse not long after came into England, & was called the gentle correction. Now the companie being thus recovered, his lordship minding to follow a peece of seruice, diuideth his companie into two parts, the one he tooke himselfe,

and

and tooke the waie by the Iland; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and diuided their companies into threë parts, & so marched to Dingle a cush. And as they went they draue the whole countrie before them vnto the Ventrìe, & by that means they preied and tooke all the cattell in the countrie to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horssees, garrons, shéepe, and gotes, and all such people as they met they did without mercie put to the sword. By these meanes the whole countrie hauing no cattel nor kine left, they were driuen to such extremities, that for want of vittels they were either to die and perish for famine; or to die vnder the sword. Neuerthelesse, manie of them vnderstanding that sir William Winter viceadmerall of England was newlie arriued with the quèenes ships at the Ventrìe, and that he had receiued a commissiⁿ to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obtained protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat preiudiciall to hir maiesties seruice: bicause they perswaded themselues, that if they had folowed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

All the countrie
is preied.

Sir William
Winter receiued
protections.

Sir William, viceadmerall of England, vpon the newes reported to hir maiestie that a new supplie was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to kéepe the seas and to attend their comming, and as occasion serued to doo his best seruice vpon them. Who when he had so done certeine moneths, his vittels waxed scant; and séeing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing onwards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arriue thither, he hoised his sailes and returned into England. But he was mistaken & deceiued: for not long after they came and landed at Smerwéeke, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leauing the soldiers in their garrisons, let vs returne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the fift of November 1579, being accompanied with the Berwike bands, he went into Thomond, where the earle and his sonne with two bad horssemen met his lordship; and from thense he trauelled by iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honorable receiued. And to the end to incourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the corporation certeine branches and articles, wherof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newlie set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

Sir William
Winter keepeth
the seas.

The lord iustice
with the Ber-
wike bands
goeth into Tho-
mond.

The lord iustice
is verie honora-
ble receiued
at Gallewaie.

The charter of Gallewaie with new liberties confirmed.

FIRST, that no writ of *subpœna* shall be warded out of the chancerie against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, vntill the partie which sueth out the writ, haue put in good and sufficient suerties before the lord chancellor, or the maior of Gallewaie to the contrary to come with effect.

That no new office nor officer be erected in the towne of Gallewaie by anie deputie or gouernour, otherwise than as they in times past haue used to doo.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discreet men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English and Irish enimies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buie anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulle make paiment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne doo vse anie vndecent & vnreuerent speach to

the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall inioy, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, vsages, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the partie condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called Oleigethe.

That no dead bodie shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and hauen, that the same be serched and viewed for weapons and munitions, and that none aboue the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the view of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the wals.

That the maior from time to time doo take the muster and view of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all unserviceable people in time of seruice be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittels from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be prouided alwaies in the towne for a staple of vittels to be kept there at all times.

William Noris
newlie come out
of England meet-
eth the lord
iustice.

Capteine Noris
sent to lie at the
Newrie.

Sir Henrie Ha-
rington is made
seneshall of the
Obirnes.

The proud let-
ters of the earle
of Desmond.

The lord iustice
entreth a new
iourneie into
Mounster.

The lord iustice
keppeth sessions
at Waterford.

From thense his lordship by sundrie iournies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about threé miles before he came to the citie, William Noris newlie arriued out of England, and accompanied with certeine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horssemen, well furnished and well horsed with English geldings, euerie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attended his lordship into the citie, and from thense he was assigned and sent vnto the Newrie, where he died verie shortlie after vpon the five and twentieth of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his splene corrupted, and his braine mixt with filthie matter. His bands were diuided and deliuered to either capteins. And immediatlie vpon his entrance into the citie, he sent for Iaques Wingfield master of the ordinance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to kéepe his chamber for his contempt, bicause he did not attend the lord iustice into Mounster as he was commanded; but vpon his submission after foure daies he was released. And vpon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harington, who had married one of his daughters and heires, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be seneshall of the Obirnes, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter vnder their hands, dated the nine and twentieth of Nouember 1579, to the lord iustice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holinesse and king Philip, who haue vndertaken to defend and mainteine them, and therefore persuaded the lord iustice to ioine with them.

The lord iustice, hauing set the pale in some order, & hauing committed the same to the gouernement of the erle of Kildare, he made a new iourneie into Mounster, and departed out of Dublin the eighteenth of Ianuarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that seruice, and tooke his iourneies along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thense taking Tinneterne in his waie he came to Wexford, the five and twentieth of Ianuarie 1579, by water from Ballihacke in certeine botes verie well appointed by the maior of the citie. And before he came thither, sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, and capteine George Carew, and cap-
teine

teine Piers, issued out of the citie with their foure bands, and neere to the shore in the view of his lordship, they presented him with a iollie skirmish, and so retired themselves, to make ward against his landing. The bulworks, gates, and curteins of the citie were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike maner, and then all the shot of the ships in the haven, and a great ranke of chambers vpon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

At his landing the maior and aldermen araied in their scarlet gownes met him, and presented vnto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which fourth-
The lord iustice receiued honour- ablie in to Wa- terford.
 with he redeliuered vnto them againe, and the sword the maior bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie vpon two seuerall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made vnto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging. And to this citie the earle of Ormond came vnto him, and they being together, letters were sent from sir William Morgan of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungaruen and Yoghall. Whervpon one hundred horssemen vnder capteine Zouch, and Sentleger, and foure hundred footmen vnder sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, capteine George Carew, & capteine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord iustice from Waterford, vpon notice of the trouble dailie increasing, sent a commission of the eleuenth of Februarie, to sir Warham Sentleger to be provost marshall, authorising him to procéed according to the course of marshall law against all offenders, as the nature of his or their offenses did merit and deserue; so that the partie offender be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the yeare in land, or annuities, or be not woorth ten pounds in goods: also that vpon good causes he maie
The articles of a comission for the marshall law.
 parlee and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & sturdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlawes and théeues, and execute all idle persons taken by night: that he shall giue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in dooing of his seruice, he shall take horsse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man doo deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall lawes, and the same to see to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he doo euerie moneth certifie the lord iustice how manie persons, and of their offenses and qualities, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are comprised in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The lord iustice, after that he had rested about threé weekes at Waterford, he remooued and went to Clomnell, where the earle of Ormond met him, being the fiftéenth of Februarie 1579, and from thense he went by iourneies vnto Limerike, where the chancellor of Limerike vpon suspicion of treason was committed to prison,
The chancellor of Limerike sent to ward for treason.
 and his lodging being searched, manie masse bookes and other popish trash, together with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Kerrie was found. He was after indicted, arreigned, and found guiltie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was vpon some suspicion committed prisoner vnto his owne
The bishop committed prisoner to his owne house.
 house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of March to Rathkell, where within one houre the erle of Ormond came vnto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enimie. Which when they had agréed vpon, they passed the next morning ouer the bridge of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Rathkell. Now when they had amended the bridge
 which

Nicholas Parker
shot at him
and said
he.

which the rebels had destroyed, and made passable, they passed over the same into Coonilo, where the lord iustice and the earle of Ormond diuided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroyed the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kilcolman. And there it was advertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant vnto capteine Fenton, comming from Limerike with five horssemen, and thrée shot, which were of the garrison at Adare, he was set vpon at Rathkell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge sixtéene or eightéene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he espied them: but he and James Fenton the capteins brother, and Guidon, so bestirred themselues, that they gaue the enimie the repulse, and slue their leader, with five or six others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horsse.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot vpon the spurre, & so eger vpon the vile rebels, that that day they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the sword. The same daie, a souldier of the marshals incountered with two lustie Kernés, the one of them he slue, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellows head with him to the campe: which when he had doone, his head also was cut off and laid by his fellowes. The next daie following, being the twelfe of March, the lord iustice and the earle diuided their armie into two seuerall companies by two ensignes and thrée together, the lord iustice taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of Slewlougher, and so they searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that daie about foure hundred men, and returned the same night with all the cattell which they found that daie.

The baron of
Lexnew submit-
teth himselfe.

And the said lords, being not satisfied with this daies seruice, they did likewise the next daie diuide themselues, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie vntill it was night. And being then incamped néere together, the baron of Lexnew came to the earle of Ormond, whome the earle in the next morning brought before the lord deputie, where he in most humble maner yélded, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, promising and presenting his seruice with all dutifulnesse. And then, when after great trauels they had maruellouslie wasted and spoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofoule, and to laie siege to the same: for in it laie the greatest force of the Desmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This castell standeth in the riuer, and at euerie full sea both it and the bannes about it are inuironed with the said floods and flowing waters. As-soone as they were incamped, the lord iustice approched the castell so néere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordinglie he might consider the most fittest places for the laieng of the shot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine shot, and to go with him in this seruice. Now the Spaniards hauing espied them, spent manie shot vpon them, and where the lord iustice verie hardlie escaped with his life, and from being slaine with a musket shot. When his lordship vpon this view had determined what he would doo, he caused the canon shot to be planted in the place most fit for the batterie, for otherwise the fort was not to be assaulted.

The castell of
Carigofoule is
besieged.

The lord iustice
and capteine
Carew take the
view of the cas-
tell.

The castell be-
sieged.

The proud brags
of the Spaniard.

In the same were sixtéene Spaniards and fiftie others vnder one Iulio an Italian, who at the request of the countesse of Desmond vndertooke the kéeping of it, and who reported himselfe to be a verie notable enginer: & standing vpon his reputa- tion, he plied the campe with continuall shot, putting out an ensigne and railing with manie bad speeches against hir maiestic; declaring also that they kept it for the king of Spaine and so still would, vntill further aid were sent from him: and which in verie déed was daillie looked for. Before the canons and other battering pée- ces could be vnladen, they spent the time, occupieng the one the other with such deu- nises as they thought good for the seruices. And the Spaniards, hauing the ad-
uantage,

uantage, did by their often shot hurt and kill some Englishmen, namelie a souldior of sir George Bouchiers, one of sir Henrie Wallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and sir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night past, was hurt with a musket shot out of the castell in the necke. Assoone as the ordinance was vnladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the fort with thrée canons, a culuering, and a demie culuering; and in short time they so beat it, that the house fell and filled the ditches: by meanes whereof the same became to be assaultable.

The castell is battered with shot.

Capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entred into the vtter banne by a doore that the souldiors had broken, and was maister of it presentlie. The Spaniards thervpon retired to a turret that was vpon the wall of the barbican, & some sought other places to hide and to saue themselues, but that part of the castell was beaten downe: and then capteine Macworth recouered the possession of the whole, and did put fittie to the sword, of which nineteene were found to be Spaniards; and six others he tooke, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe.

Capteine Macworth first entred the castell.

None were saued that daie but onelie the capteine Iulio, whome the lord iustice kept for certeine considerations two or thrée daies: but in the end he was hanged as the rest were before him. The next daie, being the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and fourescore, the ordinances were remoued and caried to the ship, which with all such souldiors as were sicke and hurt were sent to Limerike, to be relieued and cured. This castell, one of the principallest and chiefest forts thus recouered, there resteth onelie the house and castell of Asketten: and the lord iustice, and the earle of Ormond thought nothing more necessarie, than euen forthwith to march to Asketten, and to incampe there and to besiege it, euen as they had doone to this fort of Carigofaile. Where when they came, the two lords diuided themselues, the one taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of the water: and vpon the third of Aprill they incamped at the said castell, the lord iustice lieng in the abbeie, and the earle of Ormond vpon the further side of the riuer.

The castell of Carigofaile is taken.

The bragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1580

The castell of Asketten appointed to be besieged.

The lord iustice viewed the place, and found no waie possible to place anie watch or ward néere to the castell, by reason of the great disaduantage of the rockes which laie altogither vpon the castell. While the campe laie there, sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteine Walker went to giue siege vnto the castell of Ballilaghan, a strong house of the Desmonds, and which was warded vntill this time against hir maiestie. The ward had no sooner the sight and view of these three ensignes, but that they fired the house and fled: but they were so narrowlie pursued, that the leader of them and some of his companie were ouertaken and slaine. Whilest the siege laie at Asketten, sir Henrie Wallop treasurer at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie same night following, being a verie darke and close night, the warders of the castell fearing the example of the execution doone at Carigofaile, and doubting the sequele of the lord iustice preparation made for the batterie to be laid against it, did abandon and forsake the castell verie secretlie about midnight, leauing a traine of powder to set it on fire, which consumed & burned a great part of the same: but the principall towers remained vntouched. The warders by fauor of all the darke night escaped into the woods.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew besiege the castell of Ballilaghan. The warders forsake the castell.

The warders of Asketten forsake the castell and by a traine set it on fire

This castell thus recouered, the earle of Desmond had neuer a castell in all Mounster which was warded against hir maiestie: but all were now at hir deuotion. The lord iustice being possessed of Asketten, he appointed a strong garrison to reside there, and placed sir Peter Carew, and sir Henrie Wallops companie in the castell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingworth to be in the abbeie, and so vpon the fit of Aprill he dislodged with the rest of the armie, and went vnto Limerike.

The castell of Asketten is taken.

A ward placed at Asketten

rike:

The armie is
dispersed, and
the commons
are sent to their
seuerall countie d.

rike: commanding the capteins to cut down the woods on both sides of the riuer, that the botes might passe freelic to and fro. At his comming to Limerike, all things now seeming to be at peace, the earle of Ormond returned home to Kilkennie, & certeine of the counsell which had followed in this iourneie rode to Dublin: and sir Nicholas Malbie departed into Connagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of the armie was now dispersed into garrisons: yet the seruices of euerie of them neuer abated. For alwaies as the time of seruice required, the Irishmen were issued out vpon, and most commonlie had the worst side. And the lord iustice himselfe taking an occasion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water, and capteine Case went by land, and after a time spent in searching the woods, they returned with a preie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and verie good store of shéepe, besides the slaughter of manie traitors.

A commission to
create sir Wil-
liam Burke to
be baron.

At his being and during his abode in Limerike, vpon the fifteenth of Maie, he receiued hir maiesties commission vnder the broad seale of England to be lord iustice (where before he held the same by the election and order of the counsell) and therewith also one other commission, for creating of sir William Burke baron of castell Connall, with a yearelie pension of one hundred markes during his life. And from this time, the lord iustice spent this summer in Mounster, traouelling to and fro through out the whole prouince: he himselfe and euerie other capteine in his seuerall garrison doing such seruice vpon the rebels as by occasion was offred. The lord iustice vpon the fiftéenth of Iune, after that he had marched a few miles in Mac Aulies countrie, spoiling, defacing, and burning the same, he passed through the boggie mounteine of Slewlongher into Kerrie, and there he discovered a great preie of the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the voward of his horssemen, and he himselfe in person tooke about two thousand kine, besides store of shéepe and garons, with part of the traitors masking apparell. The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, escaped verie hardlie; and their priest for hast was faine to leaue his gowne behind. The like seruice he did the next daie, being the fife and twentieth of Iune at Castelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie began amongst the souldiors vnder sir George Bouchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dowdall, by reason of their wants: but his lordship with such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir Cormac Mac Teige shiriffe of the countie of Corke did notable seruice vpon sir Iames of Desmond; which sir Iames vpon the fourth of August made a roade into Muskroie, and tooke a great preie from the foresaid sir Cormac. Wherevpon his brother Donnell assembleth his brothers tenants and countrie and followed the preie; and recouered the same: sir Iames, who thought it to be too great a dishonor and reproch to depart with anie thing which he had in hand, withstanding the matter.

The earle of
Desmond and
his wife and doc-
tor Sanders in
perill to betaken.

A mutinie
among the sould-
iors for lacke of
vittels.

Sir Cormac
Mac Teige
dooth a peece of
seruice vpon sir
Iames of Des-
mond.

Sir Iames of
Desmond in
taking of a preie
is taken prison-
er and executed.

Sir Iames of
Desmond sent to
sir Warham

Wherevpon they fell at hand-fight. In which conflict and fight the said Donnell behaued himselfe so valiantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the matter, that the preie was recouered, and sir Iames himselfe mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and all his force, being aboue a hundred and fiftie persons, were slaine and overthrowne. He that tooke him was a smith, and seruant to sir Cormac, who fourth-with handfasted him: and for auoiding of certeine inconueniences, he kept him close, and secretlie hid him in a certeine bush in the fastnesse there, and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not escape nor run awaie. And when all the companie was gone, then he tooke him and carried him to sir Cormac his maister, who kept him in safe custodie, vntill, by letters of commandement from the lord iustice and counsell, he did deliuer him vnto sir Warham Sentleger then prouost marshall, and to capteine Ralegh; who (according to a commission in like order to them addressed)

was

was examined, indicted, arreigned, and then vpon iudgement drawen, hanged and quartered: and his bodie being quartered, it was together with the head set on the towne gates of the citie of Corke, and made the preie of the foules. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost an other of his heads.

Sentleger & to
capitaine Ra-
legh, and was
executed to
death.

This seruice of this knight was maruellouslie well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and counsell, and then from hir maiestie he receiued verie fréendlie and thankfull letters. This man was a yonger house vnto Mac Artie Reough, and they both a yonger house vnto Mac Artie More now earle of Clancar, and whose ancestors (as is said) were kings before the conquest of Mounster. They are all men of great power, and greatlie estéemed in those parties: But this sir Cormac, in dutie and obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes, and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth all his owne sept & familie, as also all the Irishrie in that land. For albeit a méere Irish gentleman can hardly digest anie Englishman or English gouernment, & whatsoeuer his outward appearance be, yet his inward affection is corrupt and naught: being not vnlike to Iupiters cat, whome though he had transformed into a beautifull ladie, and made hir a noble princesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could not forbear to snatch at him; and as the ape, though he be neuer so richlie attired in purple, yet he will still be an ape. This knight, after he did once yéld himselfe to hir maiesties obedience, and had professed his loialtie, he euer desired to ioine himselfe vnto the companie of the Englishmen, and became in time a faithfull and fréendlie man vnto them, liued according to hir maiesties lawes, and did so good seruice at all times when it was requisit and required, as none of that nation did euer the like. And if at anie time he were had in suspicion, he would by some kind of seruice purge & acquite himselfe, euen as he did in this present seruice in taking of sir Iames of Desmond, to his great praise & commendation, and to his acquittall against the reprochfull reports of his aduersaries. And sir William Fitzwilliams in the time of his deputiship, hauing had a verie good triall of his fidelitie, truth, and good seruice, did giue vnto him the order of knighthood, and made him shiriffe of the countie of Corke: euen as the lord iustice now did commend this his seruice vnto hir maiestie by his letters of the twelfe of August, a thousand five hundred and eightie, and praieng that the same might be so acceptablie receiued, as that the enobling of him might be both an ornament to his house, an incoraging vnto others to doo the like, and a testimonie against others of his sort, who haue neglected a number of occasions (at greater aduantages) to haue doone the like seruices.

Iupiters cat.

The loialtie of
sir Cormac Mac
Teige.

Sir Cormac Mac
Teige made
knight.

The death of Iames of Desmond, and the quartering of his bodie did maruellouslie dismaie the earle himselfe, sir Iohn his other brother, and doctor Sanders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could haue no breath nor rest to reléue themselves, but were alwaies by one garrison or other hurt and pursued; and by reason the haruest was taken from them, their cattels in great numbers preied from them, and the whole countrie spoiled and preied; the poore people, who liued onelie vpon their labors, and fed by their milch cowes, were so distressed, that they would follow after the goods which were thus taken from them, and offer themselves, their wiues, and children, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer the famine wherewith they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a diuision betweene the earle of Desmond and his brother sir Iohn, either of them excusing that whereof they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fleeth from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and séeing no other remedie, sent his ladie and wife vnto the lord iustice, who in great abundance of teares bewraied the miserable

The miserie
of the people.

The sute of the
countesse of
Desmond.

estate of hir husband, hir selfe, and their followers, making (with most lamentable requests) sute, that hir husband might be taken to submission.

Sir Iohn of Desmond minded to ioyne with the vicount Baltinglasse.

Sir Iohn of Desmond, being in the like distresse, he together with doctor Sanders gaue the aduenture, to passe for their refuge to the vicount Baltinglasse, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which laie at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to doo some seruice, by chance met the said Iohn and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set vpon them, and of foure of them they tooke two, the one being a frier named Iames Haie and standardbearer to the late Iames Fitzmoris, who vpon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond

Sir Iohn of Desmond and doctor Sanders in fieng, were in danger to be taken.

was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slaine; and the frier was reserued, but sir Iohn and the doctor by the benefit of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their iourneie. The lord iustice being at Newcastell, and being aduertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he foorthwith sent for the garrisons of Adare and Asketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to meet him at the place, daie and time appointed, for a speciall peece of seruice then to be doone. Whose commandement being doone

The earle and his countesse in danger to haue bene taken.

and obeied, they tooke their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother bewraied the matter, and yet for hast they left their breakfast behind them halfe dressed. Neuerthelesse, they tooke two preies, the one of fiftene and the other of eightene kine; and the next daie they tooke another preie of two hundred kine, slue diuerse traitors, and tooke two friers, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes nuntio, they being poore bare footed friers, and he a lustie horsman: and then his lordship returned to Asketten, where he left maister Parker conestable of the place; and from thence he went to Limerike, where he receiued news by master Zouch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arriual to Dublin. And then his lordship minding to make his speedie repaire to Dublin, did set the countrie in some good order, and by the aduise of the counsell at Limerike,

Sir George Boucher coronell of Mounster.

he appointed sir George Boucher coronell of all Mounster, and instructions were deliuered vnto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be doone, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole prouince; & had left vnto him the charge (vnder his gouernement) of the whole forces in Mounster; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsemen thre hundred fourescore and fiftene: the whole, thre thousand two hundred and fiftene men. Likewise he had sent the like instructions to sir Warham Sentleger, and the erle of Clancar. And these & other like things doone, he tooke his iourneie through Conaugh for the like establishing of the countrie, & came to Dublin the sixt daie of September, one thousand five hundred fourescore and one; and the next daie he deliuered vp the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Ireland, in saint Patrikes church in presence of the counsell, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

This force is both of the princes paie, and of the lord of the prouince.

The vicount of Baltinglasse lieth in the Gillines with the rebels.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arriual, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the vicount of Baltinglas, and Pheon macke Hugh, the chiefe of his sex of the Obrins, were lieng in the Obrins countrie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the companie of capteine Fitzgiralde, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed vnto him in the beginning of this rebellion, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Obrins. And he nothing regarding now, either the dutie of a subiect, or his owne credit, most traitorouslie reuolteth from his lawfull prince, and conioineth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and persuadeth

persuadeth to resist and make head against hir maiesties force; because they could not (as he said) withstand or preuaile against them: who without anie reward promised, were easilie persuaded, because they would be persuaded, and were most willing to exercise anie maner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped themselues in the fastnes of the Glinnes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & cattell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possible might be: for in it is a vallie or a combe lieng in the midle of the wood, of a great length, betweene two hils, & no other waie is there to passe through. Vnder foot it is boggie and soft, and full of great stones and slipperie rocks, verie hard and euill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees vpon the sides of the hils, & full of bushments and vnderwoods.

The strength of
the fastnesse in
the Glinnes.

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countrie, nor with the Irish seruices, and thinking himselfe in honor to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a companie of traitors should lie so neere vnto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolued himselfe to haue a peece of seruice to be doone vpon them. Wherefore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the said Glinnes, & giueth order to sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, sir Henrie Bagnoll, capteine Awdleie, and to Iohn Parker, lieutenant to capteine Furse with all their footmen, and to Francis Cosbie capteine of the kerne, and George Moore an old veteran of Berwike, coronell of all the footmen, to take this seruice vpon them. But Cosbie, who had bene a long seruitor, and knew what to that kind of seruice did belong, did foresée the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his companie: notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said seruice, and vpon the next daie, being the fve & twentieth of August, they entered the Glinnes.

A seruice appointed to be
doone against the
Obrins.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Iaques Wingfield, capteine George Carew, capteine Denie, and others on horssebacke staid vpon the mounteine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgiral, hauing some secret intelligence of the seruice towards, he bestoweth and placeth all his men with their peeces amongst the trées, and there couered themselues, vntill the Englishmen were entered and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduantage vpon euerie side of the hill, with great furie assaileth them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the voward, both capteins and souldiors. The residue which followed, being in despaire to recouer what was lost, and distrusting themselues, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the nimblenesse of the traitors, and their skill of seruice in such places, that they were like to haue bene killed; if the lord deputie, and the horssemen had not rescued them: vpon whose comming they retired into their fastnesse.

The lord deputie
staid vpon the
mountains.

In this conflict, George More, capteine Audkie, Francis Cosbie, and sir Peter Carew coronell, were then murthered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was halfe smothered, and inforced to lie downe: whome when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, & the most part of them would haue saued him, and made request for him, they thinking that more profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death. Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, assoone as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughtered and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Iaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardinesse, and foreséeing the euill successse which was feared would insue, persuadeth with his two nephues, sir Peter

The Englishmen
slaine in the
Glinnes.

Sir Peter Carew
slaine.

Iaques Wingfield
his wisdom to-
wards his ne-
phues.

and capteine George Carew, to staie and to forbear to aduenture into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereunto, nor be persuaded; but would needs go in. His brother would haue doone the like, but his vncke perforce kept him, saieing; "If I lose one, yet I will keepe the other:" and so by that meanes he was by Gods goodnesse saued and preserved.

This blacke daie was a dolefull and a grieuous daie to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending tooke the matter as patientlie as he could, and made his returne vnto Dublin, abiding the comming of the lord iustice; who as soone as he was returned, then the lord Greie was sworne, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Ormond in this meane time, being verie desirous to doo some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incampeth at Traleigh, where the scout the same night espied a light in the enimies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them seemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernor to be more watchfull and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a wise and a politike capteine, setteth all his companies in battell araic, & so marcheth forwards in his strength & verie good order ouer the strand of Traleigh towards the fort, euerie man being at a full resolution to doo his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approching of the lord gouernor, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrusted themselues, and forsooke the fort, and by the guiding of the Irishrie, they remoued themselues from thense to Glanningell, whome the gouernor pursued, & ouertooke some of them, vpon whome he gaue the onset, and skirmished with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he tooke, whome he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Glanningell, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mountaines adioining. Wherevpon the daie being spent, and no seruice for that time to be doone anie further, the lord gouernor incamped there that night, fast to their enimies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst doo.

The earle marcheth in order of battell to the fort.

The Spaniards leaue their fort.

The earle followeth the Spaniards and putteth them to the foile.

The companie of the Spaniards not aboue seven score.

The determinations of the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of Ireland.

The earle of Ormond incampeth at the fort.

Assoone as he was incamped, he calleth the prisoners (who were taken) before him, and they confessed that they were in number, not aboue seven hundred men; but had brought with them pikes, caliuers, munitions, and all kinds of artillerie, sufficient for five thousand men: because they knew that the Irishmen were of bodies sufficient, but that they lacked furniture and training; & in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safelie arriued, and how that they were interteined: requesting that the supplie appointed before their coming from home, might with all speed be sent awaie, and for which they did dailie looke: because it was throughlie concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentlie as time should serue, to doo the like with England. And moreouer, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir Iohn his brother, & to doctor Sanders the popes nuntio; and more is promised to be sent.

After these things thus doone, it was giuen to the said gouernor to vnderstand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiors of the enimies companie returned & gone backe to the fort. Wherevpon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as neere to the fort as he could; and there choosing to himselfe capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers,

and

and certeine shot, he drew so neere to the fort as he had the whole discouerie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which seemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had anie shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artificer without his tooles, can doo anie thing in his profession: no more can the souldior fight without his meet weapons, nor serue without his necessities: and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernor was driuen to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The earle for lacke of munition could not preuaile against the fort.

The Spaniards perceiuing this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a sallie of threescore men; and the gouernor seeing their aduantage, thought to follow the aduise of his capteins, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Andrew Martin more hastie than aduised, and more rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slaine; and the lord gouernor compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he sounded the retract; and being not able to annoie the enimie, nor preuaile at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by iourneies he came to Rekell: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yekled vp all his companie, and his commission, and then made prouision of his men, and for victuals, to follow the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horssemen and footmen, vnder the leadings of capteine Zouch, capteine Walter Raleigh, capteine Denie, who had also capteine George Carews companie vnder his ensigne, capteine Macworth, capteine Achin, and others: and then he marched towards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were settled.

The Spaniards issue out and giue a skirmish.

The lord deputie cometh to Rekell, and is there met by the earle of Ormond.

Capteine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Rekell, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staid behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a maner among the Irish kerns, that whensoever anie English campe was dislodged and remooued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore lieng, and kéeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the coming of the said kerns; who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their maners and old vsages to the said place, and there tooke their pleasure, who when they were in their securitie, the capteine and his men came vpon them, and tooke them all. Among them there was one, who caried and was laden with withs, which they vsed insted of halters: and being demanded what he would doo with them, and whie he caried them; gaue answer, that they were to hang vp English churls; for so they call Englishmen. "Is it so (quoth the capteine) well, they shall now serue for an Irish kerne:" and so commanded him to be hanged vp with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their deserts.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as neere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also newlie returned from out of England: but he arriued at Kinsale, and his vice admerall capteine Bingham came into the baie of saint Marie weeke or Smerewéeke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these means the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir William Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before anie assault giuen, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to doo, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in hir maiesties land, & required therewith to yekld vp the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had giuen that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receiue and recouer that land to the holie church of Rome, which by hir maiesties means was become

The lord deputie marcheth to the fort, and besiegeth it.

The fort is summoned.

The answer of the fort.

come schismaticall, and out of the church, with other reprochfull speeches: and that therefore they were in that respect to kéepe what they had, and to recouer what they yet had not. Wherevpon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what sort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossessioning of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillerie and munitions might be best placed and laied for the batterie; and betweene whom it was then determined how all things should be doone.

The Spaniards
make a sallie
vpon the English-
men.

Whiles they were thus in speeches, and consulting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some aduantage, made a sallie vpon the Englishmen: which was forthwith answered by capteine Denie (who as then had but a doozzen shot) and by Michaell Butler lieutenant to capteine Raleigh: & these so valiantlie behaued themselves, and so worthilie followed the fight, that they made the Spaniards with more hast than with good speed to returne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion betweene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be vnloaden certeine culuerings, and like pièces of ordinance out of hir maiesties ships, which then laie in the rode of Smereeweke, and then there being a great banke betweene the shores side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it, and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the daie, and before it was open daie the batterie was readie to be giuen. A pièce of seruice (the place and time considered) thought woorthie

The diligent ser-
uice of the mari-
ners.

The fort is beset
vpon the land
side.

great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had doone the like vpon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to follow the seruice, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a pièce of ordinance, offering vnto them mercie if they would yéeld. But they knowing nothing what was doone that night, answered as before, that they would kéepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Wherevpon they began to batter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water. This first daie of batterie was captaine Raleighs ward daie. But the Spaniards made their brags, that they cared not for this; and to set a good face vpon it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skirmish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both vpon the first daie, the second daie, and the third daie, little was doone, but onelie the continuance of the batterie. The fourth daie was capteine Zouches ward daie, vnder whom was a lustie yoong gentleman named Iohn Chéeke, who drew so néere the fort, that he looked ouer the purport into it, which being séene and perceiued, one of the Spaniards leuelled a pièce at him, & with his shot strake him in the head, wherewith he died. About the end of these foure daies, the trenches for the full batterie were drawne and brought so néere vnto the fort, that now they left to dallie anie longer with the fort, but verie hotlie and sharpelie they battered at it on both sides. The Spaniards, who had staid themselves vpon the hope of some further supplie, to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had receiued; and séeing also the batterie to be such as they could not be

The fort is bat-
tered on euerie
side.

The Spaniards
desire a parlee.

able to withstand and hold out, they desired a parlée with the lord deputie, who vtterlie denied it: saieng, that his seruice was against traitors and rebels, with whom no speeches nor parlées are allowed. And forsomuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like predicament with them. Then they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. Then they requested that certeine particular men among themselves might haue their frée passage, and certeine other conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions,

conditions, requiring an absolute yéelding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile anie waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Misericordia, misericordia*, and offered to yéeld both themselves and the fort, without anie condition at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent capteine Iaques Wingfield master of the ordinance to the fort, and to make triall whether this their offer were true and vnfeigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receiued in, and forthwith the capteine of the fort came vnto him, and in all humble maner yéelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented vnto the lord deputie: and at the commandement of the said Iaques Wingfield he disarmed himselfe, and caused all his companie to doo the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laid their pikes acrossse vpon the same. Which being doone, the said capteine Wingfield came out of the fort, and brought the capteine with him, promising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receiue him at his hands, and willed the said Iaques Wingfield to returne againe to the fort.

Capteine Wingfield is sent to the fort.

In this fort sir Iames Fitzgiralde knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the earle of Desmond, and one Plunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the capteine had yéelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, capteine Raleigh together with capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie of the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were cléere, the lord deputie came to the fort, and hauing doone what pleased him, his lordship returned, and manie of the capteins he saued. The fort forthwith was rased, the armor and munitions were dispersed abroad, and all things doone as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the coronell and campemaister ouer into England by capteine Denie, and dismissed the armie, and sent euerie capteine to his garrison. And his lordship went from thense to Dingham, which is a long scattering waste towne, and in it foure or fve castels, which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defaced in the beginning of this rebellion.

The prisoners in the fort delivered.

And heere the earle of Ormond met with the lord deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, being readie to haue followed the seruice if need had so required. In this towne the lord deputie made capteine Zouch gouernour of Kerrie and Desmond, and appointed vnto him thrée hundred men, and accompanied him with capteine Cash, who had one hundred men, and capteine Achin, who had fiftie horssemen, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that towne, or where they thought good. And these had to them giuen all the victuals which were found in the fort. And from hense his lordship went to Limerike, and came thither the seauen and twentieth of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fve hundred & eightie. At which time there arriued out of England six new bands of soldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Berkleie, capteine Cruse, capteine Herd, and capteine Tanner, all which his lordship bestowed in seuerall garrisons, and in such places as were most meet for seruice; capteine Berkleie onelie of the capteins remained in Mounster, and was placed in the house of Asketten, the cheefest castell of the earle of Desmond with two hundred men. The others went into Connagh, where the wicked sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now vpon their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Spaniards were ouerthrowne, and thereby a sufficient warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke themselves, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the like would also insue vpon them: yet see how that

Capteine Zouch made the gouernour of Desmond.

Capteine Berkleie came into Ireland, and laie at Asketten.

the

the venemous Hydra had no sooner lost one of hir heds, but in steed of one, sundrie and manie others are sproong vp. For at the verie instant, the bastardlie brood of the earle Clanicard, the vicount of Baltinglasse, associated with the Obrins, Omores, and Keuenaughs in Leinster, & with sundrie others of that wicked nation, conspire, and are vp in open rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Mounster, Connagh, and a great péece of Leinster are in arms and actuall rebellion: onelie Vlster (which was woont to be the woorst) is now the best and most quietest.

The earle of Ormond is the gouernour of Mounster.

The cleargies band doe arriue into Ireland.

The earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin had in suspicion, and are committed to ward.

The earls son is kept by the Oconhours.

The earle of Ormond is sent for the young lord Fitzgiralde.

The young lord is sent to the earle of Ormond. The earle of Kildare and his sonne and sonne in law are sent into England.

The earle died in London.

Captaine Raleigh, with company, went to the garrisons of the

The lord deputie being at this present in Limerike, & aduertised of these troubles, setteth all things in order for the seruice in Mounster, and committed the whole gouernement of that prouince vnto the earle of Ormond, and then he returned vnto Dublin, where he tooke order for Connagh & Leinster. And about this time there arriued out of England 150 horssemen set out at the charges of the cleargie of England, vnder the leadings of William Russell sonne to the earle of Bedford, and of Brian Fitzwilliams, which were dispersed according to the seruice. The lord deputie being returned vnto Dublin, the earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin his sonne in law, were had in suspicion to be partakers and secret dealers in these rebellions, and therypon were committed to ward vnder the custodie of Iaques Wingfield maister of the ordinance. Immediatlie vpon whose apprehensions, the lord Henrie Fitzgiralde, sonne and heire to the said earle, and of the age about seauentéene yeares, being perswaded by his fosterfathers and followers, he fled into Ophalia whereof he was baron, and there (as it was said) he was taken by the Oconhours, and kept against his will for his safetie, vntill they did heare further what should be become of the earle.

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie, he coniectured that this was but a surmised and colorable kind of dealing, to bleare his lordships eies: wherefore by order and good aduise he first willed the earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his messenger returned with an answer, that the young lord was willing to come, but the Oconhours, who were in doubt what should be become of the earle, would in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, vnlesse they might haue good assurance for his safe returne againe vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these kind of fond excuses and disordered dealings, sent the earle of Ormond then being in Dublin, to deale with the Oconhours, who being accompanied with sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas White maister of the rolles, capteine George Carew, capteine Macworth, and sundrie other capteins and gentlemen, made their repaire to the borders and marches of Ophalia; whense after much talke to no purpose, they all returned without the young lord. Neuertheles afterwards the Oconhours when they had better considered of the matter, and had had some conference with Hussen and others the earles men, and mistrusting that some further troubles would insue, euen as the earle of Ormond had partlie threatened them; and doubting also least the staieng of the sonne might be preiudiciall to the father; then in all hast did send the young lord to the earle of Ormond, who caried him to Dublin, and deliuered him to the lord deputie: and his lordship forthwith sent him to the ward, where he remained with his father, vntill they both and the baron of Deluin were sent into England, where the earle and the baron were sent to the Tower, and the young lord committed to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The earle died after in London, and his bodie was caried into Ireland, and there buried amongst his ancestors.

Captaine Walter Raleigh, lieng in garrison at Corke, and nothing liking the outrages, Lodrages, and villanies dailie practised by Barrie, Condon, and others vpon the good subiects and hir maiesties garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had beene made,

made, and small redresse had, he rode himselfe to Dublin vnto the lord deputie, and made his complaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the Barries and his consorts were such, that vnlesse they were proclaimed traitors, and with all diligence followed and pursued, the euent therof would be verie euill, to the aggréeuance of good subiects, & to the incouragement of the wicked: whose insolencie and pride was growne to such a heighth, that the sword with extremitie was the onelie meane now to redresse the same.

The lord deputie and councell, when they had heard and well considered this, they sent him backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to seize and enter vpon the castell and house of Barrie court, and all other the lands of the said Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in the best maner as he thought good: and for his better seruice to be doone herein, he had certeine horssemen in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto his ensigne of footmen: wherypon he returned. But before he was come backe to Corke, the case was altered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by such as there and then were in authoritie, and so manie delaies were vsed to hinder the good seruice purposed, that his commission auailed him verie little or nothing, for the castell of Barrie Moore was committed and deliuered to the custodie of the mother of the said Dauid Barrie, and by hir set ouer vnto him hir sonne: and who forthwith burned and defaced the said castell being his principall house, as also wasted the whole countrie, and became more woorse and outrageous than he was before. This capteine making his returne from Dublin, & the same well knowne vnto the seneschall of Imokellie, through whose countrie he was to passe, laie in ambush for him to haue intrapped him betwene Youghall and Corke, lieng at a foord, which the said capteine must passe ouer with six horssemen, and certeine kerne. The capteine little mistrusting anie such matter, had in his companie onelie two horssemen and foure shot on horssebacke, which was too small a force in so doubtfull and dangerous times: neuerthelesse he had a verie good guide, which was the seruant of Iohn Fitzedmunds of Cloue, a good subiect, and this guide knew euerie corner and starting hole in those places.

The capteine being come towards the foord, the seneschall had espied him alone, his companie being scattered behind, and verie fiercelie pursued him, and crossed him as he was to ride ouer the water, but yet he recouered the foord and was passed ouer. The Irishman who was his guide, when he saw the capteine thus alone, and so narrowlie distressed, he shifted for himselfe and fled vnto a broken castell fast by, there to saue himselfe. The capteine being thus ouer the water, Henrie Moile, riding alone about a bowes shoot before the rest of his companie, when he was in the middle of the foord, his horse foundred and cast him downe; and being afraid that the seneschalls men would haue folowed him and haue killed him, cried out to the capteine to come and to saue his life; who not respecting the danger he himselfe was in, came vnto him, and recouered both him and his horse. And then Moile coueting with all hast to leape vp, did it with such hast and vehemencie, that he quite ouer leapt the horse, and fell into a mire fast by, and so his horse ran awaie, and was taken by the enimie. The capteine neuerthelesse staid still, and did abide for the comming of the residue of his companie, of the foure shot which as yet were not come forth, and for his man Jenkin, who had about two hundred pounds in moneie about him, and sat vpon his horse in the meane while, hauing his staffe in one hand, and his pistoll charged in the other hand. The seneschall, who had so fiercelie followed him vpon spur, when he saw him to stand and tarrie as it were for his comming, notwithstanding he was counted a man (as

Capteine Raleigh hath a commission, & the enlargement of a band of horssemen to pursue the enimie.

Dauid lord Barrie burneth and spoileth his owen house.

Capteine Raleigh is laid for by the seneschall.

The seneschall followeth capteine Raleigh.

The distressed state of Henrie Moile.

The cowardnesse of the seneschall.

he was indèed) of great seruice, and hauing also a new supplie of twelue horssemen and sundrie shot come vnto him; yet neither he nor anie one of them, being twentie to one, durst to giue the onset vpon him, but onelie railed and vsed hard speeches vnto him, vntill his men behind had recouered and were come vnto him, and then without anie further harme departed.

The challenge
made by the
earle of Ormond
to the seneschall.

It happened that not long after, there was a parlee appointed betwéene the lord gouernor and the rebels; at which the seneschall was present, and stood much vpon his reputation. Capteine Raleigh being present began to charge him of his cowardnesse before the earle of Ormond, that he being twentie of his side, to him alone, durst not to incounter with him. Wherevnto he gaue no answer. But one of his men standing by, said; that his maister was that daie a coward; but he would neuer be so forgetfull againe, if the like seruice were to be doone, and in manie great terms exalted his maister the seneschall for his valiantnesse and seruice. The earle of Ormond hearing those great speeches, tooke the matter in hand, and offred vnto the seneschall, that if he and sir Iohn of Desmond there present, and thrée or foure others, the best they could choose, would appoint to meet him; capteine Raleigh, and such foure others as they would bring with them, they would come to the same place, and passe ouer the great riuer vnto them, and would there two for two, foure for foure, or six for six, fight and trie the matter betwéene them; but no answer was then giuen: whervpon the white knight was afterwards sent vnto him with this challenge, but the rebels refused it. Not long after this, there were speeches made, that the earle of Ormond was to depart from this long and wearie seruice into England, & capteine Zouch should in his place be the generall. Betwéene the remoouing of the one, and the placing of the other, sir William Morgan, capteine Raleigh, and capteine Piers had a commission to be gouernors of that part of Mounster, where they spent all that summer, and laie for the most part at Lismore, and in the countrie and woods thereabouts, in continuall seruices vpon the enimies from time to time, as occasion and oportunitie serued.

Capteine Ra-
leigh a commis-
sioner in Moun-
ster.

Capteine Ra-
leigh a commis-
sioner in Moun-
ster.

And when the summer was spent, capteine Raleigh returned with all his band vnto Corke, being in number eight horssemen and foure score footmen. And as he passed through the countrie, it was aduertised to him, that Dauid Barrie an archtraitor was at Cloue with a great troope of sundrie hundreds of men. Wherevpon he thought good to passe that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to trie the valor of Dauid Barrie, if by anie meanes he might méet with him. And euen at the verie towns end he found Barrie and all his companie, and with a lustie courage gaue the onset vpon him. But Barrie refused it, and fled. And then this capteine passing from thense, in his iorneie he espied in a plaine néere adioining to a woods side, a companie of footmen by themselues, vpon whome with six horssemen he gaue the charge: but these being cut off from the wood wherevnto they were fled, and hauing not succor now to helpe & relieue themselues, they turned backe, & conioining themselues together to withstand this force and onset made vpon them, in which they behaued themselues verie valiantlie, and of the horssemen they killed fve, of which capteine Raleigh his horsse was one, and he himselfe in great danger, and like to haue béene slaine, if his trustie seruant Nicholas Wright a Yorkshire man borne had not bin. For he perceiuing that his maisters horsse was galled and stricken with a dart, and plunged so much, that to his séeming he was past seruice; the said Nicholas willed and called to an Irishman there, whose name was Pa like Fagaw, that he should looke to his capteine, and either to rescue him, or to giue charge vpon the enimie. Wherevpon the said Fagaw rescued his capteine,

The
of Ni-
Wright.

The
of Ni-
Wright.

teine, & the said Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the onset vpon six of the enimies and slue one of them. And therewith came one Iames Fitzrichard an Irish gentleman with his kerne to the rescue of the capteine, but his kerne was slaine, and himselfe in danger. For Wright not looking on them followed the enimie verie egerlie, and recompensed the losse of one with the slaughter of others. Which capteine Raleigh perceiuing cried out to his man, saieng; "Wright, if thou be a man, charge aboue hand & saue the gentleman." Who at his maisters commandment pressed into the middle of the enimies, and slue one of them, and so saued the gentleman: and in which skirmish his horsse leg was cut vnder him. Diuerse footmen were slaine of the enimies, and two were taken prisoners, whome they carried with them to Corke.

At his lieng in Corke there were sundrie péeces of seruices doone by him, all which doo verie well deserue to be for euer registred. And amongst all others this one point of his seruice deserueth both commendation and perpetuall remembrance. The lord Roch was growen into a suspicion that he was not sound of his loialtie. Wherevpon capteine Raleigh by commandment was to fetch him and his ladie to Corke vnto the generall. This thing was not so priuile determined, but that the seneschall and Dauid Barrie had knowledge thereof, and minding verelie to take the capteine at some aduantage, they had assembled a great companie of themselues to the number of seuen or eight hundred men to haue met with him either coming or going. The capteine perceiuing and forethinking how dangerous his enterprise was against so noble a man in that countrie as the lord Roch was, who was verie well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his men one and other, both horssemen and footmen, which in the whole were not aboue foure score and ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of death betweene ten and eleuen of the clocke of the same night. At which time euerie man being in a readinesse, he tooke his iorneie and marched toward the lord Roches house called Ballie in Harsh, which is about twentie miles out of Corke, and came thither somewhat earlie in the morning. At his coming he went foorthwith to the castell gate.

The lord Roch is had in suspicion, and is sent for.

Capteine Raleigh commeth to the lord Roches house.

The townsmen when they saw their lords house and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the worst, did arme about fife hundred of themselues. Wherevpon capteine Raleigh placed and bestowed his men in battell raie in the towne it selfe, & marched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Michael Butler, Iames Fulford, Nicholas Write, Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Pinking Huish; and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a while there came three or foure of the said lord Roches gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their coming, vnto whome the capteine answered, that he was come to speake with my lord: which was offered he should, so that he would bring in with him but two or thre of his gentlemen, which the capteine was contented with, yet in the end (but with much adoo) he came in with all these few persons before named. When the capteine was once come within the castell, and had entred into some speeches with the lord Roch, he so handled the matter by deuises and meanes, that by little and little, and by some and some, he had gotten in within the iron doore or gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing the aduantage, he commanded his men to stand and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in or out: and likewise charged euerie man to come into the hall with his péce well prepared, with two bullets. The lord Roch when he saw this, he was suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare: but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the matter, and calling for meat, requested the capteine and his foresaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to kéepe him companie at dianer.

Capteine Raleigh being received into the castell getteth in all his men.

THE CHRONICLES OF IRELAND.

The lord Roch
yeldeth to go
with capteine
Raleigh.

After dinner, the capteine falling into speeches with the said lord Roch, declared plainlie vnto him the cause of his comming, and shewed that he and his wife were accused to be traitors, and that he had a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take and carie them along with him to Corke: which he was to performe, and so would. The lord Roch alledged manie excuses for himselfe and for his wife, saieng in the end that he neither could nor would go: the capteine answered, that if they would not go with a good will, they should perforce go against their will. The lord Roch séeing that there was no remedie, he yéelded: and then the capteine minding to lose no time, willed him to command and cause all those of the towne, and all such as were about the house, to attend and be in redinesse to aid him, and to set him foorth in his iorneie: which he did, and verie willinglie shewed himselfe to abide and obeie the capteines commandement, saieng that he would answer the matter well inough, and discharge whatsoever should be laid to his charge, for he knew himselfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his wife redie to take the iorneie in hand, as the capteine did appoint and command: and towards night they did set forward to Corke. But the night fell out to be verie tempestuous and foule, and therewith so darke, that no man could see hand or foot, nor yet discern one another; and the waies also were so fowle, so full of barks, hillocks, pits, and rocks, that the souldiors thereby were maruellouslie troubled and incombred, some stumbled among the stones, some plunged into holes, and some by their often fals were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and were maruellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they were among and in the middle of the enimies, who laie in sundrie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the darke night which was cumbersome to themselues, was a shadow to shrowd them from their enimies. And in the end, though with much trouble, they came to Corke in safetie, sauing one soldier named John Phelium, who by his often falling and stumbling among the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his feet, that he could neuer recouer the same, but did in the end consume and rot awaie.

The L. Roch ac-
quitteth himselfe.

The L. Roch
and his sonnes
good seruices.

The capteine being come to the towne somewhat earlie in the morning, he was receiued in, and presented his prisoners to the generall, with no little admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a iorneie, being verelie supposed of all men that he could neuer haue escaped. The lord Roch being brought to be examined, did so well answer for himselfe, that in the end he was acquitted, and taken for a true and a good subiect, and which in time was well tried and knowne. For not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons and followers, did attend and performe all such seruices as were laid vpon them; and in which, thrée of his sonnes were killed by the enimie in hir maiesties seruice.

Capteine Zouch
putteth the earle
of Desmond in
danger to be
taken.

Capteine Zouch (as is afore said) laie at the Dingham, among whose companie there fell a dangerous and an extreme sicknesse: few or none escaped it, howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond and Daud Barrie was assembled at Aghado with thrée thousand men; and he being verie desirous to doo some seruice vpon them, drew all his full force of horsemen and footmen vnto Castelmange. And then by the aduise of his capteins Achim and Cash, he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enimies, before they wist of anie such thing, and slue a great companie of them, and draue the erle to such a push, that he in his shirt was driuen to shift for himselfe, in the middle of his gallovglasses, and by that means he escaped. The earle nothing liking this coorse successe, sought a better place of safetie, and remooued himselfe to Harlow wood, and passed by the waie to Kilmallocke. Which when the garrison there did vnderstand,

stand, they pursued and followed him, namelie capteine Bouchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Makworth, and capteine Norris, thrée miles together vpon the plains betwéene Kilmallocke and the wood, and slue manie of the rebels. And capteine Dowdall who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and in it had serued sundrie times, he would néeds, and did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gaue the onset vpon him, killed a great number of his men, tooke from them their cariages, and droue awaie a great preie of kine, and brought them to Kilmallocke to the garison. Neere about this time the seneschall came to Lismore, and preied that countrie, and droue awaie their cattell. Which when the garison heard, and were aduertised thereof, they issued, and followed the preie to recouer it; but they were so incountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the preie, and fue and twentie of their men were slaine. Diuerse skirmishes were dailie doone vpon the enimie, and manie iorneies made vpon them to their great damages and hurts.

Capteine Dowdall preieth the earle of Desmond.

The seneschall preieth the garison of Lismore.

In the moneth of August next following, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fue hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a iorneie into Mounster, where when he had taken an account of all their dooings and seruices, he established capteine Zouch to be gouernour of all Mounster, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh vnto Dublin. This now new gouernour, being accompanied with capteine Raleigh and capteine Dowdall, trauelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certeine place of their resting was at Corke, where for the most part they laie in garison: making in the meane time sundrie iorneies, as occasion of seruice did require. And they being in Corke, newes was brought vnto the gouernour that there was a great quarell fallen out betwéene Dauid Barrie and the seneschall, and that they were mortall enimies, and at a deadlie food; and they laie both in Dunfrinnen side, not far from the blacke water. The earle of Desmond and Iohn his brother laie in Patrike Condons countrie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie sorie for this quarell, and would haue come vnto them, but the waters were so great, they could not; yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect. Capteine Dowdall vpon these newes sent out an Irish man which he had, and who was a notable spiall, named Richard mac Iames, and willed him to séeke out where the seneschall was, to the end that he might make a draught vpon him. This Richard drawing himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lieng among them in their cabins where they laie in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entered into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds vnto the seneschall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse vnto him the businesse which he had there to doo: and told him that the next daie following, sir Iohn of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agréement betwéene Barrie and the seneschall. When as Richard mac Iames had heard at full all his spéeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Corke with him, which in the end the fellow was contented so to doo. And in the next morning they went together to Corke, and at their coming thither, did declare vnto capteine Dowdall the whole matter, and he forthwith aduertised the same to the gouernour: who albeit he did not altogether beléeue what was told, yet he agréed that it was best that some seruice should be doone vpon them, and concluded that himselfe and capteine Dowdall should doo the same, vnder the colour that they were to make a iourneie vnto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowne of that which they had determined. And hauing prepared all things necessarie for this seruice, the same night they left the charge of the garison vnto capteine Raleigh lieutenant: and

The lord deputie establisheth capteine Zouch gouernour of all Mounster.

The L. Barrie and the seneschall fall out.

Capteine Dowdall maketh a spiall vpon the seneschall.

Sir Iohn of Desmond appointed to make a league between Barrie and the seneschall.

The gouernour Zouch and capteine Dowdall make a secret iourneie.

and themselves taking their leaue, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by breake of the daie they came to castell Lions, the weather being verie mistie and thicke, and in the castell they found but one poore man, who told them that Dauid of Barrie was gone but a little before them vnto Humacquilliam. The gouernour and the capteine being verie eger, and desirous to doo some seruice, they followed the tract of the horsse a good prettie waie; but the capteine mistrusting that no good seruice would be doone, that waie, perswaded the gouernour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were fast by, where as he thought some good seruice would be doone whose aduise the gouernour followed: and they had ridden but a little waie, but they saw two horssemen come riding toward them, but as soone as they had séene the said gouernour and capteine, they returned backe againe.

Sir Iohn of Desmond killed, and his bodie hanged vpon a gibbet by the heels.

Then the capteine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his aduise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betwéene the bog and the wood; which being doone, they followed those two men so short, that they were driuen to forsake their horsse, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose shot being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe vpon the horssemen, who gaue the onset vpon them; and the one of them, which was sir Iohn of Desmond they sore hurted with a horssemans staffe, that he spake verie few words after. And the other, whose name was Iames Fitziohn of Strongecullie, they tooke: and both they caried with them to Corke. Sir Iohns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged vp by the héeles vpon a gibbet, and set vpon the north gate of Corke. And Iames Fitziohn was drawne, hanged, & quartered. And thus haue you the third head of the venemous Hydra cut off, who had his iust reward and merit, if not too good for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honor of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholie imbrued in bloud and villanie; and in bloud he died, and had his reward by Gods iust iudgement.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made vpon Dauid Barrie, for the preie which he and Goren mac Swene had made in Carbreie, and passed with the same by Bentrie, where laie a garrison vnder the leading of capteine Appesleie: but he being deceased, the same was committed to captein Fenton, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the preie, fell into the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drumslager left alieue, who by swiftnesse of his foote escaped. The foresaid Appesleie was a verie proper man, a gentleman borne, and of a good house, and brought vp in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliuer his speeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who perswaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the moone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being soone intised and perswaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the baddest; whereof great troubles insued, and he at length was driuen to leaue the seas, and to wander a long time on the sea-coasts in the prouince of Mounster: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whome he found such fauor, that no Englishman could doo more with him than he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henrie Dauels, whome he found rather a father than a friend vnto him; and then his behauiour was such, that he grew to be in good fauor with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to doo sundrie seruices in Mounster, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honest and

faithfully,

faithfullie. The gouernor continuing still in one and the same mind, to doo some seruice vpon Barrie, who then laie in Dunfrennin, he together with capteine Dowdall marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distress-
The gouernor and capteine Dowdall speule and enter into Barries campe and kill his men.
 and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some aduantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue thencefoorth in some dutifull and restfull order; which he in the end did obtaine.
Barrie sueth for a protection.

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of Iohn of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Mounster; he thought good to ease hir maiesties charge, and so cashed sundrie bards and discharged sundrie garisons, leauing for the seruice of Mounster in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernor, one hundred vnder capteine Dowdall, and one hundred vnder Sir George Boucher; and the first horsemen were vnder capteine Achin, who laie in garrison at Adare in Kerrie. When all things (I saie) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, behold a new stirre (and vnlooked for) is now raised: for Fitzmoris baron of Lexna, who had hitherto dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue béene a dutifull subiect, when he saw the weaknesse of the Englishmen, & how that the garisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarce able well to saue and kéepe themselues, much lesse to hurt others: he breaketh out into open rebellion, and ioineth with him his wicked, traitorous, and periured sonne. This baron of Lexna his first ancestors were seruants to the barons of Carew, and of Odron, and lords of Lexna, and had the chiefe rule and gouernment vnder him of all his countrie in Mounster, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmoris, who by the authoritie vnder his master was growen into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carew his maister, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lexna & his other possessions in Mounster, euen as the like was doone by the Kauenaghs in Odron in Leinster. And the heire of Carew in England, who had great and large possessions in Deuon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.
The L. deputie casheth sundrie bards in Mounster.
Fitzmoris baron of Lexna breaketh into open rebellion. The cause of this his breaking out, some do impute it to the hard dealing of the gouernor, who so narrowlie watched him, that he alwayes took from him what he had, and so intercepted him from his provision, that he had nothing left to eat.
Fitzmoris seruant to Carew lord of Lexna. killeth his maister.

This new baron of Lexna, the first thing that he tooke in hand, was to cleanse and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an aduantage, slue him, and recouered the ward of Adare. After that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of Lesconile, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he vsed this stratagem. He laid verie close & tectlie a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old woman, which was woont euerie morning to bring a great basket of coles or turffe into the ward, that as soone as she was betwéene the two gates of the castell, she should let fall hir basket and crie out: which she did. For when she was come to the castell, and had after hir accustomed maner called to the ward, one of them came and loosed the vtter iron doore, and then he did open the inner doore for hir to come in. When she was come betwéene the two doores, she let fall hir great basket of coles and cried out. The companie foorthwith lieng in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to draw out
 them.

The baron of Lexna destroyeth all the English in his countrie, and taketh the queenes forts.

A stratagem vsed in taking the castell of Lesconile.

A stratagem at
Adnagh.

them the vtter iron doore, nor to shut fast the inner doore, the enimie entred, tooke the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them ouer the wals. The good successe of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vse other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Adnagh. For he supposing that hungrie soldiours would be contented to accept anie courtesie, he procured a yoong harlot, who was somewhat snowfaire, to go to the castell, pretending some iniurie to haue béene doone to hir, and to humble hirselfe to the capteins deuotion, being supposed, that he by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasieng of hir, and so would reteine hir. And by these meanes, she by hir cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betwéene Fitzmoris and hir, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betraie the castell. The capteine receiued hir into the castell, and not forgetting the late former practise at Lesconile, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to looke vnto himselfe. Wherevpon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried hir vp vnto the top of the castell and cast hir ouer the wals, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmoris being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thense, and ranged ouer all the countries of Tipporarie, Ormond, and Waterford, where were no garrisons to resist him, and there plaied his parts.

The gouernor
marcheth from
Corke to Clan-
moris to in-
counter with
Fitzmoris.

The gouernor, who laie at Corke, being aduertised of these outrages, called his companie together, which (as is before said, was not aboue foure hundred persons) and other reported (but vntrulie) to be about foure thousand: yet minding not to suffer an iniurie, marched with such companie as he had into Clanmoris, which is the said Fitzmoris countrie, and distant from Corke about thrée daies iourneie. The baron by his espials being aduertised of their comning, forsooke his castell at Adare, and defaced his castell at Lexna, and drew his goods, and all his forces into the wood of Lesconile. When the gouernor was come to Adare, he found the towne burnt, and the few Englishmen (which were in the abbeie) greatlie distressed. From thense he went to Lesconile, which is ten miles further, where he discovered the baron and all his companie, which then laie in a plaine bottome in the said wood, hauing then in his companie of gallowglasses, kerne, shot, and horssemen, about seuen hundred men.

Capteine Dow-
dall entereth
vpon Fitzmoris,
and giueth him
the foile.

The baron of
Lexna fleeth into
the hills of
Sloughlougher.

The gouernor taking aduise what was best to be doone, because that place was full of fastnesse, and no passage for anie horssemen, but all rested vpon the seruice of the footmen; they diuided their companie. And capteine Dowdall being verie desirous to aduenture the seruice vpon him, he had six score footmen appointed and deliuered vnto him, and the residue he reserued to himselfe. The capteine entred into the wood, and followed vntill he came into the plains where Fitzmoris was; who hauing a great companie, and the capteine but (as it were) a handfull to his, he diuided his whole companie into foure parts, thinking to haue inclosed the capteine, and to haue his will vpon them. The capteine perceiued it, and forthwith brake vpon one of the companies, and had such a hand vpon them, that he slue a number of them. Which when Fitzmoris saw, like a valiant man turned his backe and fled awaie into the mounteins of Sloughlougher, and left all his goods behind; which the capteine tooke, and also all the cattell there, and brought the same to the gouernor. From thense they marched to the castell of Clan, of which Oliuer Stephanson had the ward and kéeping; and there newes was brought vnto him, that the lord deputie had sent vnto him two bands of footmen, of which one hundred were sir Henrie Wallops, and the other capteine Norris. Wherevpon he trauelled vnto Limerike, and left the whole charge of Clanmoris, and of Kerrie vnto capteine Dowdall. And the said capteine being put to wéet that the baron was incamped

A supplie of two
hundred men
sent to the
gouernor.

at

at Glanflish with two hundred and fortie gallowglasses, two hundred kerne, fourescore shot, and thirtie horsmen, and he himselfe hauing then but the lieutenant Wingfield in his companie, made a sallie vpon them, and killed with the sword, and draue into the riuer aboue seuen score of them, and recouered a preie of eight hundred kine, fife hundred horses and mares, besides a great number of shéepe and gotes: and in the taking of the baron, he found store of monie and plate, and massing garments. And from hense he marched with his cattell, and incamped besides Alough, néere vnto the earle of Clancar his house, and from thense to Castellmange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went euerie ward and garison with store of vittels, and with the goods he rewarded his souldiors. From this time, the baron Fitzmoris hauing lost all his prouision & store, was neuer able to recouer himselfe, neither to credit nor to wealth, nor yet to hold vp his head, but was forsaken of all his fréends and followers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad and disloyall trecheries, walked and wandred abroad as a forlorne man, not knowing what to doo, whither to go, or where to séeke for succor and helpe.

Captaine Dowdall setteth vpon Fitzmoris in Clancar and gaue him the ouerthrow.

The baron Fitzmoris with a few is ouerthrowne to his utter fall, and forsaken of all his frends.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his distressed miseries, bethinketh vpon the earle of Ormond, whome notwithstanding that without cause he had verie much iniured, hauing most outragiouslye preied his countries, burned his villages, and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse vnto his lordship, acknowledgeth his fault, confesseth his follies; and being most sorie for the same, desireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most humblie requested him to haue vnder him a protection. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great iniuries doone vnto him, and he of a great courage and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put vp so great iniuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion, *Parcere prostratis*) when he had shewed the great gréefes of the said Fitzmoris, he forgat all his owne wrongs, and granted him his request. Capteine Dowdall, leauing the gouernors souldiors and companie at Adare, vnder the leading of capteine Smith, he marcheth towards Corke, where he rested and laie in garrison. Now when all these broils were ended, and verelie supposed that all things had béene at rest, and the whole prouince of Mounster at peace; behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to be either dead or fled, be-

The baron being distressed of all helpe, seeketh to the earle of Ormond for a protection.

The courtesie of the earle of Ormond.

ginneth to appeare, and to shew himselfe; and hauing assembled a great companie, came to Adare, where the garrison issued out vpon him: betwéene whom the fight was hot, and manie slaine on both sides. Among whom, Smith serjeant of the band, and Morgan the lieutenant were both slaine: but yet the English souldiors recouered the abbeie. About this time one Thomas Birne lieutenant to the notable arch-traitor Fitzgiralde, being wearie of the wicked actions which hitherto he had followed among the rebels, sent his messenger to capteine George Carew, requesting him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon, and for so manie of his companie as would ioine with and accompanie him in a péece of seruice to be doone: which he promised to recompense with the price of his capteins head, which he would in a bag present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie of his companie as would not consent with him therevnto.

The earle of Desmond thought to be dead dooth now shew himselfe.

The fight at Adare.

A draught made to kill Fitzgiralde.

When this deuise was readie to be practised, the clearke of the band, who was one of the confederats, verie trecherouslye did discover the same vnto Fitzgiralde, who immediatlie tooke and hanged his lieutenant, the serjeant of his band (who was an Englishman) and so manie of the souldiors as were of that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzgiralde bethinking vpon the extreame miseries, which in this rebellion he had indured, and the small hope which he had to preuaile in these his bad and traitorous actions, but chieflie being afraid of his owne life, least at one time or other he should be slaine by his souldiors: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices, requiring his pardon, and which he would redéeme with the head of his

Fitzgiralde executed to death so manie as conspired against him.

Fitzgiralde practiseth the death of Phelon mac Hugh.

best friend and fellow in armes Pheon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and rebellion in Leinster.

Fitzginald is
hanged for his
conspiracie.

The lord Greie
yielded vp the
sword to returne
eth into England.
1582

The lord com-
missioner in
Henrie Wallis,
and lord iustices.

This was not so couertlie doone, but that Pheon mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he forthwith intreated Fitzginald in the like manner as he before had doone with the lieutenant, and so hanged him vp. The lord deputie after long sute for his reuocation, receiued hir maiesties letters for the same, and then he sent for capteine Zouch gouernor of Mounster to come to Dublin: and in the end of August 1582, after that he had serued full two yeres he deliuered vp the sword vnto the archbishop of Dublin then lord chancellor, and to sir Henrie Wallis then treasurer at armes, and tooke shipping; hauing with him capteine Zouch, who was after slaine by one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and dutifull to hir maiestie in all obedience. And albeit he had deserued well of that Irish nation, and had sowed the good seeds of notable seruices, as well for his martiall seruices, as for his ciuill gouernment; yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but darnell and cockle. For they had among them not onelie conspired his death, for which some paid décrelie; but made also sundrie complaints against him, to which he answered to his commendation and acquittall, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

The death of
doctor Sanders.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a broken time, the warres being not ended, the people not quieted, and the gouernement not staid nor settled; yet they both ioining their wisdoms, seruices, and good wils, were so blessed therein, that by them that land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse. For not long after they had taken the sword in hand doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all wickednesse, with Iames Fitzmoris in Iulie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and nine, to beare arms in this land against hir maiestie, after that he had wandered vp and downe threé yeares together with the earle and his brethren sir Iohn, in woods and bogs, and had liued with them a most miserable and wretched life, and had béene partaker of their most cruell bloudsheds, outrages, murthers, and robberies, a life good and too good for a traitor and a rebell. He fell sicke of an Irish ague and of the bloudie flix, and laie in the wood of Clennelisse, which is a wood full of allers, withies, briars, & thornes, and through which is no passage; where partlie of his sicknesse, but chéefelie for famine and want he died. Euen in this filthie place, that most miserable wretch and traitor was lodged and died, bequeathing his treasons, treacheries, and disloialties against his souereigne mistresse and ladie hir maiestie vnto the pope, reseruing the punishment to the Lord himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge vpon all traitors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some saie) was deuoured vp of woolues, but (as some doo thinke) that so much as was left was buried at Clancarne, not farre off from the place where he died.

The earle of
Downe and keep-
er of Christ-
masse house
1583.

The two lords iustices being entred into this broken gouernement, did what they could to kéepe the same in peace; and vnderstanding the wilfull disposition of Desmond, they did vse all the means and waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he imbrued and poisoned with the venom of treason and rebellion, that no reason, no dutie, nor anie other respect could persuaade him to be a loiall and dutifull subiect. Wherefore he continued still in his old accustomed spoiling and wasting the countries, and trusting to no house nor castell, did shrowd himselfe in woods and bogs, and in the winter following he kept his Christmasse in the wood of Kilquieg néere to Kilmallocke. And about the fourth of Ianuarie then following, one Iohn Welsh a valiant and a good souldier, was resolved to make a draught vpon the

the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith capteine Dowdall, capteine Ban-^{A doubt maie upon the same by John Welsh.}gor, and George Thorington prouost marshall of Mounster, all which laie then in garrison in Kilmallocke, and according to the order betweene them then agreed vpon, they marched in the night time to the place and wood where the earle laie.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer a great riuer, before they could come to enter into the wood of Kilquieg, & by reason of the great raines then falling, it was impossible for man or horsse to passe ouer the same, which thing John Welsh did before mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went thither verie closelie, with such few persons as he had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a number of ^{A devise how to passe ouer a great riuer.}flakes and hurdels to be made of halson, allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be drawne ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose which could swim verie well. And this fellow when he had fastened some of the hurdels to a tree in the further side of the water, and then by a rope drew ouer the residue one after another, did so fasten and tie one vnto another, and so cunninglie handled the matter, that when the capteins came, they passed ouer the riuer verie well without danger or perill. And so from thense the said Welsh did guide and bring them by the breake of the daie vnto the earles cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so mirie, that ^{The earle escapeth verie hardlie.}they were faine to go a speares length wide from the cabin to come vnto it. The earle hearing a great noise, and suspecting some extraordinarie and a greater companie to be in place more than his owne, and doubting the woorst, ran out of his bed in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin, and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard vp to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his wife with him. The souldiors made diligent search for him both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but could not find him; wherevpon they did put to the sword so manie as they found there, and carried awaie the goods with them, and so returned to Kilmallocke.

At this time the seneschall secretlie with all the force which he could make, came vnto the towne of Youghall, & entred into the end of the same towne. ^{The seneschall assaulteth & entred into Youghall and hath the repulse.}Wherevpon the alarum was raised, and foorthwith Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capteine Morgan, hauing all his soldiors together, of which he had fortie shot, went vnto that end of the towne where the seneschall scaled the wals, & there he made a sconse, or a little bulworke, and by that meanes saued the towne, and draue the seneschall from his purpose, and killed aboue fiftie of his men: and so being disappointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the end of this moneth of Ianuarie the earle of Ormond arriued from out of England to Waterford with a new supplie of foure hundred men, whome he diuided and committed vnto the seucrall leadings of sir George Bourcher, sir William Stanleie, capteine Edward Berkleie, and capteine Roberts. And being now lord generall by hir maiesties appointment ouer all Mounster, and hauing obtained an augmentation of two pence by the daie for euerie soldiors wages, he assembleth all the soldiors and euerie capteine which had anie charge, and tooke order with euerie of them for such seruices as were to be doone, furnisheth them with vittels, munitions, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for them, requesting euerie one of them to shew themselues like good and valiant soldiors, in the pursuing of the rebels, and vanquishing of the enemies: and such grace and loue he found among the soldiors, that he was no more desirous than they most glad and willing to performe the same. ^{The loue of the captains and soldiors to the earle of Ormond.}Such a good affection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

At this time aduertisement was giuen vnto his lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped in the fastnesse of Harlo wood with a great number of rakehels & rebels. His lordship mustered all his companies, and minding to doo some seruice vpon the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse of Harlo wood. And

The lord going
into Harlowe wood.

Desmond is for-
taken of all his
followers and
friends.

being come thither, he diuideth his companies into foure parts, and they entered into foure seuerall places of the wood at one instant: and by that meanes they scowred the wood throughout, in killing as manie as they tooke, but the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels being thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they neuer after met together in the like companies, nor assembled themselves in such great numbers: but the most part of them, which were the chiefest followers and greatest friends vnto Desmond, as Fitzmoris of Lexna before named, the seneschall, the lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Knought, & sundrie others, some and some came awaie, and sought for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit outrages, murthers, bloudsheds and spoiles, had deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship considering their repentance, sorrows, and humble submissions, and respecting more hir maiesties godlie disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the most part) grant vnto euerie of them their requests. The soldiers after this péece of seruice were dispersed abroad into their seuerall garrisons. And albeit the greater parts of the rebels were some by sword, and some by protection abated, and much decreased, yet none of them laie altogether idle, but did follow the seruice as time and occasion offered. For the earle himselfe, though he were thus unfeathered of his greatest helps, yet he was one & the same man, a most ranke traitor and rebell: and therefore vpon him dailie were draughts and pursutes made, and neuer left, vntill in the end he came vnto confusion.

A draught made
vpon the gallow-
glasses in Harlo
wood.

In the moneth of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred eightie and thrée, it was aduertised to the garrisons in Kilmallocke and Cashell, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood, and had aboute three score gallowglasses besides kerne a great number, vpon whom captein Dowdall hauing good espials, made a iorneie thither, and being entred into the wood verie earlie, laie close all the forenoone. For these gallowglasses had bin so dæred from time to time, that now like a sort of deere they laie vpon their kéeplings; and so fearfull they were, that they would not tarrie in anie one place anie long time, but where they did dresse their meat, thense they would remooue, and eat it in another place, and from thense go vnto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch, in the forenoones they would be vpon the hilles and mounteins, to descrie the countrie, and in the afternoone they would sléepe. The capteine breaking time with them, made staie in the wood accordinglie, and in the afternoone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of them were asléepe, and some of them occupied in dressing of a horse for to eat, for other vittels were scant. The capteine suddenlie entred vpon them, and tooke them at such aduantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which, fve and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these Gallowglasses, which are counted the best men of warre among the Irishrie: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismayd, that a man might without anie great danger passe throughout Mounster.

The gallowglas-
ses in Harlo
wood put to
sword.

The L. Roch
his men disco-
uer Desmond.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yeare one thousand fve hundred foure score & three, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall néere to Trusham, were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the earle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or three horsemen and a priest. The kerns which attended the said lord Roches men, inuironed & compassed them about; but the earle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the priest they tooke, by reason of his bad horse, and him the lord Roch sent the next daie vnto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie

miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in corners, & would not be séene. And further, that he had his onelie reléefe and was fostered by Goron mac Swene, The Desmond is a capteine of the gallowglasses, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not béene heard of since he was garred out of Hario wood) is now discouered. Wherevpon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cush: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaire thither, and there to lie in garison; which he did forthwith performe. The earle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discouered, and how that vittels and a garison were sent to Dingle a Cush to the working of his wo; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bouchier did from time to time gall and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Goron mac Swene, & Moile Morough mac Swene his brother, he gathereth a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his gard. Goron mac Swene in the meane time entreth into Carberie, and taketh a great preie of kine, which he droue forthwith into Desmond toward the earle, but the iorneie was so long, that he laie short of the earle that night about thrée or foure miles.

A garison appointed to be at the Dingle.

Desmond feareth Dowdall.

Goron preith all Carberie for Desmond.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their goods, thrée of them with their swords and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stollen awaie their owne kine if by anie means they could, and if opportunitie would so serue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recouer anie thing at all. The foresaid Goron, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abroad in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alone, hauing onelie one kerne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelue score off from his lodging. About which place it hapned the foresaid thrée men had hidden and couched themselues in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betwéene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed them both: and as soone as they had cut off their heads, they shifted for themselves. Gorons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abroad to séeke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lieng dead vpon the ground; which cast them into such a maze, as they wist not what to thinke or to doo: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for garison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whome they could suspect. But this is the iust iudgement of God, who in his iustice looketh vpon the periured and wicked, and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the earle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the garisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his friend, his chéeft and onelie staie, was in a great agonie, and maruelouslie dismaid; and séeing no other remedie, he prepareth the best for himselfe, and taking the aduantage of the time, before the garison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie néere Traileigh, minding to take a preie from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherefore in the evening he sent two horssemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Traileigh vnto a castell there, & commanded them to take their preie from thense, which they did, and brought the same awaie with them.

Goron mac Swene is killed.

The erle commandeth preie to be taken in Kerrie.

Among those kine thus driuen awaie, a poore woman of that countrie lost all those few that she had, and being distressed of that which was the cheefe, and in a maner the onelie reléefe of hir and hir children and houshold; and not knowing how she could by anie meanes recouer them: she bethought hir selfe vpon a brother which she

she had, dwelling on the other side of the mountaine, in a castell named Drome, which was one of the Morettos; and to him she runneth in all the hast she could, and declareth hir estate and case, praieng him to helpe hir, and that he would follow, the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two horssemen & a few kerne which had drouen the preie awaie, he to pleasure his sister tooke three other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castelmange, which castell was in the waie. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Cheston, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Berkeleie) that he would spare him some shot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the preie which was driuen that waie. The constable and the soldiours were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had seuen shot and a doozzen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fast vnder the castell, & so they went altogether to Traleigh, they being in number three and twentie persons; one of these was an Irish man borne, named Kollie, but serued alwaies vnder Englishmen, and could speake verie good English. This man, when they came to Traleigh, they appointed & made him their leader or capteine; and Moretto because he was borne in those parties, and best knew the countrie, they appointed to be their guide: and from thense they followed the tract vntill they came to the side of a mountaine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come vpon them, there they staid and rested themselves for that night. And in the darke night one of them had espied through the trees a fire not farre off, wherevpon they drew themselves close together, and caused one of themselves closelie and secretlie to draw towards the fire and to discover what companie was there, and how manie was of them; which man did so. And when he returned backe vnto them, he told them that there was an old bad house, and about fíue or six persons therein: wherevpon they all determined and agreed to repaire to that place to know the whole matter. Moretto was the guide to bring them to the house, and Kollie did set his companie in order and good araie, as was most for their seruice, if néed should so require. And when they were come to the house, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the residue were gone. Then Kollie drew his sword and strake the old man, with which blow he had almost cut off one of his arms; and then he strake him againe, and gaue him a great blow on the side of his head; wherwith the said old man cried out, desiring them to saue his life, for he was earle of Desmond, and then Kollie staid his hands: but the erle bled so fast, that he waxed verie faint, and could not trauell anie further: wherevpon the said Kollie bid and willed him to prepare himselfe to die; and then he strake off the earls head.

The earle of
Desmond taken
in an old house
alone and slaine.

The earle of
Downe and
sent into England
and set on
London bridge.

John Bourke
being a peccator
and a straggler
and was
slaine.

The residue of the companie in this meane time spoiled and rifled the house, and tooke what them listed: and then they all departed and went to Castelmange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the same were deuoured by the wolues or buried by his kerne, it is not certeinlie knowne. As soone as they came to Castelmange, they sent the said earles head vnto the lord generall, who forthwith sent the same into England for a present to hir maiestie; which forthwith was put vpon a pole, and set on London bridge. When this his death was noised and knowne, there was no more seruice to be doone: for euerie rebell cast awaie his weapon, and sought all the waies they could to humble themselves and to become good subjects: sauing one John Bourke, who stood vpon his protection, and yet notwithstanding he and his companie went to Adare, there to haue taken a preie. But as he passed by the castell, a brother and discharged his peece vpon the said Bourke, & strake him in the head, wherof he died. The common people, who had felt the great smart of this troublesome time, reioised and were glad

of

of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles should haue an end, and they to be the more at rest. During these continuall troubles in Munster, the two lord iustices which laie at Dublin were much eased from all martiall affaires elsewhere, and were troubled but with the clamorings, exclamations, and brabbling of the Irish people, not woorth the remembring: sauing that a certeine combat was fought and tried before them in the castell of Dublin, betwene two Oconhours, A combat betwene two Oconhours verie neere coosens & kinsmen: the one was named Teig mac Guill Patrike Oconhour appellant; the other was named Con mac Cormake Oconhour defendant. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundrie treasons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other triall but by combat, which was granted vnto them. Wherevpon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the daie, time, and place appointed; and according to the same, the lord iustices, the iudges, and the counsellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintife was brought in before the face of the court, The manner of the combat. being stripped into his shirt, hauing onlie his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and when he had doone his reuerence and dutie to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to a stoole set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendant brought in, in the like maner and order, and with the like weapons: and when he had doone his dutie and reuerence to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to his chaire placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openlie read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not? who when he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendant was likewise asked whether he would confesse the action, or stand to the triall of the same? who did answer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the sword.

Upon this their seuerall answers, they were seuerallie called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a corporall oth that their quarell was true, and that they would iustifie the same both with sword & blood. Thus they being sworne are brought backe againe euerie of them to their seuerall places as before. And then when by the sound of a trumpet a signe was giuen vnto them when they should enter into the fight; they arose out of their seats, and met ech one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned vnto them, they fought: in which fight the appellant did preuaile, and he not onlie did disarme the defendant, but also with the sword of the said defendant did cut off his head, and vpon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord iustices, and so with the victorie of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to saie somewhat of much, of the maner of a combat, which together with manie circumstances therevnto belonging is now for want of vse almost cleane forgotten, and yet verie necessarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was so valiantlie doone, that a great manie did wish that it had rather fallen vpon the whole sex of the Oconhours, than vpon these two gentlemen.

The vicount of Baltinglas, being aduertised of the death of the earle of Desmond, which was no small grieffe vnto him, and he also verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places (being altogether distressed, and in great miserie, and now destitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head anie longer against hir maiesties force) did imbarke himselfe for Spaine, in hope to haue some reléeffe and succor, and to procure some aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of some abilitie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie small comfort. And therefore

The vicount of Baltinglasse wearie of his life.

The vicount Baltinglasse imbarketh himselfe for Spaine,

of

Sir Iohn Perot
arriueth into
Ireland to be
lord deputie.

of a verie melancholie gréepe & sorrow of mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreame pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iustices, who had ruled and gouerned the land in these troublesome and broken times in great wisdom, care, & circumspection, when they had brought the whole land to a peaceable & quiet gouernment, and deliuered the same from all open or knowne rebellion; they cashed and discharged all the garrisons in Mounster, onelie two hundred souldiors excepted: they kept it in good quietnesse, vntill the arriuall of sir Iohn Perot knight, who was sent ouer to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of Iune, one thousand five hundred fourescore and foure, the six and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne vnto whome they deliuered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his good beginnings a great hope was conceiued of the like to insue. For he was a right woorthie serui-
tor in that land, when he was lord president in Mounster: and by whome Iames Fitzmoris was subdued, and the whole prouince maruellouslie well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they doo well deserue, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registred to his perpetuall fame and immortall honor. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensiuie to remember some speciall points of his late seruice, which doo deserue to be remembred: as also for the encouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which doo halson and giue a hope that he will *Addere colophonem*, and bring that land to a full and perfect gouernment & regiment; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be doone much before doomesdaie.

The Scots rebell-
and are subdued.

Not long after the arriuall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed maner, for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are vp in armes readie for the warre. His lordship hauing notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to méete with them, and to stop them of their purpose: and therein he so ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were driuen to séeke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselues, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to hir maiestie. Which when they had obtained, then they tooke the lands wherein they dwelled, of hir highnesse, yéelding a yearelie rent, which before they had not beene accustomed nor woont to dooe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

The councill in
Ireland.

Then when he was from this seruice returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and indeuor was to deuise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the gouernment, according to the laws of England. Wherevpon he would and did verie often assemble the whole councill, or so manie of them as were there, for their aduise herein; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin lord chancellor, the earle of Ormond lord treasurer, the primat of Armagh, the bishop of Meth, the bishop of Kilmore, sir Iohn Noris lord president of Mounster, sir Henrie Wallop treasurer at armes, sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, Robert Gardner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Dillon knight chiefe iustice of the common plées, sir Lucas Dillon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the rols, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Cowleie knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Brabesbie, Geffreie Fenton secretarie, sir Warham Sentleger & sir Valentine Browne knights; but discontinued. By the good aduise, helpe, and councill of these wise and prudent counsellors, he first thought it best to bring the whole land into shire grounds, whereby the laws of England might haue a through course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Sidneie before had doone in a few counties, that he per-
formed

The whole
realme brought
into shire
grounds.

formed in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie seuerall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To euerie of which new counties he appointed and assigned seuerall shiriffes, and all such inferior officers as were most requisit, and to the same incident and appertaining. All and euerie which shires hitherto not registred, nor published in chronicle, together with such as tofore were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their seuerall names, and in their prouinces as followeth.

Counties in Mounster.	<div> <div> Limerike Corke Kerrie Tipporaria Crosse Waterford </div> <div> </div> </div>	} Old counties.	The shires in Ireland.
	<div> Desmond </div>		
Counties in Vlster.	<div> Louth Downe Antrim Monahon Tiron Armagh Colrane Donergall Farmanagh Cauon </div>	<div> } Old counties. } New counties. </div>	
Counties in Leinster.	<div> Dublin Wexford Catherlogh Kilkennie Kildare Kings countie Queenes countie Meth & West- Meth Longefford Wickelow Fernes </div>	<div> } Old counties. } New counties. </div>	
Counties in Connagh.	<div> Clare Letrimme Gallowaie Roscomin Maio Sligo </div>	<div> } Old counties. } New counties. </div>	

When he had performed this, and established the same by act of parlement, then hir maiesties writs and processe had a free passage, and were currant through out the

Onle and the
earle of Tiron
see each one the
other at law.

Sir Richard
Bingham his
victorie vpon
the Scots.

the whole land, and hir maiestie knowne to be souereigne ladie and quene of the same. Then the Irishrie by little and little gaue ouer their Brehon laws, and their Irish vsage, and became obedient vnto the English laws; vnto which they referred themselves to be tried, and to haue all their quarels to be decided and determined: whereof at these presents is extant a verie notable president & example betweene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the prouince of Vlster. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Onele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Onele. These two and their ancestors, and all other noble men in that prouince, when so euer anie discord or enimitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloudshed was the same decided. Neuerthelesse, these two noble men leauing to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile maner, doo refer themselves to the triall of the laws; and each one of them sueth the other at the common laws, and in the chancerie in hir maiesties court at Dublin; and there as dutifull subiects doo abide the triall of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse; and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so happie a progresse and successe, as it hath a good enterance and beginning; no doubt, but that partlie by the laws, and partlie by the swoord, an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be established, the common societie shall be preserued, the whole realme shall florish and prosper, hir maiestie shall be obeied, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Israell. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the happie victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasion, were met and incountered withall, by the right worthie sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were vanquished & ouerthrowne, to the number of fiftene hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the news of their successe: but were either killed or drowned.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the gouernment of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, vntill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue beene doone, worthie to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the atteining to the knowledge whercof, though Iohn Hooker the writer hereof haue béene a diligent traoueller and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that good successe, as both the historie it selfe requireth, and he himselfe wisheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their inmost sacred kings and queenes, or amongst themselves. But whatsoever tofore hath beene doone, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnnaturall, as were the last warres of the Giraldines of Desmond in Mounster. For of the Giraldines of Kildare, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and see most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as doo rebell against the Lords annointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honored and obeied in all humblenesse and dutie: because they are his vicars, substitutes, and vicegerents vpon the earth, to defend the good, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, doo resist his ordinances, and shall receiue hard iudgement, as most manifestlie it dooth appeare in this the earle of Desmonds rebellion. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as in course it fell out, it would be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And

And therefore leauing the large discourse, it shall suffice to shut and conclude this historie, with the briefe recitall of the most speciall points, to mooue ech man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his louing mercie and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore Iames Fitzmoris, the first ringleader in this pageant, and who most vnnaturallie had flocked in strangers and forreiners to inuade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriuing of hir maiestie from hir imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yeelded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his idolatrous pilgrimage to the holie crosse, and his traitorous iourneie to practise with all the rebels and inhabitants in Connagh and Vlster to ioine with him, he did commit a robberie; and being pursued for the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kinsmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Kilmallocke.

Then Iames of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robberie vpon sir Corman mac Teige, was likewise taken and caried to Corke, where he was drawne, hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and wals of the citie of Corke. After him, sir Iohn of Desmond, one other brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, bulls, and Agnos dei, which should keepe and preserue him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dowdall, and by them he receiued his iust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a fréndkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Corke, where his bodie was hanged by the héeles, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe was also taken, and with the sword the head was diuided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge; and his bodie vncerteine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beasts. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of princes, is now for treasons and rebellions vtterlie extinguished and ouerthrowne; onelie one sonne of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two doctors, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their foolish fantasies dreamed that they had the Holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords annointed: the one of them lifting vp his swoord against hir sacred maiestie, vnder the popes banner at Mounster, one thousand fife hundred thréescore and ninetéene, was slaine and killed: the other after that he had followed the héeles of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserablie in the wood of Cleneles, in such diseases as famine and penurie vse to bring. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their consorts and companies, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie news of their successe; but were all put to the sword. And as for the great companies of souldiors, gallowglasses, kerne, & the common people, who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinit, whose blouds the earth dranke vp, and whose carcasses the foules of the aire and the rauening beasts of the féeld did consume and deuoure. After this folowed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not destroe, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining alieue, sauing such as dwelled in cities and townes, and such as were fled ouer into England: and yet the store in the townes was verie far spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who liued at large. For they were not onelie driuen to eat horsse, dogs and dead carions; but also did deuoure the carcasses of dead

James Desmond taken in a robberie, hanged, drawne, & quartered.

Sir Iohn of Desmond slaine, and his bodie hanged by the héeles

The earle of Desmond slaine, and his head sent to London, and set vpon London bridge.

Allen and Sanders died, the one with the sword, the other of famine.

All strangers slaine.

After the warre folowed a famine

A cruel angel
was sent

Men drowned
in the sea

men, whereof there be sundrie examples: namelie one in the countie of Corke, where when a malefactor was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallows, certeine poore people secretlie came, tooke him downe, and did eat him. Likewise in the baie of Sméerewéeke, or saint Marie wéeke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened a ship to be there lost through foule weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

The fruits which
come from the
pope

The wicked
practises of the
pope

The common people, who had a long time liued on limpets, orewads, and such shelfish as they could find, and which were now spent; as soone as they saw these dead bodies, they tooke them vp, and most greedilie did eat and deuoure them: and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land it selfe, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentious of corne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yéelding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no corne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yéelding nothing. Finallie, everie waie the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did trauell from the one end vnto the other of all Mounster, euen from Waterford to the head of Sméerewéeke, which is about six score miles, he should not meet anie man, woman, or child, sauing in townes and cities; nor yet see anie beast, but the verie woolues, the foxes, and other like rauening beasts: manie of them laie dead being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere. A heauie, but a iust iudgement of God vpon such a Pharoicall and stifnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclaimed and reduced to serue God in true religion, and to obeie their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made choise of a wicked idoll, the god Mazim to honor, and of that wicked antichrist of Rome to obeie, vnto the vtter ouerthrow of themselues and of their posteritie. This is the goodnesse that commeth from that great citie vpon the seuen hils, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abominations vpon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, maister pope, the sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enimie vnto the crosse of Christ, whose bloodthirstinesse will neuer be quenched, but in the blood of the saints, and the seruants of God; and whose rauening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of such as doo serue the Lord in all godlines, & who will not be drunke in the cup of his fornications: as it dooth appere by the infinit & most horrible massacres, and bloodie persecutions, which he dailie exerciseth throughout all christian lands. Which bicause he can not performe also within the realmes of England & Ireland, what practises hath he made by enchantments, sorceries, witchcrafts, & tresons to beereauie hir maiestie of hir life? What deuises hath he vsed to raise vp hir owne subiects to rebellions and commotions, to supplant hir of hir roiall estate and gouernment? What practises hath he vsed with forren princes and potentats, to seeke occasions of breaches of peace and raisings of warres? And how craftilie hath he suborned his vnholie & traitorous Iesuits, vnder colour of holines, to range from place to place through hir maiesties realmes, and to mooue and persuade hir people from dutifull obedience vnto hir highnesse, and to denie hir supreme authoritie and gouernment? Finallie, how dooth he from time to time like a rauening wolfe seeke the deuouring of hir, and of all hir good subiects, which liue in the feare of God, and in the religion established vpon his holie word and gospell? Whereof hath insued the losse of infinit thousands of people, as wherof manie apparant examples are set downe and recorded in the histories of England; but of them all, none more lamentable than is this historie of Ireland, and especiallie this tragedie

tragedie of Mounster. In which it dooth appeare, how that for the maintenance of the popes quarels, the earth hath drunke vp the bloud, the fowls of the aire haue preied, and the beasts of the field haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes & numbers of people. Which if euerie man would well looke into and consider, the vngodlie shall see the great iudgements of God, and his seuerie iustice against all such as shall dishonor his holie name; and against such as shall rebell and resist against his annointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their liues, and be conuerted vnto the Lord, both in true religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience to his annointed. And the good and godlie shall see, and thereby consider the great good mercies shewed vpon them, in that he hath and continuallie dooth preserue and keepe them from out of the iawes of the lion in all safetie, that they should dailie more and more grow from grace to grace, and liue in all holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all dutifull obedience vnto hir maiestie our souereigne ladic and queene; whose daies the Lord God continue and prolong to reigne ouer vs to his good will and pleasure: and so shall we hir people see good daies, liue in securitie, and the peace of Israell shall be vpon vs.

Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker aliàs Vowell, Gent.

THE END.

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